

ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: MIGRATION, MODERNITY AND MEMORY: THE
 ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY
 IN A NORTHEAST PENNSYLVANIA COAL
 COMPANY TOWN, 1897-2014

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The Lattimer Massacre occurred in September of 1897 in the anthracite coal region of Pennsylvania. It has been described as the bloodiest massacre of the nineteenth century. In this event, a company-sponsored sheriff and a posse of local businessmen shot into a crowd of striking Eastern European mine laborers, resulting in the deaths of at least nineteen. However, the great significance of the event is not in the body count but the material contexts of its occurrence as well as its pre- and post- histories. Moreover, while the event can be securely consigned to history, the capitalist processes punctuated by this instance of violence are present throughout the century since its occurrence.

In the region, coal company towns materialized carefully maintained racialized labor hierarchies in which new immigrants were confined to shanty towns at the periphery. The dissertation operates on an archaeological scale stretched across the *longue durée* of the twentieth century, documenting the transformation of a shanty town into an American suburb over the course of a century. The archaeological evidence hails from three excavations including a survey of the

site of the Massacre and excavations of lots in the shanty enclave. This dissertation examines the trajectory of these settlements across the entire span of the twentieth century.

With its primary evidence derived from waste, ruins, surpluses and redundancies accumulated over time, archaeological tellings of history recognize these aspects not simply for their contingency, but their centrality within capitalist social life across the passage of time. In this dissertation, I propose that a critical historical archaeology can contribute substantially to a nuanced understanding of the ironic developments of late twentieth century political economy. Contradiction, sovereignty, governmentality, states of exception, surplus enjoyment, cycles of creative destruction and reterritorialization, renewal, and subjectivation are explored by juxtaposing, grafting and merging archaeological evidence with social theory, textual evidence, ethnographic data and interdisciplinary scholarship to present an archaeological history greater than the sum of its parts. The result is both a history of the community and a schematic for an archaeological history of the twentieth century.

MIGRATION, MODERNITY AND MEMORY:
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PENNSYLVANIA COAL COMPANY TOWN, 1897-2014

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Preface

Migration, Modernity and Memory: Historical Archaeology of an Anthracite Coal Company Town 1880-2014

...it includes the whole century. We took it as a sort of symbolic day on which is unleashed... all the conditioning, all the needed facts, just because the day itself has happened. But it does not only contain the past; it also contains the future.

Bernardo Bertolucci (1975: 12).

The Lattimer Massacre occurred in September of 1897 in the anthracite coal region of Pennsylvania. It has been described as the bloodiest massacre of the nineteenth century (Beik 1999). In this event shaded with brutality and the persistent fog of forgetting, a company-sponsored sheriff and a posse of local businessmen shot into a crowd of striking mine laborers of Eastern European origin. At least nineteen were killed instantly and more than forty were injured in addition (Pinkowski 1950; Novak 1996). The marchers were among a diverse group of immigrant laborers from Southern and Eastern Europe striking in the region for over a month for better wages, just and humane treatment, and better working and living conditions despite their status as new immigrants. Carrying the American flag on their march, they sought these rights as aspiring citizens of their newly adopted country.

In the century since its occurrence, the Lattimer Massacre has been monumentalized, recalled, suppressed, reinterpreted, evoked, forgotten and rediscovered. Frequently, the memory of the event operates as a kind of critical

constellation of social realities, reflecting contemporary discourses of class antagonism, capitalism and inequality, citizenship, and pluralist identity. While the archaeology, archival documentation and personal stories recounted in this dissertation range across the twentieth century and into the present, it is shot through with the image and memory of the Lattimer Massacre of 1897 and the milieu of racialized class tension that surrounds it. Naturally, the great significance of the event is not the body count but the circumstances of its occurrence and its memory: its pre- and post- history. Like the opening quote from Bernardo Bertolucci's *Novecento*, an epic film about the growth of historical consciousness in the Italian peasantry, it is a day that, "...does not only contain the past; it also contains the future" (Bertolucci 1975: 12).

Within the region at the time, coal mining company towns materialized carefully maintained racialized labor hierarchies. New immigrants were confined to shanty towns at the periphery, marking difference through distinctions of space, architecture and infrastructure. In this dissertation I propose that these material realities made it all too easy for violence to be perpetrated. Theorist Slavoj Žižek (2008:2) suggests that focusing on moments of explicit subjective violence can mislead us from recognizing the presence of subtler forms of ideological violence he describes as symbolic and systemic consisting of the antagonism at the heart of language and other forms of representation. In the context of this research I interpret this notion of representation as the construction of social identifications including those of race and ethnicity, which depend upon material and semiotic content for their construction and

maintenance. While Žižek hints at the materiality inherent in these dimensions of violence, it is clear he does not have access to the kinds of evidence archaeologists are privy to through their particular epistemological approach.

Archaeological data is central to the aims of this research in three ways. First, in critically recognizing the material manifestations of power, domination and its contestations, this history is situated in the dynamics of grounded moments and settings (Leone 2005, 2010; Leone et al. 1987: 284; Matthews 2002; Palus et al. 2006). Secondly, the material investigations presence or materialize lost or suppressed memories of forgotten and difficult histories for the public (Buchli and Lucas 2001). This engagement, in turn presents the research further opportunities to explore the interactions between memory and materials fundamental to the investigation. A third role for material evidence is in adding alternative avenues of analysis and discourse to histories that continue to have implications for present communities (Little 1994; Mayne 2008; Shackel and Chambers 2004; Shackel and Gadsby 2011).

The first chapter of the dissertation provides contextual information for the dissertation including an explanation of the, perhaps unusual temporal structure of the dissertation. This explanation proceeds by providing both a contemporary context for research as well as a theoretical foundation for the seven chapters that follow. The second chapter provides a history of the anthracite industry of Northeast Pennsylvania, a kind of *prehistory* of the region leading up to the punctuating event of the Lattimer Massacre. The five core chapters, three through seven, report on the findings and interpretations of three field

excavations, as well as extensive archival and ethnographic research. The archaeological component includes a survey of the site of the Massacre using the techniques of battlefield archaeology, as well as two field excavations on shanty residences located on the periphery of the former company towns of Lattimer and Pardeesville. I conducted archival research at a variety of institutional sites and online newspaper and document collections, but chiefly in the archives of the Lattimer Coal Company held in a private collection. This archival evidence supplies sources of key insight into the region's history as well as interpretive guidance for the archaeological data. At the same time, this dynamic is upended as the archival evidence is subjected to an archaeological analysis through a perspective garnered from the accumulated understanding of the material history. The ethnographic work included twenty formal interviews involving a total of twenty-four individuals. In addition, hundreds of hours of informal ethnographic collection including observation and informal interviews at a variety of public places and public events cemented the ethnographic context to the everyday and the unusual in and around the municipality of Hazleton, Pennsylvania where the historical events took place.

Juxtaposing, grafting and merging archaeological evidence with social theory, textual evidence, ethnographic data and interdisciplinary scholarship presents an archaeological history greater than the sum of its parts. In a stratigraphic manner, analysis coalesces around archaeological features, assemblages, spatial relationships, as well as entanglements of power and economy. Overall, while the procedure is chronological, the thematic subjects are

anything but. Repeating motifs abound: ironies, surpluses, contradictions, ruptures. Developments seen as progress in one era fulfill the conditions for ruination in another and vice versa. Two images replay again and again throughout this narrative, providing a critical source for research questions. First, the vulnerable humanity of the striking marchers in 1897, pressed into service as surplus labor. Carrying an American flag during their protest, they turned to broader political forces to protect them from the predations of capital. Ironically, history shows that this very vulnerable “state of exception” they were held within was integral to the specific and unambiguous choices for how it would divide and manipulate its productive forces (Agamben 1998). Secondly, the image of the changing company town landscape with the thin but operative boundaries between shanty enclave, company homes and managerial housing plays a central role in the drama as it reflects ideological, political and economic changes throughout the twentieth century.

The first time I surveyed the town of Pardeesville Pennsylvania late in 2012 with my advisor, Paul Shackel, I was struck by what I saw. Today, the shanty enclave largely resembles a typical American suburb, with evenly spaced houses divided by fences and with lawns of closely cropped grass. A patina of deterioration seemed to reflect economic conditions of the last couple decades more than the previous half century. It was clear that a palimpsest-like quality adhered to the landscape; one which would only make sense if it was to be understood as a whole. The resulting archaeological history recounted here, more than one hundred years of community life, is both locally specific and

broadly generalizable. Punctuated by the pronouncements of textual sources, the history always returns to the strength of archaeological groundings: in the superabundant materials of lived realities, in nuanced ambiguity, and in the dynamic processes of everyday life. The result is both a history of the community and a schematic for an archaeological history of the twentieth century. Through this dialectical procedure, I bind the analysis of the intervening years to the destructive cycles of capitalism, modernist progress, empire and class antagonism that characterize the *novecento*, the twentieth century.

Why Study Lattimer? : “Working Toward the Public Good”, Inequality, and Labor Archaeology

In January of 2012 I presented research on the Massacre to an academic audience at the Society for Historical Archaeology Conference in Baltimore at a session I co-organized with Paul Shackel entitled “Reversing the Narrative”. Introducing an earlier form of the content that I present here in Chapter 3 of this dissertation, I presented graphic descriptions of the event from contemporary observers and historical scholarship. It concluded with a short presentation of the survey of the site we conducted with members of BRAVO (Battlefield Restoration and Archaeological Volunteer Organization) in the fall of 2011 (Roller 2012, 2013). Many Session participants presented on the dark end of history: violence, racialization, discrimination, poverty and forced removal were some of the themes on show. Barbara Little, presenting the final paper in the session, concluded with an unexpected challenge. Her paper, later to be printed as “Reversing the Narrative from Violence to Peace” (Little 2013) proposes that

archaeology can contribute to a better world by recognizing the morals in the stories we tell through our work and applying them to contribute to a better world. Little proposes that “we are memory workers; we remember what has been possible, and from our remembered pasts we imagine how we ought to live and who we ought to be” (Little 2013:126).¹ Thinking through the challenge offered by Little, to produce research with a positive message from out of the history of the Massacre, informs the manner in that I proceed on this project. It has required me to unpack the difficult and dark history of the massacre, consider the intervening years as well as the present and future, challenge traditional narratives and discover alternatives. To do this effectively requires an engagement with the milieu of the local, national and global communities to understand what aspects of this scholarship are most appropriate for this task.

A critical and engaged historical archaeology requires that we cultivate political self-reflexivity and challenge grand narratives (Leone et al. 1987; Shackel 2013; Shanks and Tilley 1987). Critical archaeology is informed by a reflexive methodology that recognizes that all studies of the past are political and serve the purpose of understanding the present rather than as the recovery of wholly knowable pasts (Leone et al. 1987: 284; Leone et al. 1995; Palus et al. 2006). In doing so, the relevance of archaeology toward general critical inquiry becomes clear: archaeology can do more than describe past lifeways, it can demonstrate that ideological understandings of the past serve to justify the status quo in contemporary society. It can also provide subversive genealogies as

ethical alternatives from what may seem to be the inevitability of dominant forms of social and economic organization (Graeber 2004; Little 2009, 2013)

Critical archaeological research necessitates researcher's engagement with those for whom a history has eminent implications, firstly descendent communities, and then the local and national public including the academic community (Little and Shackel 2007, 2014; Shackel and Gadsby 2011). Such engagement serves as an important source of self-reflexivity, informing the formation of questions we might ask of the archaeological record, as well as the interpretation of local experience (Leone 2010; Little and Shackel 2007, 2014). Conducting research in collaboration with the diverse publics identified as stakeholders of archaeological history produces critical, self-reflexive and publically-engaged research (Castaneda and Matthews 2010; Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008; Leone and Potter 1984; Leone 2010; Little and Shackel 2007; Shackel and Chambers 2004). The goal of a critically engaged historical archaeology, as noted by Paul Shackel (2013: 318) suggests that "By bringing to light the conditions of the past and connecting these issues to the present, we can make some of these difficult histories a platform from which to discuss the continued prevalence of these inequities." Thusly, they can serve as a way to "illuminate the roots of contemporary social, economic and political injustices" (Shackel 2013:317).

Recently, a call for *Social Relevance* has been applied almost universally as a mandate for practitioners of public archaeology. *Relevance* has come to define the goals and motivations of a modern archaeology. Scholars suggest that

archaeologists have a responsibility to consider the interests, issues and needs of diverse publics when devising, interpreting and presenting research (Harris 2011; Little and Shackel 2007; McDavid 2002; Sabloff 2008; Okamura 2011; for a critique see Sayers 2015). I contend that the challenge to making research truly *relevant* requires that attention be paid not only to the contingent scale of modern political and community life but that scholars critically consider this in the context of the persistent and epochal forms of power and domination in modern social life. By this I mean new reiterations of class struggle, inequality, and the commodification of everyday life that too easily can shift out of academic interest as scholarly fashion might dictate.

In an example relevant to the topics of this dissertation, a lapse in academic interest in issues of working class life and the history of class struggle followed the catastrophic dissolution of organized labor through the institutionalization of neoliberal politics in the 1980s. In such a context, a call for *relevance* might just as easily encouraged academic programs to cut funding for labor studies in the curriculum. The disappearance of labor from academic and civic memory has led to the dissolution of public discussion of the long history of class struggle surrounding worker protections and wealth inequality (Shackel 2009, Smith et al. 2011). Some scholars suggest that the weakened response of left intellectuals to the recent dismantling of worker protections can be attributed to this neglect (Harvey 2014a, 2014b; Hickel & Khan 2012; Graeber 2014). Memorializing working class history, both tragic and victorious, is one way to ensure that critical debate surrounding these issues will be maintained into the

future (Shackel 2009; Smith et al. 2011; Shackel 2013; Little and Shackel 2013).

The following discussion balances a mandate for relevance in defining the intersection of the contingent and immediate historical context of this research with the epochal issues of inequality and sovereignty that characterize the twentieth century. As a whole, these contexts define the theoretical scope, interpretation and methodological procedures of this archaeological research.

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CHAPTER 1

Irony as Method: Some Theoretical Steps Towards an Archaeology of the Twentieth Century

Before the law sits a gatekeeper. To this gatekeeper comes a man from the country who asks to gain entry into the law.... "It is possible," says the gatekeeper, "but not now." ...The man from the country has not expected such difficulties: the law should always be accessible for everyone, he thinks

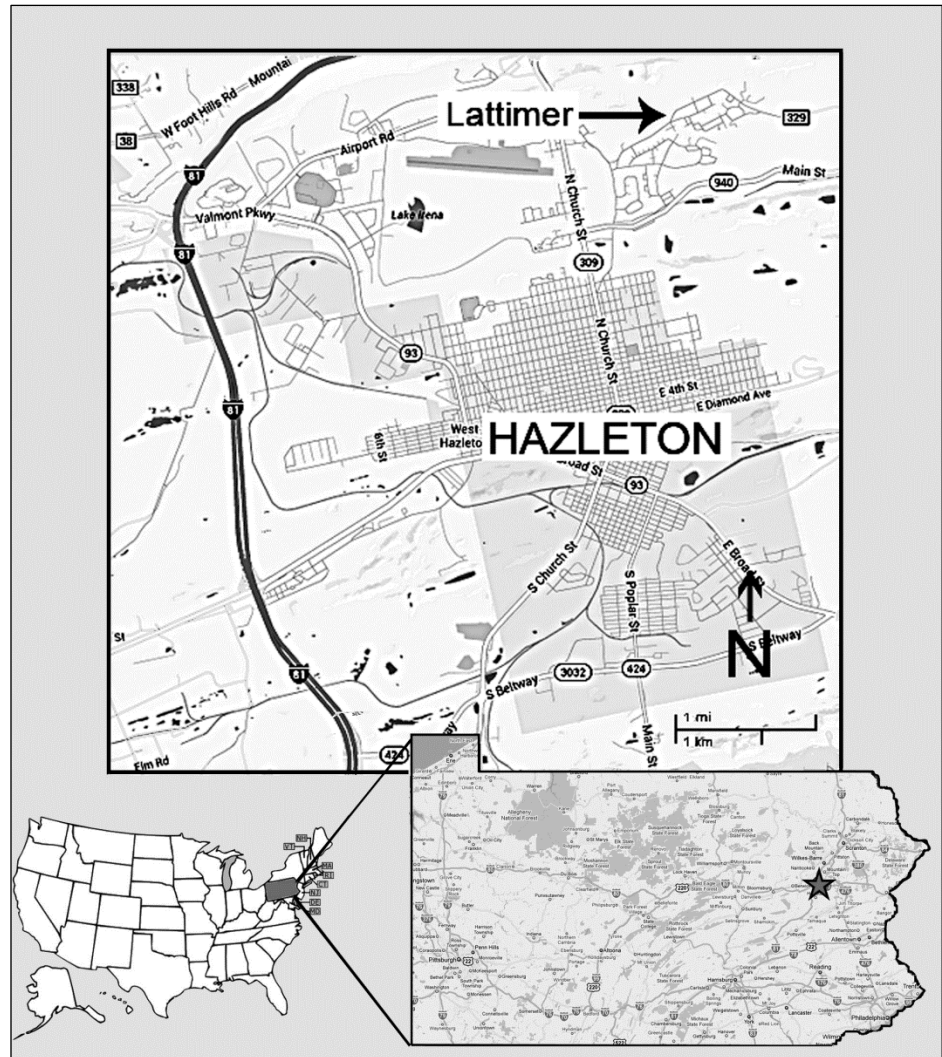
Franz Kafka, "Before the Law" (1971[1925]:3)

In a parable by Franz Kafka (1925), a man from the country petitions access to the Law, which, in his words, "should surely be accessible at all times and to everyone"?² He awaits admittance for an eternity, providing bribes to a gatekeeper to no avail. Just before he expires, he inquires of the gatekeeper as to why there are no others waiting with him. The gatekeeper, who has blocked his entry all of these years, reveals that this gate has been built only for him and when he passes away it will be closed up. He tells the man that he has taken these bribes all along only to reassure him that he has done all he could have done to enter. I propose that Kafka's tale can be understood as a parable concerning the manner by which the desires of early twentieth century subjects are exactly interpellated within the political economy we share as subjects in the present age. The individualized fate of the man from the country, that the gate he finds is meant only to block him, serves as a kind of perversion of his initial belief that the law be "available at all times and to everyone". The central

irony of the parable propels this dissertation: that over time a desire for justice can lead to its oppression.

On a historical scale, the dissertation confronts the question of how oppressed groups can become complicit with oppression later in history. To accomplish this task in a manner that does not remove itself from these important inquiries, the dissertation research operates on an archaeological scale stretched across the *longue durée* of the twentieth century, documenting the transformation of a shanty town into an American suburb over the course of a century. This trajectory is explored using data that typifies that of most archaeological studies of a critical nature, charting material changes in architecture, landscape, consumption, and spatial relationships. The archaeological evidence hails from three excavations conducted between the autumn of 2011 and the summer of 2013. The first of these included an archaeological survey of the site of the 1897 Lattimer Massacre, an event in which striking laborers of Eastern European background were massacred by a company sponsored posse around the town of Hazleton, Pennsylvania in the anthracite region (Figure 1-1). Following this excavation, I explore the broader material context of this violence in the landscape of the region's company towns, colloquially known as patch towns, wherein a racialized social and work hierarchy was created and maintained in the built environment. Rather than confining this analysis to a single historic period, I pursue its trajectory across the following century. This ranging and inclusive pursuit is made possible through the interweaving of archaeology, spatial analysis, textual analysis, critical history and social theory. In this dissertation no

effort is made to partition these forms of evidence as I believe that no particular means in isolation can sufficiently depict the contradictory nature of history. The



1-1. Map showing the location of Hazleton and Lattimer, where the dissertation research took place. (Map Assembly by Author, Base Map Source: Google)

multiscalar

history uncompromising in its depiction of the complexities of narrating difficult histories.

“Irony as Method”: The Foundations of a Benjaminian Archaeology

The community’s passage across the long durée of the twentieth century is far from an even, predictable, or linear process. Recounted chronologically, there are themes, rhetorical devices, and images that reoccur again and again throughout. Drawing from Walter Benjamin’s theoretical and political practice of

dialectical materialist history, I conduct an archaeology of the twentieth century through the microhistory of immigrant worker experience in the anthracite region of northeast Pennsylvania. Using a methodology amenable to archaeology, Benjamin's historical practice favored the use of images, fragments, objects, or ruins to break traditional historiographical approaches to time. For Benjamin, each object, image or ruin retains the potential of a dialectical reading, a sort of critical index to understand the prehistory of the moment. This is the key to what Benjamin describes as the *dialectical image*. In his *Theses on History* (1970), Benjamin defined the work of the historical materialist as:

....involv[ing] not only the flow of thoughts, but their arrest as well. Where thinking suddenly stops in a configuration pregnant with tensions, it gives that configuration a shock, by which it crystallizes into a monad. A historical materialist approaches a historical subject only where he encounters it as a monad. In this structure he recognizes... a revolutionary chance in the fight for the oppressed past. (Benjamin 1970: 264-265)

The Lattimer Massacre is just such a moment, when new immigrant laborers attempted to break from a racializing social and economic hierarchy that had become progressively both more fragmented and stabilized (Orser 2007, Roediger and Esch 2012). While the strike leading to the massacre was not immediately unsuccessful, the implications of the event and its context have great implications for the past, present and future.

To wrest a materialist history from ideological narratives of progress requires that we, "...abandon the tranquil contemplative attitude toward the object in order to become conscious of the critical constellation in which precisely this fragment of the past finds itself in precisely this present" (Benjamin 1975:28). In isolating the memory of a revolutionary moment that "flashes up at a moment

of danger”, the historical materialist recognizes that the past comes to us tied to an accumulation of retrospective interpretations flowing out of the desires of each subsequent era (Benjamin 1970:257; Matthews 2005).

Local and national discourse recounting the memory of the massacre has taken on a variety of meanings over the past century, each reflecting a retrospective interpretation of the implications of its occurrence. The immediate result of the event produced solidarity amongst miners of many backgrounds, materialized in a massive increase in membership in the United Mine Workers union. Nationally, the tragedy was cited as a discursive example of the oppressive apparatus of Capital and the State. In the decades following the event numerous calls to monumentalize it were unsuccessful, meeting a variety of forms of resistance. In the 1970s, ironically as the last generations to remember the event were passing away, a monument was erected by local and national organized labor to serve as a reminder of past sacrifices to a labor movement in crisis.

Most recently, the massacre is evoked by Hazleton residents to represent the sacrifices of earlier generations of immigrants. This evocation operates in local discourse as both positive and negative comparisons to the efforts of recent immigrants from the Caribbean and Latin America to integrate into the region’s economic and social life. At times, juxtaposing this ethnographic present with the history reveals an irony that seems somehow indicative if not defining of the developments of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. In the municipality of Hazleton the racialized violence from the time of the massacre are

echoed by the present. The recent Latino immigration to the town in the mid-1990s set off an eruption of racialized discourse, discriminative litigation, and sometimes, physical violence from longer established residents. Often, the perpetrators of this violence are descendents of the new immigrant groups of the nineteenth century. Discourse about past immigrant history, hard work, and the legitimacy of assimilation, sometimes invoking the Massacre, is operationalized as discursive justification for discrimination.

In an interview conducted by project researcher Kristin Sullivan in 2009, an ethnographic informant compared past immigration with that of the present:

There were a lot of immigrants coming then; there're a lot of immigrants coming now. But I think... the trouble is a good number...of the immigrants that came off of Ellis Island... were coming because they were hard workers, [and] wherever they were coming from wasn't the best, and they knew that America was the promised land, and they could make a new start. Whereas today I think a lot of people come here because they know how easy it is to live off of the government.... They're not...trying to get their papers like...Italians or Germans or Irish did. They're coming here because...someone said 'Hey, you could live in Hazleton for very very cheap prices and you don't even have to tell them that you're there.'

At other times, the reverse comparison is made as in the following example from a Hazleton-area editorial from 2008:

Many new immigrants were treated poorly and were discriminated against [in the nineteenth century]. The Lattimer Massacre... is an example. The hostility some of the descendants of our ancestors have directed toward new immigrants are manifested through legal misconceptions [*Pottsville Republican*, 22 July, 2008].

Another editorial from 2009 in Hazleton's local newspaper reads, "Read what happened to your ancestors in the Lattimer massacre. Read about the reaction of native Hazletonians in this newspaper to that horrendous mass murder....

Accept all the people of Hazleton as one people” (*Hazleton Standard Speaker*, 7 October 2009).

Decipherable in resident’s negative appraisals of current immigration issues is the reigning philosophy of neoliberalism. Specifically, residents cite a discourse defined by the merits of self-sufficiency, compliance, individual striving, and a freedom from collective enterprises. Neoliberal individuals can be defined as identifying themselves, “as market agents, encouraged to cultivate themselves as autonomous, self-interested individuals, and to view their resources and aptitudes as human capital for investment and return” (Binkley 2009:62). Within this context, the neoliberal subject is, on the one hand, not coerced or disciplined, but rather “obliged to be free”, while also pressed into a constant state of political exception. On the other hand, Bourdieu describes the programmatic aspects of neo-liberalism as a structural effort to “put into question all collective arrangements capable of obstructing the logic of the pure market”. This includes all collectivities that might mediate the relationship between governmental or capitalist logic and free individuals (Bourdieu 1998: 96).³

To be conscious of the “critical constellation” through which history is inflected is to be aware of the manner that narratives obscure realities, namely of the sometimes paradoxical endurance or ephemerality of memories, materials and social structures through time. Freed of the streamlining and selective forgettings of grand narratives, a recounting of history is inevitably *ironic*. Donna Haraway advises that the “ironic political myth” produced in her groundbreaking

essay *A Manifesto for Cyborgs* (1990) allowed her to come to terms with the contradictory elements of women's history. For Haraway, irony as method is:

....about contradictions that do not resolve into larger wholes, even dialectically, about the tensions of holding incompatible things together because both or all are necessary and true. Irony is about humor and serious play. It is also a rhetorical strategy and a political method.
(Haraway 1990: 190)

As per Haraway, irony is used here as both a rhetorical strategy and a political method. This dissertation attempts this perspectival adjustment by juxtaposing the past and the present in sometimes ironic configurations, tracing a microhistory of materials and landscapes, excavating memories and images from out of the critical constellations in which they are embedded. Through these procedures, the scientific results are both clearer and richer, attaining an amplified explanatory power and a narrative richness and complexity.

Research Context: Past and Present, Local and National

The following discussion provides context for the dissertation chapters that follow. It is divided into two sections, a local and a national context. Because the temporal concern of the dissertation extends from a distant past to a present, drawing connections and ruptures across this continuum, the discussion proceeds thematically addressing both past and present as they concern the research problems in the dissertation. The first section concerns the themes of immigrant discrimination and racialization that link the past and present. The national context concerns the themes of inequality and the history of the two Gilded Ages.

Local Context: Ethnography, Immigrant Discrimination and Racialization

Initial ethnographic work was conducted by former University of Maryland graduate student Kristin Sullivan and Paul Shackel more than a year before excavations were planned. Throughout this initial phase and over the course of the research project, twenty interviews with twenty-four individuals were conducted and the proceedings of a variety of public meetings and events were attended and recorded. The interviews consisted of men and women ranging in age from their mid-20s to the 80s. Nine women and fifteen men were interviewed. All were associated with the coal region, the coal industry, or mining heritage in some way. Of those interviewed, ten lived in the patch towns of Lattimer or Pardeesville. In addition, hundreds of hours were spent by myself and others working on the project conducting informal ethnography in public and private places throughout the region, engaging in conversation, networking, and gathering information. Two blogs (<https://lattimerarchaeology.wordpress.com/> and <https://lattimermassacre.wordpress.com/>) distribute information about the project and invite feedback from local and national audiences. Engaging with this audience through networking, commenting, and information sharing has also been a major source of research. As an inductive and hermeneutic process, the ethnographic component remains is largely not cited, except when synthesized into an insight or as a specific source of information or perspective. Nonetheless it has informed every aspect of the project. Initially, it served to build a network of local support and to inform the preparation of research questions.

The initial ethnographic component of the project established that the issue of immigrant discrimination in the past and present were topics of major local urgency; ones that could be addressed through a public archaeology project centered around the massacre (Shackel et al. 2011; Shackel and Roller 2012). Much of what happened at Lattimer, the massacre and the subsequent acquittal of the sheriff and his deputies, can be connected to xenophobic fears directed at Southern and Eastern Europeans that dominated American political and social life in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The racialized treatment of these migrants functioned as part of an ideology institutionalized in scientific racialization, supported and exploited by capital interests and popularly accepted and elaborated upon. In this period the relationship between racial whiteness and the nation state were in the process of a kind of codification as racial definitions for citizenship were being drawn (McKeown 2008; Ngai 1999, 2004a, 2004b). The migrants from Eastern and Southern Europe making up the New Migration existed for a time in American society as “inbetween peoples”, occupying an epistemological grey area between whiteness and ethnic or racial other. Scholars of race and ethnicity debate the trajectory of this passage for individual groups, contesting the pace, sequence and causality of this trajectory (Barrett and Roediger 1997; Guglielmo 2003; Roediger 2005). The only common agreement among scholarship is that the passage was messy and contingent upon a variety of historic and political factors.

The dissertation begins in the Gilded Age, variously defined by scholars as running between the last quarter of the nineteenth century and as late as the

middle of the 1920s (Paynter 2012). The period is characterized by associated transformations in political economy and industry leading to increasingly rigid class structures defined through racial and ethnic identifications. Transformations in political economy spurred the transnational movement of peoples, materials and practices through immigration and imperialism. The heightened global interactions between peoples stimulated the development of techniques of governance and administration based upon classification. Between 1880 and 1920 American imperialism greatly increased its foothold overseas through advantageous and exploitive economic and political relationships and military conquests. Empire building was intrinsically connected to economic expansion in both domestic and global realms. A dialectical tension characterizes these developments. Colonial states functioned as laboratories to develop racial and ethnic classifications to administer ethnic pluralities (Cooper and Stoler 1997; Croucher and Weiss 2011; Stoler 1997). These systems, in turn, were employed by both political and economic elites to maintain the labor hierarchies necessary for industrial capitalism (Bender 2009; Ngai 2004).

Nowhere is this clearer than in the treatment of Southern and Eastern Europeans in the coalfields of Pennsylvania. A racially-ordered hierarchy existed in the Anthracite coal region in the late nineteenth century, meeting the needs of coal operators by dividing the labor force and segmenting work processes (Aurand 1985; Berthoff 1965; Keil & Usui 1992; Turner 1977). The massacre manifested as a punctuated moment of violence policing the boundaries of this social order. It was created and maintained by the unified efforts of coal

operators, law enforcement, local merchants, the judiciary, the media and the military State. This ideology is materialized in landscapes, material culture and texts from the period and observable in the archaeological record.

Today, Hazleton-area politics seem to mirror the violent episodes of its past. Like the past, these conflicts are deeply embedded in national immigration debates and global political economy. Like the historical period, it is difficult to separate the political and economic aspects of the issues. In the 1990s, the state of Pennsylvania began offering large tax incentives to attract new businesses. This, in turn, created many low-paying unskilled jobs in places like Hazleton, which had courted a warehousing business since the 1970s to reinvigorate the local economy. Central American and Caribbean immigrants from overseas and nearby urban areas began migrating to Hazleton in the mid 1990s. In 2006-2007, the city government attempted to pass anti-immigrant ordinances, localizing a national discourse of post-9/11 security hysteria by taking immigration control into their own hands. The laws consisted of municipal ordinances prohibiting the employment or rental of property to undocumented workers. In a move unprecedented by a municipal authority at the time, it also attempted to prohibit the use of languages other than English in all municipal exchanges. Though the laws were declared unconstitutional by an appeals court in 2007 and again in the summer of 2013, the attempted passing of laws unleashed a wave of discrimination throughout the town (Kobialka 2012; Longazel 2013, 2014; McKanders 2007). The laws were used as a model for others produced by other states and towns across the country throughout the rest of the decade (Kobialka

2012; Preston 2010). These new immigrants to Hazleton faced similar forms of discrimination the Eastern and Southern Europeans received a century before. This tension sometimes breaks out into racial violence such as in the fatal beating of an undocumented Mexican man in 2009 (Martinez 2011). Racial tension between the residents, many of whom are the descendents of migrants, and its new migrant population, remains even today.

In cases such as the massacre and that of present anti-immigrant racial tensions, discrimination operates through the social process of *racialization*. Racialization is defined as a social and political process of attaching race-based signification to human bodies. *Race* as a classification system refers to a belief in stable biological categories of identification, whereas racialization or racial formation conceives of race as a historically and socially contingent process (Barton 2012; Frederickson 2002; Omi & Winant 1994; Orser 2007; Roediger & Esch 2012). Omi and Winant suggest that the advantage of looking at the formation of racial categories as part of other systems of oppression or control opens scholarly analysis to the articulation between racial categories and other identifications and oppressions including sex, gender, ethnicity, and nationality. Racialization as such is conceived as one component of other broader political projects including nationalism, the establishment of labor and class hierarchies or residential segregation (Freund 2010; Mullins 2006; Omi and Winant 1994: 56; Roediger & Esch 2012).

The processes of racial or ethnic identification are major topics of anthropological and archaeological research, explored in a variety of localities

and contextualized within different scales of analysis (Deagan 1983; Franklin 1997, 2001; Gilroy 1991; Harrison 1995; Jones 1997; Orser 2004, 2007; Schuyler 1980). Within this body of research, academic debate surrounds the manner or degree to which the racialization or ethnic identification of groups are imposed, negotiated, or fashioned within the context of relationships to other groups or structures of power. As an examination of the material traces of these processes, archeological scholarship looks for patterning that reflects or contradicts the racial, racialized or ethnic identification of groups in ways that range across processes internally constructed or externally imposed (Barton 2012; Epperson 2004; Orser 2004, 2007; Singleton and Bograd 1995; Wilkie 2001). Many studies have broadened this analysis by recognizing the interpenetrating relationships between ethnicity and race within multiple facets of identity including nationality and citizenship, gender, class and sexuality (Brighton 2009; Delle et al. 2000; Camp 2011b; Franklin 1997; Mullins 1999; Praetzellis and Praetzellis 2001; Scott 1994; Wall 1994, 2000; Wilkie 2001; Voss 2008). The complexity of this scholarship is joined by scholars who examine the constructions of differentiation and solidarity amongst groups in interethnic, interclass or interracial contexts (Lightfoot et al. 1998; Reckner 2009; Walker 2008a). Importantly, archaeological evidence can go far in explicating the apparatuses and means by which these spaces were created and maintained.

Critical social theory in archaeology has also been fruitfully applied to the processes whereby race and nation are simultaneously constructed. Archaeologists and historians suggest that the construction of race, or the

process of racialization, is systematically reproduced at numerous scales and is comparable across examples (Camp 2011a; Ngai 2004; Omi and Winant 1994; Orser 2007). In an essay entitled “The Utility of Comparative Research in Historical Archaeology”, archaeologist Stacey Camp (2012) compares the material realities of concentration camp life for interned Japanese citizens with company housing provided to Mexican-American laborers. Though specific details regarding the migration histories of Japanese and Mexican Americans vary greatly, the material conditions they experienced in these camp situations expressed similar messages regarding corporate or governmental approaches to their subjecthood. Both groups were placed in built environments that made it impossible to conform to contemporary standards of middle-class gentility or sanitation, and yet were judged by these same standards. Furthermore, they were both placed in conditions of constant surveillance, in the case of the Japanese by constant guarding, in the case of the Mexicans, by the tourist gaze that overlooked their compound (Camp 2011a:21, 22) Camp’s conclusions are startling. She writes (2012:20):

As architecture reveals, the living conditions within internment and work camps dehumanized and stripped its occupants’ of a sense of individuality or personhood. The material environment can be read as a reflection of the tension between America’s need of immigrants to support its capitalist economy and its simultaneous disinterest in extending citizenship to such workers.

In the case of the Japanese, it is clear that their condition as a racialized other *trumped* their positions as long-naturalized citizens.

The theoretical strength of transnational, interethnic and intersectional research is in its recognition of the *relative* construction of racial, ethnic and class

identities in social environments that are complex, pluralized and often suffused with power and politics. In archaeological research of pluralist work environments examined by Kent Lightfoot (1998), Mark Walker (2008), Margaret Wood (2002a, 2002b) and Paul Reckner (2009), different material strategies of interethnic conflict, differentiation, and solidarity are examined in settings whereby labor relationships form the pretext for cohabitation and interaction outside of the household. In his work in West Oakland, Walker (2008) illustrates the complex and contextually situated structure of class relations and class consciousness amongst railroad workers in San Francisco in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. In this context, class relations are a dynamic struggle based around ethnicity, race, nationality, craft and skill level and occupational hierarchy. He posits the presence of an 'aristocracy of labor', a class of skilled craft workers that maintained their place in a hierarchy of labor, differentiating themselves from both the unskilled workers below them and middle class managers above. To this group, a strong sense of inward class consciousness carefully delineated the boundaries of this identity. This ideology carried with it certain ideas about American-ness, domestic life, and masculinity. Unskilled laborers, many of them recent immigrants, served no threat to the positions of the craft class explicitly. However, they served as an ideological threat regarding their identity as Americans. By accepting lower wages for equivalent positions, immigrants undermined the relationship between the standards of living craft identities depended upon as markers of their privilege (Walker 2008:115-116). These standards of living were intrinsically connected to notions of respectability and

citizenship. As a result, the privilege of the positions they negotiated within an increasingly powerful and consolidated structure of industrial capitalism could be questioned.

Margaret Wood (2002a, 2002b) and Paul Reckner's (2009) work on the coal company town of Berwind and the Ludlow strike camp, respectively, offer a different example, one in which the diverse inhabitants used material strategies to build alliances of identity based upon notions of class solidarity. Wood's work in the coal company town of Berwind uses the archeology of domestic refuse and household economy to demonstrate the agency of women's efforts in the home within the context of broad historical and social changes (Wood 2002a, 2002b). In Reckner's work in the Ludlow tent colony, which included many of the same residents from Berwind, material culture was examined for its role in defining difference among the strikers. In this research, material culture was used to suggest the spatial arrangement of the tents of diverse ethnic groups. Though the recovery of ethnically-patterned material culture can be troublesome or inexact, the data suggests that the strikers and union leaders chose not to define discrete sub-communities of ethnic and racial groups (Reckner 2009:470).

Following Žižek's formulations of violence (see Preface), connections can be drawn between the subjective violence enacted in the massacre and the systemic and symbolic violence that created and maintained the social order, namely the material and spatial processes of racialization. The racialized social order of the region was first truly materialized for me in a collection of historic maps of the town of Lattimer. Throughout the summer of 2011, I georectified

historic maps of the town into a GIS database, principally to provide a geographic context for the site of the massacre. Still standing in the present, the majority of the company towns take the form of company-built double houses ordered in neat rows (Figure 1-2). Each house has a roughly identical footprint and is surrounded by a fenced-in yard of roughly comparable space. On historic maps dating from between about 1878 and 1938, however, clusters of heterogeneously shaped and positioned structures develop at the periphery of the well-defined geometries of the company homes. In three distinct areas around Lattimer and Pardeesville (formerly Lattimer No. 2), myriad tiny structures are seen tightly clustered around central narrow thoroughfares (discussed in detail in Chapter 3).



Figure 1-2. Company double houses along Main Street in Lattimer, taken by the author in April of 2012. (Photo by Author)

This configuration both echoes and contrasts the broader spatial and aesthetic relationships between the company

houses. Further archival research and ethnographic work revealed that these “irregular” areas were occupied by the latest waves of immigration to the region, from Southern and Eastern Europe. I theorized that the differentiation and

exclusion of populations such as these, reinforced and maintained through material means, might explain how the violence of the massacre could have been committed on these unarmed men. Additionally, tracing change in these spaces through time can illuminate the trajectory of migrants from excluded lives to sovereign citizens across the course of the twentieth century.

Critical ideas about the intersection of space and power from Michel Foucault, Henri Lefebvre and others have greatly influenced archaeological analyses of ideologically-charged built environments. For archaeologists analyzing space and landscape, a major topic of study is the manner, method, and degree to which ideologies dominate social life. A corresponding body of research examines the capacity for occupants of such dominating landscapes such as cities and company towns to find space for resistance and subversion. Foucault's (1979) notion of the affectivity of spaces, allegorized in the ordered configuration of the panopticon, plays a role in many of these ideas, namely in encouraging the growth of individual disciplined subjects in landscapes of control and power (Foucault 1979; Leone 1995). The great power of Foucault's example lies in the practical illustration of the affective relationship that exists between large-scale structures, material and social, and the finer scale of individual subjectivity. As described above, company towns are often described as totalized environments of social control (Frankavigla 1991; Mulrooney 1989). In research cited above, including Virginus Island (Palus and Shackel 2006; Shackel and Palus 2006) and the Mount Lowe Resort and Railway (Camp 2011b) surveillance landscapes rendered behavior visible to management and therefore susceptible

to control. In each case the researchers suggest that the physical configurations are carefully engineered to produce subtle forms of social control. In such situations, landscapes materialize power over, while avoiding outright violence or coercion.

From a local setting, expanding my research from a study of the massacre to an analysis of the social and material context of its occurrence, prehistory, and remembrance allows the project to contextualize the punctuated moment of its occurrence within the changing regimes of symbolic and systemic violence throughout the twentieth century (Žižek 2008). The archaeological study of the transformation of the shanty community allows me to address the nature of the migrant trajectory across the span of the twentieth century, from an expendable or killable outsider to respected citizen. This microhistorical trajectory operated within the dialectics of broad historical transformations and collective and individual choices, accommodations and weaknesses.

National Context: Inequality, Labor History, Governmentality and Sovereignty

The establishment of the company towns of Lattimer Nos. 1 and 2 are rooted in the political economy of the Gilded Age, a time of sweeping changes in American society. The era is characterized by massive changes in social structure, politics, economics, technology and population demographics, each of which served to amplify the productivity of a society increasingly characterized by rigid social hierarchy, social control, and the introduction of financial reasoning into aspects of everyday life (Trachtenberg 1982). In the United States, the Gilded Age was also a time of massive immigration, spurred by changes in

political economy across the globe. In Europe, the consolidation of land for large-scale agriculture often resulted in the displacement or maltreatment of mostly rural and unskilled populations (Ngai 2004:119). Between 1815 and 1939 an estimated 35 million Europeans migrated to the United States (Hoerder 2002: 332). In cases in which religious persecution was not an issue, as that of urban Jews expelled from Russia throughout the last few decades of the nineteenth century, migration was often the choice of a temporary move to accumulate enough capital to purchase land in their home countries (Ngai 2004: 119; Hoerder 2002). In a process described as “initial proletarianization”, these unskilled workers fueled American Industry, spreading across the country to work in factories, mills, sweatshops, mines and other extractive industries and infrastructure development (Gordon et al. 1982; Dubofsky 1991).

From a certain perspective, the technological and logistic innovations of Gilded Age production provided the promise of great social stability and upward mobility for those “with” and “without”. New sources of energy, productive processes, and sources and regimes of labor all produced new opportunities for work, consumption and material comfort unprecedented in world history. Materially, the Gilded Age came about through advances in technology, raw material extraction, coupled with Capitalist’s growing efficiency and mastery of the dimensions of human productivity, geographical space and geologic time (Harvey 1990:226-259; Trachtenberg 1982). Older processes and materials were replaced with new forms and materials. “Steam and electricity replaced human muscle, iron replaced wood, and steel replaced iron” (Zinn 2003:253). Goods

produced from these materials could be transported further and more efficiently over the massive infrastructure of railroads developed in the period after the Civil War, creating new markets for consumption and centers for production (Cronan 1991).

At base, societal transformations of the era were underwritten by two sources of energy central to the topic of this dissertation: coal and labor. Inexpensive steel, steam engines, furnaces and the machines they produced and propelled were fueled by coal. The trains that distributed these goods throughout the country ran on steam and on steel rails produced by coal. Throughout much of the nineteenth century, the anthracite region provided much of this energy resource (Chandler 1972; Johnson 2009; NPS 1997; Rose 1985:60-61).

The region also absorbed, organized, and disciplined the massive amounts of hand labor needed to conduct the tedious work of extraction. The extraction of anthracite remained stubbornly resistant to mechanization processes due to the nature of its deposition. Deeply buried and geographically isolated by mountains, the geology of the anthracite coal beds underlies the region's development just as it has determined the nature of the industry's economic struggles. Three separate coal beds, each with its own distinct geological properties, stretch across the mountains of northeastern Pennsylvania. Because of the depth and position of the coal beds, operators in the region were forced to provide highly capitalized investment costs to extract the product profitably (Aurand 2003). Infrastructure was needed to ventilate and drain the mines, provide for onsite processing, and mediate dependence upon

transportation networks to deliver the product to markets outside the region. Furthermore, the value of anthracite coal, tied to the vicissitudes of an unstable world market, rose and fell with regularity (Rose 1981).

In times of profit and scarcity, companies overcame economic instability by maintaining large, highly stratified, and expendable armies of skilled and unskilled labor. Like many ventures of Gilded Age industrial production, this army of surplus labor mediated profit loss for owners by absorbing the impacts of natural or market variability (Walker 2008b; Harvey 2010). As simply stated by Marx:

...the capitalist mode of production... forms a disposable industrial reserve army that belongs to capital quite as absolutely as if the latter had bred it at its own cost. Independently of the limits of the actual increase of population, it creates, for the changing needs of the self-expansion of capital, a mass of human material always ready for exploitation.” (1976: 784).

Simply stated, a glutted labor market fueled wage competition. Poverty and frequent or persistent unemployment was a fact of life for the working poor of the region throughout its history. Importantly, inequality and unemployment was integrated into the functioning of the area’s economy, coupled with intergroup competition. In fact, for Marx, it is central to the optimized functioning of capitalism itself. As a result, the realities of the Gilded Age for those at the bottom of the social hierarchy “wasn’t so gilded” for laborers and their families in the anthracite region (Orser 2012; Shackel and Roller 2012).

The National Park Service National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form for Anthracite-related Resources of Northeastern Pennsylvania (1997) lists a number of aspects of local history that contribute

significantly to national history. The region's contribution to the industrial revolution is duly noted, highlighting its role in "determin[ing] the timing and process of accelerated growth and institutional change in American manufacturing and mining" (Chandler 1972:179 quoted in NPS 1997:1). As an "inexpensive alternative to water power", the widespread availability of anthracite enabled the United States to lift a crucial energy constraint that had until then granted Great Britain a competitive advantage over American economic development. Serving the urban domestic market, anthracite allowed the expansion of urban areas by providing a major source of home heating. In providing "a locus for dreams of wealth and freedom", the unique character of life for workers and capitalists alike in the region is recognized (NPS 1997:2). The form also notes the role the region played in the development of industrial unions, noting that anthracite labor was among the first in the country to organize by industry. The authors obliquely reference the significance of the Lattimer Massacre in proposing that "events in the anthracite fields provided examples and lessons for labor organizers in other industries throughout the country" (NPS 1997: 2).

Almost as an afterthought, the authors of the National Register Nomination form attribute a further distinction to the region in suggesting that even with the decline of the industry after the First World War the region "continued to have national significance" by offering, "one of the nation's earliest examples of deindustrialization" (NPS 1997). This extended decline has left a ubiquitous social, economic, environmental and material atmosphere of ruination.

Abandoned buildings, derelict infrastructure and disfigured ecology from each era of economic development and consequent decline comeingle throughout the landscape: memorial residues of material pasts and broken dreams. Indeed this extended post-historic history is deeply present throughout the archaeological and ethnographic documentation giving texture and a sense of foreboding destiny to each and every memory and object excavated in the region.

Inequality and the First and Second Gilded Ages

Recently scholars, including many archaeologists, have argued that we are living amidst a Second Gilded Age (Graeber 2014; Jones 2014; Krugman 2014a; Orser 2012; Paynter 2012; Picketty 2014). Since the 1970s, wages and earnings for middle-income workers have flat-lined. For those in the lowest wage-earning bracket, their fraction of earnings has actually decreased in this span of time. During the same period of time the incomes of the top 1% have tripled (Inequality.org 2014). Economist Thomas Picketty (2014: 256) concludes that current inequality of income in the United States, "is probably higher than in any other society at any time in the past, anywhere in the world, including societies in which skill disparities were extremely large." The social consequences of inequality can be hard to predict, but some concrete material effects have been scientifically observed.⁴

Echoing Marx, economist Thomas Picketty's (2014) *Capital in the 21st Century* proposes that constant growth of returns on capital is in fact the central process ensuring the smooth functioning of capitalism. While some argue that his book lacks explanative power or structural critique, its strength lies in the manner

in which it retrospectively and radically revises the narrative of progress in the twentieth century (Graeber 2014a; Harvey 2014b)⁵. Picketty's analysis of economic data suggests that the inequality that marks today's society is not a crisis in capitalism but rather implies a return to the rate of capital accumulation it was designed to produce in the first Gilded Age. He proposes that the natural trajectory of capitalism, if unaltered by external, governmental, or circumstantial constraints, will continue to produce steadily increasing profits for the wealthy. In this analysis, the period of relative wealth and social progress that occurred in the middle of the twentieth century is solely the result of the circumstantial interventions and disruptions connected to the Great Depression, the response of the New Deal, and the two World Wars. If Picketty is correct, the future is bleak and will only get worse unless significant interventions in the redistribution of capital are enacted.

Considering the future, perhaps the greatest danger of inequality comes from within the circular and exponential logic of the process. Rising inequality will continuously undermine democratic order. In the process it will "automatically generat[e] arbitrary and unsustainable inequalities that radically undermine the meritocratic values on which democratic societies are based." (Picketty 2014:1) As inequality increases, Picketty warns, the power of an oligarchic hegemony of the wealthy will increasingly inhibit the possibility of a political intervention to halt or reverse this course (Krugman 2014; Mian et al. 2014; Porter 2014).

In a perhaps over determined conformity to Picketty's narrative of the twentieth century, steady decline came to the Anthracite region as early as the

period after the First World War, and accelerated precipitously following the Second. A second blow to the region came in the form of corporate disinvestment and decamping of the region's secondary industries including textile mills and other light manufacturing in the 1970s and 1980s following nationwide economic reorganization along the patterns of flexible accumulation (Bluestone & Harrison 1982; Cowie 1999; Harvey 1989). From the standpoint of civic life, economic decline has strained public resources for a region that has seen the few key sectors of employment and profit that once fueled its precipitous growth slowly disappear. By the 1960s, this decline in economic prospects led to the outmigration of younger residents. As a result, demographic change over the second half of the twentieth century reflects an increasingly ageing population of long-term residents.

In the face of the challenge of post-industrial decline, community efforts to create new business opportunities in the 1970s and 80s were nationally lauded (Aurand 1986; CAN DO 1974; Dublin and Licht 2005; Rose 1983). An organization by the name of CAN DO raised community funds to redevelop mining land on the periphery of town for industrial purposes. These efforts brought a variety of new jobs in light manufacturing and warehousing to the area. However, in conformity with patterns of neoliberal economy, town and state incentives to bring this business into town depended upon a pattern of low wages, tentative job security and a ten-year tax-free loophole for new businesses (Fleury-Steiner and Longazel 2010).

Recently, controversy has erupted over companies decamping when these leases are up. As a result, this new industry offers little to the city in the way of shared public resources, long term job security or substantial living wages. As occurs in many other post-industrial contexts, this situation has produced a tense social environment marked by resource competition in the region. Demand for these jobs, in combination with the low cost of living, drew immigrants from urban areas to the region beginning in the late 1990s. Many of these immigrants, originally from the Caribbean or Central America were being priced out of gentrifying housing markets in nearby New Jersey and New York City. Ironically, this situation is not new for the region. In fact, on a national scale the mining industry has a long history of tax evasion connected to absentee ownership and the ambiguity of mineral rights laws. Tax evasion and other aspects of economic domination practiced by coal companies often result in mining communities throughout history facing the consequences of a single-industry monopolization, a practice that leaves public coffers with insufficient funds for public services and limited economic alternatives other than mine work for town residents (Perry 1982; Lockard 1998:20).

Labor History

Undoubtedly there are similarities, both economic and social, between the crises of the two Gilded Ages (Orser 2012; Paynter 2012). Both historical eras are, arguably, moments of great wealth and social progress. Contradictorily, they are also marked by great income inequality, widespread unemployment and the marginalization of the most vulnerable. Economists, taking a historical view, note

the rise of financial interests into positions of power to restructure the economy to their advantage (Duménil and Lévy 2004; Picketty 2014). Gérard Duménil and Dominique Lévy (2004:150) note a crucial difference between the crises at the end of the nineteenth and the twentieth century:

....whereas the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth were periods of increasing social struggle and of the organization of labor, the last decades of the twentieth century were marked by important defeats, which led to the stagnation of both real wages and social protection.

In fact, the historical reality is not quite so simple. In fact, both periods saw considerable struggle and, ultimately, the response to the last crisis remains indeterminate. The class struggle that came at the end of the nineteenth century, were, in the first half of the twentieth century, punctuated by the hegemonic threats to the financial and political order presented by the Great Depression and the World Wars. This led to the formation of a compromise in the class struggle known as the “Keynesian compromise” (Duménil and Lévy 2004:210-211). As a piecemeal defeat or accommodation of working class struggle, it is characterized by the institutionalization of wage stability, a centralized State-organized apparatus of capital redistribution, and some degree of legal protection and institutional integration for labor organization in exchange for neutralization of the radical pursuit of the end of the last century. These conditions, Duménil and Lévy characterize as equal parts concession and repression (2004:147, 210-211). The rise of financial hegemony again in the late 1970s saw finance, with the support of the State, this compromise characterizing the development of capitalism as an endless cycle of shifting crises and reconstructions, in which “relatively stable or precarious social constructions are repeatedly established and destroyed”

(Duménil and Lévy:2004: 205). Indeed, major resistance also confronted Reagan, Thatcher, and other leaders of neoliberal economy when they sought the defeat of organized labor in the early twentieth centuries. These led to a series of crushing defeats beginning with the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) strike in 1981-1983. At the time the union was not prepared for the negative response they received from the media and the public, who quickly turned against their cause as an inconvenient disruption to daily life. The New York Times reported that, “The air controllers have no right to hold up the nation” (Dray 2010:630). Likewise, related airline industry unions refused to strike in sympathy (2010:632). The result, the firing of eleven thousand government employees by the Reagan administration was essentially a “strong, unambiguous message” to unions and the broader national public, “... that organized labor – unionism – was essentially incompatible with the emerging free-market philosophy of the administration” (Dray 2010:636). Similarly, strikes at Hormel Foods in 1985-1986 and Caterpillar in 1994 ended with little to challenge the diminishing status of workers.

More recently the passing of “Right to Work” legislation curtailing the power of organized labor in Indiana, Virginia, Michigan and Wisconsin suggests that the depredation of organized begun in the late 1970s is far from over. Despite the four recessions generated by nation’s financial lenient policies since the early 1980s, significant popular resistance or New Deal-like state interventions have materialized. Historical recognition of labor’s struggles may be crucial in structuring future and imminent responses to the current economic

crisis. As noted by Paul Shackel, while the story of American industrialism has been well documented in historic sites of national memory, the story of labor has often been left out, forgotten or suppressed (Shackel 2004, 2009; Smith et al. 2011). Being attentive to these stakes places the politically situated nature of collective memory and its corollary, forgetting, at the center of this study. Collective memory-loss is more than simply a symptomatic aspect of accelerating information-sharing within Late Capitalism. Scholars argue, rather, that forgetting is central to the maintenance of political trajectories and the stultification of the public's capacity to imagine alternatives (Connerton 2009; Giroux 2013; Gonzalez-Ruibal 2008; Huyssen 2003). Memory loss, specifically the concealment of the labor process, is central to the concept of reification as introduced by Marx and subtly elaborated upon by Lukács (Connerton 2009:43; Lukács 1971; Timke 2013). Reification implies the process whereby labor and the products that create the material world of capitalism are alienated from producers and the fundamental subjective realities of their everyday life. Instead objects, social relationships and the processes wherein work is conducted and objects produced take on an objective social quality that is distanced from an individual's life (Lukács 1971: 83-149; Marx 1978). As elaborated upon by Lukács, for an object or other quality within capitalism to successfully take on the character of a commodity, the historical processes that structured its creation need to be forgotten so that the commodity can accrue the new values of exchange and profit.

Though the processes that create our material world today (geographical, environmental, material, and human labor-intensive) are exaggerated by the ubiquitous spectacle of increasingly global mass consumerism, more than ever the processes of labor and work have receded from visibility and collective memory (Debord 1983; Shukaitis 2013). At its most structurally apparent, scholars suggest that the political ecology that most immediately influences the narrative constitution of social memory is greatly changed since the turn of the century, pointing to the growing corporate consolidation of education, politics, media and other forms of industry (Chomsky 1989; Giroux 2013; Herman and Chomsky 1988). Today, this hegemony threatens with the power of what Henry Giroux (2013) has termed the "disimagination machine". Through the "violence of organized forgetting", elites have gained the power to define the ideological givens underlying public debate. Giroux warns that:

America has become amnesiac - a country in which forms of historical, political, and moral forgetting are not only willfully practiced but celebrated. The United States has degenerated into a social order that... views critical thought as both a liability and a threat... Politicians... are symptomatic of a much more disturbing assault on critical thought, if not rational thinking itself [Giroux 2013].

Returning to the insight of Duménil and Lévy, neglecting to actively maintain the collective memory of labor history in the present produces a crucial aporia in the national narrative of the twentieth century. This may have grave implications. Scholars point to a 'crisis in criticism' today (Hickel and Khan 2012) citing a weak critical response to inequality from the radical left, once the source of mediating reforms to past crisis. Some attribute this loss not only to the dismantling of legal protections for workers in the 1980s but also the simultaneous defunding of left

academic work (Harvey 2014a:xii; Hickel and Khan 2012). As a result, critique of some commentators positing solutions to the crisis have only served to stabilize the current trajectory of capitalism or benefit financial regimes rather than raise the awareness of millions of Americans suffering from debt and poverty (Graeber 2014; Hickel and Khan 2012;).⁶

In fact, a discussion of organized labor's past victories and tragedies has largely disappeared from public discourse, just as it has remained largely unmemorialized on the American landscape (Little and Shackel 2013; Shackel 2009; Smith et al. 2011). In *The Archaeology of Labor and Working Class Life* (2009), Paul Shackel suggests that the typical telling of America's industrial past illustrates it as a sequence of technological accomplishments, industrial processes and rising global economic might. This narrative conceals the involvement and sacrifices of working class Americans and their families. The story of industry without labor is an ideological telling of this story, encouraging people to forget the "hard-won rights of workers to acquire better work conditions and a decent standard of living." (Shackel 2009:90). This is the case despite the rich documentation of working class organization and everyday life compiled by the discipline of labor history starting with John Commons at the University of Wisconsin-Madison in the first quarter of the twentieth century. Since the founding of the discipline, its practitioners have led an extended public intellectual debate on the role of class struggle, labor resistance, pluralist worker solidarity and everyday working-class life, placing these dynamic at the center of the narrative of American history *and the direction of its future*.

Early discussions of the role of labor in society began as early as the late nineteenth century as responses to Gilded Age political economy (Fink 1990, 1991; Fitzpatrick 1991). Arguing from middle class perspectives, early thinkers sought societal reform on a number of fronts. Labor-oriented progressive reform focused on issues such as radicalism, poverty, moral degradation, and immigrant worker competition (Fitzpatrick 1991; Palus and Shackel 2006; Shackel and Palus 2006; Smith 1991). In this period, discussions of the “labor problem” advocated for a variety of solutions with varying degrees of sympathy, support or critique for the treatment of workers within industrial capitalism (Guterl and Sqwiot 2005; Shackel and Paul 2006). In this literature, immigration and labor issues were considered inextricable, as the perceived moral and biological degeneracy of immigrant races was considered by some to be a threat to efforts at improving the lives and the moral stability of laboring classes (Bender 2009; Commons 1907; Warne 1904).

The school of labor history begun by Commons and his colleagues and students was focused largely on “movements, strikes, politics and institutions”, with a particular emphasis on labor unions (Brody 1993:5).⁷ This belief in the importance of organized movements empowered through democratic and pragmatic reform led Commons to work with federal institutions, establishing structural relationships between labor unions and the federal government during the later years of the Progressive era. As a result, it downplayed the radical politics that marked the tumultuous late nineteenth century reformers. Considered retrospectively, some suggest that the abandonment of radical

intellectualism signified the successes of industrial relations reform during the New Deal in making substantial changes to governmental structures (Fitzpatrick 1991:426- 427).⁸

The work of the Wisconsin school dominated labor history until the 1960's when a broader intellectual challenge was enacted against all of professional history in the form of the New Social history. This period saw the first stage in a major decline in union membership and the dismantling of the protections offered by unionism as fostered by the previous tradition of old labor reformers. Union membership as a percentage of workers peaked in 1954 with 28.6 percent of all workers belonging to one or another union (Mayer 2004:12). While the overall peak of union membership in the U.S. was in 1979 with 21 million, as a percentage of total workers, the number of workers represented by a union began a rapid decline starting in the 1950s (Bernasek 2015; Mayer 2004). Today the number is down to 11.1 percent (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2015). As a percentage of these statistics private sector unions have particularly suffered in recent years, making up 6.6 percent of union membership down from 24.2 percent in 1973 (Bernasek 2015).

These failures contributed to the grave disenchantment of the next generation of historians with the validity of the claims made by the Wisconsin school and the centrality it placed over the study of organizations. The growth of political and intellectual movements devoted to radical politics and the empowerment of minority groups including Civil Rights, the American Indian movement and Feminist movements influenced the establishment of a new social

history influenced by identity politics, post-Structuralist critique, social sciences and European schools of social history (Shackel 2009:4). The New Labor history deemphasized the mechanics of political and economic institutions, refocusing its attention on the cultural lives of working class people both within and outside of the collective political movements that occupied the attention of labor history until this point. British social historians including E.P. Thompson, Eric Hobsbawm and Gwyn Williams had a profound effect on the American New Labor historians in their use of social science, taking into account the everyday lives of workers and their families as actors within the broader drama of history. The Marxist influenced *Annales* School of France, including historians such as Marc Bloch, Lucien Febvre, and Fernand Braudel also provide a reference, emphasizing an approach to social history that considered localities in the context of broad history across a long duration. Influenced by currents of structuralism popular in French intellectual circles of the time, Annales history takes as a foundation the belief that society must be understood as a totality (Bloch 1966, Braudel 1982; Kinser 1981). For social historians, the pursuit of such a totality implied a trend towards the microhistorical or holistic study of working class community life (Gerstle 2002: xii). These thinkers would offer new labor historians “the possibility of integrating intellectual history with social and economic (materialist) history. In this, it provided historians with an opportunity to restore ‘the wholeness that is essential to human nature’ to the center of the historical discipline in this country” (Dubofsky 1977:251).

Works such as Herbert Gutman's essay collection *Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America* (1977), David Montgomery's *Worker's Control in America* (1979) and numerous writings of David Brody, John Bodnar and Melvyn Dubofsky explored the role of American labor and the working class in American history. Gutman's writings, in particular, examine the role of beliefs and rituals in working class life, the transformation of social structures by industrial capitalism and the role of social unrest in preserving preindustrial beliefs on the part of laborers. Diversity and pluralism, aspects that more generally define the new social history, are present in Gutman's work in his collection and comparison of immigrant work cultures, describing even how the manner of protest and resistance took on an ethnic flavor.

More broadly, the New Labor historians sought to examine "the ways in which the behavior of working people affected the development of the larger culture and society in which they lived" (Gutman: 1977a:xii) as opposed to the top-down examination of the ways societal structures altered the lives of working people. In their depictions of the agency of working people they offer examples of resistance and radicalism by the working class outside the traditional venues of organized labor and strikes, illustrating the difficulties industrial capitalists faced in the early nineteenth century in their efforts to force a new social structure and work discipline onto skilled and unskilled workers. Furthermore, New Labor scholarship highlights the role of distinct working class subcultures in their resistance to the homogenizing effects of industrial and nativizing culture, carried

along with foreign-born workers or preserved from preindustrial patterns of behavior throughout this time period.

In *Taking History to Heart* (2000) labor historian James Green points to important lessons that have come out of the New Labor history. In eschewing a focus on the organizational politics, the new social historians illuminated forms of social affinity that linked worker's movements together in the past. In past scholarship, he suggests, forms of collective identity associated with "race, gender, religious and national loyalty, ethnicity and sexuality" were seen as "obstacles to unity, as wedges that divided working-class people and prevented them from attaining a true consciousness of their common lot" (Green 2000:20). Green goes on to suggest that understanding how these collective affinities functioned in the past can help present efforts to organize resistance and overcome the "enduring tensions" that have weakened or fractured the labor movement in the past: "the separation of workplace from community struggles... the tension between participatory democracy and organizational stability, and the conflict between economic self-interest and an altruistic sense of social justice and the common good" (2000:20).

Beginning in the late 1970s, with a growing decline in institutional support for labor history programs in the United States and pursuant of interdisciplinary, theoretical, and methodological eclecticism stemming from post-structural and culture-based studies, scholars trained in labor history began to produce scholarship on subjects at the thematic interstices between traditional Marxist approaches to class-struggle and cultural history. George Lipsitz, in a moving

autobiographical preface to *Time Passages: Collective Memory and American Popular Culture* (1990), recounts the intersection of personal, disciplinary and political history that drove him to pursue scholarship in the critical study of American popular culture:

My graduate research focused on labor history at precisely the time when deindustrialization and political reaction devastated the constituencies most interested in that subject. My deepest personal and professional commitments connected me to scholarship and social change at a moment [the late 1970s- 1980s] when anti-intellectualism and materialism dominated American Culture and politics. In my teaching and writing, I too often seemed to be delivering the wrong message to the wrong audience at the wrong time [1990: ix].

Within the last thirty years scholars trained in labor history have spanned disciplinary boundaries, producing work expanding the class-based foundation of labor studies to explore themes such as racialization and interracial relations (Barrett and Roediger 1997; Berlin 1975, 1998; Ignatiev 1996; Jones 2013; Painter 1989; Roediger 1999, 2005; Roediger and Esch 2012), nationalism and citizenship (Gerstle 2002), the growth of the Middle Class (Blumin 1989; Beckert 2003; Rosenbaum and Beckert 2010), popular culture (Susman 1984; Ewen; Ewen and Ewen 1982; Levine 1992, Lipsitz 1990), mass consumption (Cohen 2003), feminism and women's history (Kessler-Harris 1981, 1982, 1990, 2007), transnational and pluralist histories (Fink 2011; Greene 2009; Parrenas 2001) and a number of other fields that broaden the scope of both the Old and New Labor history.

Labor archaeology, informed by the successes and shortcomings of the discipline of labor history, has the power to bring the past into the present to problematize the linearity of strictly political and teleological motivations that

structure dominant historical narratives. When placed into the context of the history of labor, archaeology challenges the determinism and inevitability implied by the return of Gilded Age capitalism and inequality. Rather, it highlights the politics inherent in everyday life and the everyday inherent in politics. Such is the case in the shantytown of Pardeesville when we confront landscapes, architecture, sewage lines, and backyard waste in juxtaposition with bullets from the massacre.

Sovereignty, Governmentality and the Migrant

Previous work in critical archaeology has elaborated upon the production of individual subjectivities and broader scales of political or economic structuration in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Leone 2005, Leone and Shackel 1987, Matthews 2009, Shackel 1993). Drawing mainly from the early work of Foucault (1972, 1977, 1980, 1990) and Althusser (1971, 2005), these studies propose that materiality plays an active role in structuring the discipline and complicity of subjects in society. In essence the broadest scale of political economy can be said to be directly implicated with the individual subject by a relationship of both the formation and compliance of subjectivities. These theorizations were appropriate to the historical context of the work, as the primary aim of Foucault's work at the time was to produce a genealogical deconstruction of Enlightenment ideology. Foucault's later work, including the lectures on *Security, Territory, Population* (2009) and *The Birth of Biopolitics* (2008) given at the Collège de France between 1977 and 1979 pointed towards a new project he had only just begun before his death in 1984. In this work he

began to examine the development of a very different kind of justificatory state power that developed at the end of this period, from the “territorial State’ to the ‘State of population’ (Agamben 1998:3) and manifested in the concepts of *governmentality* and *biopolitics*. It seems clear that Foucault was pointing towards the ironic culmination of these developments in the coexistence of catastrophic genocide and governmental cultivation that characterizes the twentieth century (Hobsbawm 1994). In their ubiquity as organizing principles of the material and political world of the era, the concepts of governmentality and biopolitics are vastly appropriate frames to understand the archaeology of the twentieth century (Palus 2010: 22-23).

On the other hand, Foucault was never clear about the chronological or jurisdictional relationship between the rationalized institution of governmentality and the more ancient and tautological force of *sovereignty*, the reasoning by which states rule over the biological life and death (Agamben 1998, Butler 2004). In the history that follows, both seem to play a role in defining subjects throughout the century, who both *act out* and *act within* the particular vectors of governmental and sovereign law. Such a theoretical position makes legible the contradictory histories of the century. Moreover, it allows us to account for the eruption today of sovereign violence that can seem all too ubiquitous in the form of unlawful police suppression, nationalist clashes, clandestine military assassinations and radical anti-immigrant measures. For a history that centers around the massacre perpetrated because the victims were considered less than human, this is both a beginning and an ending.

The implication and workings of “the Law” as evoked by Kafka in the parable that opens this chapter can be conceptualized by examining the exercise of *sovereignty* and *governmentality*. Viewed through these modes of power, the history of the century is emptied of the narratives of grand ideological clashes, binary oppositions, particularities and actors that traditionally define readings of the century. Instead, this reconceptualization focuses analytical inquiry to the ontological effects of depoliticized rational administration and the penetration of financial logic into everyday life. Agamben (1998: 121) advises that opening up the history of the twentieth century with such an idea begins with observing the “contiguity between mass democracy and totalitarian states”:

It is almost as if, starting from a certain point, every decisive political event were double sided: the spaces, the liberties, and the rights won by individuals in their conflicts with central powers always simultaneously prepared a tacit but increasing inscription of individuals’ lives within the state order, thus offering a new and more dreadful foundation for the very sovereign power from which they wanted liberation.

In *Homo Sacer* (Agamben 1998) the implication of “the Law” defined by sovereignty is intrinsically spatial in its capacity to define boundaries and borders, an act that simultaneously involves exclusion and inclusion. For nation states this includes the definition of those both within and without their boundaries. For the purpose of this discussion, *Borders* refers to both the physical and ideological limits defining political entities (Alvarez 1995; Fassin 2011). *Boundaries*, on the other hand, refer to the rather more anthropological definition of social divisions defining race, ethnicity, community and other social groupings (Fassin 2011; Lamont and Molnar 2002). Historically-defined processes of identification described above such as racialization are included within this category. Violence

is at the center of sovereignty, though it is most often concealed by ideology, for "the origin of sovereign power is...fundamentally premised on the capacity and the will to decide on life and death, the capacity to visit excessive violence on those declared enemies or undesirables" (Hansen and Stepputat 2006:301).

If sovereignty is the beginning and the end of rule, its justification and everyday operation can be understood through the notion of biopolitics and governmentality. Foucault first defined the notion of biopolitics in his work in the late 1970, referring to the manner in which power is inflected upon "...the species body, the body imbued with the mechanics of life and serving as the basis of biological processes: propagation, births and mortality, the level of health, life expectancy and longevity...." (Foucault 1990:139). As opposed to explicit displays of power, governmentality, "addresses the historical specificities of government, its style, its premises, and its instrumentation" (Palus 2010: 5). The goal of governmentality is that of security, not domination or coercion. This, however, does not preclude an exercise of power. Through the adoption of mentalities of rational organization and welfare, populations make their own lives securely fashioned in a way that, nonetheless, consolidates the power of government and capital (Foucault 2009, de Boever 2009).

Agamben proposes that the subject defined through governmentality and sovereignty is the figure of *homo sacer* or *bare life*, defined as the raw biopolitical subject upon which power acts. The figure of bare life embodies a kind of raw human identity, an exceptional characterlessness occupying the contradictory position of defining the boundaries of belonging for the nation. In classical

models of sovereignty, it serves as a kind of foil for the monarch, an exceptional force outside of law, but by whom the law is given shape and direction. In regards to the categories of bare life, the subject of sovereign and governmental power, the threat is that we become *merely* synonymous with what is *merely* alive within us in the eyes of the state and capital.

Agamben (1998) cites the mid-twentieth century analysis of totalitarianism by Hannah Arendt in suggesting that the figures of bare life in late modernity are defined by those who fall between the cracks of a world defined entirely by the interlocking territory of state sovereignty. During and after the Second World War, the atrocities and protections perpetrated by totalitarian regimes were recognized to be catastrophes culminating out of the intermingled growth of Late Modernity, industrial capitalism and the nation-state. Hannah Arendt suggests that the flood of war refugees during the war, adrift and shorn of the protections of national belonging, represented an existential threat to the notion of the nation-state as the sole ordering force (Agamben 1998; Arendt 1958). Nations were, “for the first time confronted with people who had indeed lost all other qualities and specific relationships- except that they were still human” (Arendt 1958:299). Through their encounter with the flood of wartime refugees across borders, an international discourse regarding universal rights of humankind was born, inspired by the search for a quality in the human condition that exists outside of the definitions furnished by state sovereignty (Agamben 1998; 126-135; Arendt 1994 [1943]).

If migrants already signaled exceptional biopolitical subjectivity on the margins of the nation state, the proletariat represents another form of disarticulated precarious agent cast adrift with the dissolution of classical forms of power. Marx, whose study of political economy greatly inspired the work of Foucault in interrogating the role of governance in late liberal democratic Capitalism, anticipated the condition of alienated subjectivities in his analysis of primitive accumulation (de Boever 2009). In his early essays, Marx describes the process of the proletarianization of peasants emancipated from the feudal system as a class of *vogelfrei*, literally those “free as a bird”. Translated as such, this translation seems to resonate with a notion of the conclusion of feudal arrangements as an *emancipation*. However, understood within Marxist history, the trajectory for European peasantry out of feudal systems went from bad-to-bad as emancipated families were “freed” to sell their bodily energies into industrial labor. A reckoning of such an interpretation with the pessimism of Marx’s work suggests a rather more complicated, and compelling, understanding of the concept of *vogelfrei*, one with a close relationship to the concept of *bare life* outlined by Agamben (de Boever 2009). Marx’s use of the term “vogelfrei” takes on a double meaning, better translated as “the outlawed” or “those whose bodies cannot be buried but rather are left outside to be picked by the birds”. The emancipated were freed, yes, unburdened, yes, but also left to vulnerability and precarity, always in hope for the promised “forty acres and a mule” (de Boever 2009).

Walter Benjamin warned in his "Theses on History" (1970:259) of a permanent "state of emergency" that is "not the exception but the rule". Benjamin observed that the totalitarianism of his day arose not out of contingency, but in the name of historical progress. Ironically today, the transnational movement and inevitable clash of peoples, ideologies, power and materials have prompted a return to *sovereignty* as the main means by which the power of the state is "vitalized" in our society (Butler 2004:52). Judith Butler argues that with the practice of *indefinite detention* used to control issues of homeland security, undocumented border crossings, and terror suspects, the exercise of a coercive sovereignty by the State, sometimes allied with corporations, is manifested by the power, "to suspend national and international law in the name of national security or a national emergency" (de Boever 2009: 261). This change prompts a new urgency in the dialogue concerning human rights. In a general sense, an understanding of the chronological evolution of sovereignty to governmentality is, perhaps, an artifactual misreading of Marxian determinism. Foucault did in fact recognize that sovereignty and governmentality coexisted, but he did not specify how. He only suggested that the reemergence of sovereignty as a central vitalization of state power can occur in a reanimated anachronistic form in a state of emergency (Butler 2004:54). Butler proposes that the reemergence of sovereignty has arrived in a different form today. In the past, sovereignty operated as a focusing force for States, moored to tradition and law. Today, she proposes that it emerges unmoored from this focus, emerging instead from "within the field of governmentality" itself. As a result, it produces petty

sovereigns, unelected bureaucrats each endowed with the power of the state, “mobilized by aims and tactics of power they do not inaugurate or fully control... ‘rogue’ power par excellence” (2004:56). Following the crisis of 9/11, scholars have taken up the work of Agamben to analyze the spread of new spaces and policies of the global security state such as the Guantanamo Bay detention facility, CIA “Black Sites”, and new border enforcement policies (Ek 2006; Federman and Holmes 2011). Exercises of discreet coercive power and violence today require an analysis that integrates sovereignty with “softer” forms of power manifested in governmentality (Butler 2004, de Boever 2009).

Thomas Picketty (2014) suggests that the recent financial crisis and rising income inequality today have put the very structures of democracy at risk. In doing so he links the realms of capitalism and state sovereignty. Moreover, he repositions the dangers of inequality as amounting to the possibility of a world ruled by a financial oligarchy ossified into an immobile political system. Such a system resembles what Agamben proposes when he suggests that “...the ‘state of emergency’ in which we live is not the exception but the rule.” (Benjamin 1970) The “state of emergency” elevated to rule implies not the elimination of contradiction by the cancellation of the boundaries between the excluded and those included, but by a state of exemption that has become extended to everyone.

Migration, Modernity and Memory: The Archaeology of an Anthracite Patch Town

In this dissertation I ask questions that cannot be explained solely based upon textual sources, progressive teleological narratives or through celebratory labor histories. The initial chapter (**Chapter 2**) provides background context on the developments of migration and industrialization in the anthracite region. The chapters that follow apply memory-making procedures reliant upon the particular characteristics of archaeological evidence to produce new tellings of materials and histories. Scholars cite the strengths of an archaeological epistemology through four major aspects: the critical capacity to introduce complexity, nuance and alternative perspectives to conventional narratives (Mayne 2008; Hodder 1991; Shanks and Hodder), the systematic appraisal of alternative, suppressed, marginalized or forgotten material life outside of ideological or documented reckoning (Dawdy 2010; Hicks and Beaudry 2006; Leone 2005; Leone et al. 1995; Little 1994) and the capacity to develop new kinds of questions and answers through the linkages it creates between material culture, documents, social theory and oral sources (Little 1992, 1994; Orser 1996b). When combined with ethnography or other forms of public or present-oriented critical engagement, archaeology can produce new histories responsive to the exigencies of politics on a local or national level (Leone et al. 1987; Shackel and Chambers 2004; Shackel and Gadsby 2011). Lastly, I propose that with its primary evidence derived from waste, ruins, redundancy, enjoyment, destruction and residue accumulated over time, archaeological tellings of history recognize these aspects not simply for their contingency, but their centrality within capitalist

social life across the passage of time. I propose in this dissertation that in combination with social theory, archaeology can particularly contribute to a nuanced understanding of mid-to-late twentieth century political economy, much neglected in past research. In the discussion below, I will address how aspects of archaeological epistemology contribute to the history related in each of the five core chapters (Chapters 3 - 7) of the dissertation.

Chapter 3 describes the context of the history immediately leading up to the Lattimer Massacre, a recounting of the event as recorded in textual sources and the trial that followed. This history is followed by an account of the archaeological survey conducted in the autumn of 2011 with the members of BRAVO (Battlefield Research and Volunteer Organization) of Monmouth, New Jersey. The archaeological account of the Lattimer Massacre described in this chapter exemplifies the capacity for archaeological evidence to be simultaneously both concrete and ambiguous. The recovered bullets reveal, on the one hand, the ambiguity regarding the individually resolute and yet broadly divergent textual accounts of the event. On the other hand, archaeology, with its focus on materiality, as opposed to discourse-centered evidence, has the ability to manifest redemptive and therapeutic powers through its materializing of suppressed or unpleasant histories. Postprocessual and self-reflexive critical archaeologies are attentive to the performative aspects of archaeological process. Buchli and Lucas suggest that the strength of archaeology is in:

...making the invisible visible, prescencing that which is absent or creatively constituting that which previously was inconstitutable, literally bringing into being and constituting a material culture when

there had been none before, and thereby expanding the scope of discursive culture [Buchli and Lucas 2001: 15].

Archaeology as such constitutes a creative process.

Archaeology is perhaps of its greatest value when confronting aspects of the past that are suppressed for being difficult, unpleasant or ideologically subversive. Recent archaeological work has examined the unpleasant parts of the story of labor including violent conflict, impoverishment, and harsh living conditions (Brighton 2008; Duke and Saitta 1998; Ludlow Collective 2001; Saitta 2007; Nida and Adkins 2011). When conducted in the context of ethnographic of community-based study, archaeology can be used to inform and to elicit recollection, reflection and action on the part of the public. In turn this exercise feeds back to the researchers engagement with communities and materials. The result is always an enhancement of the depth, sensitivity and richness of the research. Thinking along these lines, the scholars investigating the Ludlow Massacre suggest that their exploration of the 1914 event “made it news” again; in turn they proceed by asking new questions of past and present by bringing them into juxtaposition (Ludlow Collective 2001).

The research events recounted in this chapter served three roles for the project, each of which engages and intercedes in the memory of the event. First, it produced an archaeological account of the event, one that interacted with the textual evidence in new ways. Second, it provided a space and a new language to confront the difficult and unpleasant history of the region with local communities. This, in turn, developed a community of interest that became

integral to the research that followed. Thirdly, it contributed to a resurgent interest in the nearly forgotten event.

Chapter 4 examines the structural and representational violence underpinning the explicit subjective violence of the massacre. Using Žižek's formulation of symbolic, objective and subjective forms of violence, the rhetorical peripheralization of new immigrant labor in textual accounts is matched up with the marginalization of racialized populations in the built environment. The result is a richer understanding of both the texts and the social tensions structured by the material configurations. Specifically, the chapter outlines the history of migration to the region, explicating the material and spatial factors creating and maintained the racialized labor hierarchy (Orser 2004; 2007:30). The chapter recounts chronology of the early development of the Lattimer company towns in the context of national developments in political economy. Map analysis reveals the development of settlements of irregularly shaped and tightly packed Italian enclaves on the periphery of the company housing beginning around 1880. The organic floor plans and the proximity of the structures reflect intimate communal spaces strikingly at odds with the linear planning of the company homes. Archaeological evidence from field excavations at two separate shanty towns sites, one in Lattimer and the other in Pardeesville are examined in combination with a broad spatial analysis of the town. The excavations at Canal Street in Lattimer provide evidence of a dynamic forgotten shanty architecture racialized in historical accounts as filthy, primitive, and indicative of the stagnant biological inferiority of New Immigrant occupants. Excavation revealed reflexive and

resourceful efforts by the occupants and the community to collectively survive abysmal working and living conditions.

This chapter draws from critical archaeologies concerned with the broad context of global capitalist growth, a theme that unifies localized or situated forms of identity as constructed within historical processes that reproduce an international division of labor (Leone 1999; McGuire 2002; Orser 1996). In an essay proposing the value of critical theory to historical archaeology, Mark Leone, Parker Potter and Paul Shackel (1987:284) propose that:

Ideology, presupposing as it does contradiction, potential conflict, or periodic violence in society, is part of a set of assumptions that may be strongly at odds with the finished products of functionalism, systems theory, and much of ecological theory. The concern is not smooth functioning per se but how conflict and contradiction are masked or naturalized.

This quote highlights the complex relationship between the threat of violence and the role of ideological domination, one of presupposition or preemption. Critical theory in archaeology is used to examine political-economic, ideological, and social histories through material life, highlighting the interdependence between capitalist political-economic relations, ideological systems, material culture, and landscapes (Sayers 2003). This research suggests that the powers inherent in social relations are modulated by, and therefore manifested in, built environments, architectural styles, and artifacts and assemblages. Offering an example of how materiality can veil, manipulate or maintain hegemonic structures, Randall McGuire (2002:105) writes:

The patterning of material culture gives reality to social structure, but that reality may, in fact, misrepresent the social structure. It may serve to reinforce and reproduce beliefs that mask power and domination

from the people of a society. In this way, material culture becomes a vehicle for domination.

The notion that material culture has a direct relationship with the nature of social relations, and that this relationship both affects and is affected by these relationships, has significant ramifications for the study of material culture (Beaudry et al. 1991; Little and Shackel 1992). The ideological effects of material culture can range from explicit domination to subtle mystification.

The chapter concludes that these ethnic enclaves mark out new spaces of exception in the landscape of the town. Their only counterpart in breaking the relentless homogeneity of the town are the homes of management on Quality Road, located on an opposite hillside across the strippings. In effect this arrangement materializes ownership's new dependence upon exception, the new ethnic surplus labor pools, to capitalize upon the exigencies of economic depression, stiff competition, and an increasingly organized craft labor force.

Chapter 5 examines the rise of mass consumerism in a national context as well as its materialization in the local community. The chapter outlines a context for the rise of the mass consumerism of the latter half of the 20th century beginning with structural changes in political economy following the First World War. Specifically, the chapter connects the efforts of industrialists and social scientists concerned with the suppression of radical behavior in their development of Fordist consumer democracy. The archaeological evidence used in the chapter comes from privy deposits and yard scatter from the yards of a shanty in Pardeesville, excavated during the summer of 2013. These findings lead to a multiscalar analysis examining the implications of mass consumerism

for the class positions of these most prototypical of producers, immigrant laborers and their families.

With its ability to connect the everyday life of households and communities with the broader scale of ideological and political-economic structures, archaeology can draw connections between irreducible social constructs and their quotidian manifestations (Beaudry 2006; De Cunzio and Ernst 2006; Mayne 2008:105). As such, excavating and interpreting consumer waste from the households of these most prototypical and precarious of producers serves to unfamiliarize everyday objects, creating new realms of discourse. A critical approach to the material history of landscape, consumer goods and other objects excavated from worksites, domestic spaces and other sites can illuminate historical relationships between laboring classes and the broader material and social world shared throughout the political economy of the industrial era. Rather than an exploration of merely the physical remains of industry, labor archaeology examines the concept of labor as a “site of social struggle” (McGuire and Reckner 2002; Shackel 2004). In this sense, labor is “a shared, yet multiply interpreted experience” (Silliman 2006:149) that involves not just those who labor, but also those who structure and impose control over those conditions. Chapter 5 concludes by offering examples of an archaeology of mass consumerism of the mid-to late twentieth century. Through the schematic classification of the artifacts of the period developed here, a rich material and theoretical context is provided to guide the analysis of comparative assemblages from the period.

Archaeology takes notice of materially-enunciated aspects of identity formation, resistance, and cultural change that can easily escape the documentary record. Perhaps owing to their relative independence from the written record, archaeologists are permitted a degree of tactical innovation when it comes to textual sources. Anthropological archaeologists can *poach* rather than *consume* the information in a text, treating them as a material object: not simply as sources of information nor as subjects of study but multifaceted objects interacting within a shifting assemblage of objects, bodies and ideologies. **Chapter 6** takes up the changing spatial landscape explored first in Chapter 4, in a much changed political and economic environment. By the late 1930s, the anthracite coal industry was in decline. By 1938 the company divested itself of the company homes and the property below the shanty enclave. This is a period of emancipation for the town accompanied by the development of new forms of identification, a migration of a different sort than that covered in previous chapters. Attention to the material record suggests that this emancipation from industrial control signaled the development of new forms of collectively-organized communal improvements, though the archaeology also suggests that the intersection of contemporary subjectivity and space such as aspects of privacy, ownership and differentiation also begin to take hold in this period.

Through a focus on material life, archaeology takes a bottom-up perspective of practice, identity and subjectivation. Such an approach can shed new light on broad ideological scales by shifting an analytical perspective to center on the apparent periphery. For example, archaeological perspectives of

commodities can examine capitalism from the perspective of producers, nationalism from the perspective of migrants, or other systems of power and identification from the oppressed or marginalized. In the process, the objects of archaeological inquiry materialize, in fine grain, aspects of history otherwise invisible to historical or theoretical inquiry.

The subtle spatial and temporal control exercised by archaeological methods can add new dimensions to understanding change across time and across and within social boundaries. An archaeological temporality attentive to the continuous ruptures and continuities of landscape and materiality defines the boundaries of the research subject. In this case, the unbroken material record stretching from the nineteenth century to the present presents the possibility of answering questions that might otherwise not be asked: “What happens to a company town when it is no longer a company town?”

Through the linkages it creates between material culture, documents, and oral sources, anthropologically informed archaeology can create a foundation from which to formulate new kinds of questions and interpretations of social and material relationships (Little 1994; Mayne 2008; Shackel and Gadsby 2011). Several planning documents connected to redevelopment efforts of the last quarter of the twentieth century are examined in **Chapter 7**. The implications of the planning documents, which refer to the engineering of the material landscape of the region for the purpose of deterritorialization and commodification, are made legible only when analyzed in the context of a chronology of landscape changes established in the preceding chapters of the dissertation. Read through this

archaeological context, the author's efforts at engineering the social life of the patch town, essentially governmentalizing the everyday life of the region, is made clear. The techniques of enforcement codified in the text are revealed to specifically target the erasure of material practices, landscapes and relationships that served to define and protect the community through its early history.

Conclusion

The approach to the past applied in this dissertation is a direct reflection of archaeological modes of exploring the past. Archaeological methods demand that every examination of a past era include, even if just in passing, the recognition of post-, and sometimes, pre-, depositional temporalities, materials, and activities. Even if not considered the subject of inquiry, these contexts can be the key to a site's interpretation. In this way, archaeological evidence can, all at once, introduce ambiguity, complexity or concision to a reading of history. The historicizing of immigrant life in a company town of the anthracite region in these seven chapters are presented as a stratigraphic affair. Ruptures in the documentary record are sutured by continuities in the archaeological, and vice versa. By rooting this telling in commodities, ruins, and landscapes, each of which are entangled in broader theoretical constructs of migration, modernity and memory, a schematic material history of the twentieth century is archaeologically rendered.

The contradictions of the twentieth century become patently visible if we adjust our perspective and challenge the narratives of progressive history and victorious capitalism. The irony of the era is that it is both one of great social and

material progress, human achievement, and communal growth, while also marked by great inequality, violence, social fragmentation and melancholic nostalgia (Hobsbawm 1994). Today, after nearly a decade of crippling economic recession that has only served to expand economic inequality, it is the vulnerable that will suffer most deeply. This includes new immigrants, the working class, the elderly, and the very young who suffer under the burden of instability, vulnerability and debt. As “one of the crucial sites where democratic states are put to the test” (Fassin 2011:218), the treatment of immigrants in the past and present is telling of what future policies will bring. The story of the Lattimer Massacre and the microhistorical trajectory of migrant labor in the anthracite region, rendered through archaeology, can serve as a perfect material prism to develop a nuanced historicity of political economy of the twentieth century.

CHAPTER 2

History of the Anthracite Region, 1830 to 1897

“If we sum up briefly the results of the work in the mines, we find....that through prolonged childhood on the one hand and premature age on the other, that period of life in which the human being is in full possession of his powers, the period of manhood, is greatly shortened while the life in general is below average. This, too, on the debit side of the bourgeoisie’s reckoning!”

[Engels 1969:273]

In 1844 Friedrich Engels reported on the working class in England. At this time he travelled to Northern England to survey living and working conditions in the coal mining industry, reporting on the *cottage* and *trucking* systems that bound miners and their families in debt to company housing and credit. It was at this time that he wrote the powerful summation written above. It is possible some of the same workers surveyed by Engels would move to the Anthracite region of Pennsylvania, unfortunately meeting similar working and living conditions. The class structures of the industrial era were, after all, transnational, and crossing borders provided only a change of scenery and perhaps the diversity of new neighbors.

Like the twisted, capricious geology of the coal seams at its center, the industrial history of the Anthracite region of northeast Pennsylvania has great complexity compressed into its relatively short history. More than simply metaphorical, the twisted materiality of the region’s geology contributes an entangling complexity to capitalist social industrial relations. Marked by a

constant movement of people, capital, politics, and materials, the region's isolated setting serves as both a conduit and obstacle for its turbulent relationship to metropolitan, national and global developments such as industrialization, transnational migration, worker proletarianization and organization, modernity, the rise of mass culture and deindustrialization. More than any other dynamic, the tense relationship between capital and labor consistently mediates the relationship between the region and the outside world. The constant migration of people in and out of the region guaranteed the actants in each era would be different. The memories of victories and tragedies of labor struggle, such as the Lattimer Massacre, each prove to be ephemeral or subject to reinvention, challenge or fall victim to the vicissitudes or determinants of collective memory and forgetting.

Nationally significant aspects of the region's history include its prominent role in American industrial advancement, the pioneering role it played in the development of industrial unionization, the rich localized manifestation of American immigration throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the unique and particular landscapes and lifeworlds developed by the industrial and the cultural worlds of industry, capital, worker and immigrant. Finally, the region is significant for the early example it provides of American deindustrialization (NPS 1997). The slow decline of the region, far from signaling a momentary lapse in progress, has deeply affected the social life, politics, landscape, demographics, and material life of the region; arguably more than the era of rapid industrialization ever did. Like the era of industrialization, a nuanced microhistory

of the period of decline reveals the degree to which deindustrialization reflects the shifting ideological territory of global capitalism just as much as any temporal-spatial instance of advancement.

Industrialization and Anthracite

The industrial revolution produced a material world that seemed to have no boundaries. On the one hand, technological achievements produced in industrial capitalism what seemed a mastery of matter, time and space. A feedback relationship between the pursuit of temporal consistency and efficiency, material transformation, energy production, and the contraction of space produced in total an acceleration of the pace of manufacturing for which no barriers seemed to exist. Consistent and efficient sources of energy such as steam and electricity replaced or augmented that of wood, water and human labor. This led to the concentration of manufacturing in large scale facilities such as factories.

These material transformations seem, on one level, to manufacture a world of efficiency, predictability, and plenty. On closer examination, this surface was phantasmagorical. By the latter end of the nineteenth century author Mark Twain and Charles Dudley (1873) would dub their era “the Gilded Age”, implying that the surface-thin veneer of advancement concealed a baser metal in construction. Twain, along with Progressives drawn from a growing middle class, astutely perceived the toll industrial mechanization wrought on the nation’s workers in the form of inequality, systemic violence, hierarchy the undermining of democracy as well as the destruction of the natural environment. In this reading,

industrialization is significant more as a social transformation than a material one. At that, it was one with an uneven distribution of effects.

Coal is the “mucky material bottom” of the energy, light and movement underwriting the material, social and economic constellation of modernity (Arnold 2014: 266-267). For the coal industry the material transformations of industrialization and modernity stand in frank juxtaposition to the violent and dehumanizing social aspects of the industry. In fact, in the turbulent development of the coal industry, from the dirty, inefficient and potentially lethal labor processes of extraction, one can perceive the flipside of Gilded Age optimism (Johnson 2010, Arnold 2014).

Chandler (1972) asserts that anthracite coal provided the key factor jumpstarting American industrial expansion. Until the late 1830s, the U.S. lagged far behind British developments, partially for lack of efficient, centralized sources of energy. Providing a dependable, inexpensive, powerful source of energy relatively close to the metropolitan northeast, domestic production of coal weaned American dependence on expensive foreign imports of coal. Consequently, iron and steel production soared, which until the 1830s was frequently produced in small quantities in isolated areas where iron ore, trees for the production of charcoal and water coincided in plentiful supply (Chandler 1972: 146-147, 159). The production of high quality domestic steel, in turn, accelerated the production of durable and efficient machinery (Chandler 1972: 146, 165-174) and a new steel-based industrial landscape, material culture and architectural form. The elements of steel and steam, produced by coal, came

together in perhaps the most important development of the period, the railroad network, which in turn served to transport raw materials such as coal, ore and wood into industrial centers and finished products to a growing national market (Arnold 2014; Cronan 1991; Schivelbusch 1977).

The rise of mass manufacturing characterized by urbanized, mechanized segmented labor processes can be attributed to the inexpensive, predictable physical qualities of the energy source provided by coal. In the case of the proletarianization of labor and their submission to mechanization processes, Arnold (2014) asserts that capitalists and managers took advantage of the predictability and intensity of the energy produced from coal to compress production schedules and deskill work. "In this sense," he suggests "it was coal that enabled managers to strip craftsmen of their status; coal freed intellectuals and corporate managers to embrace the seemingly more certain science of abstract economic theory over the seemingly less certain alchemy of democratic politics...coal helped shift the nation...to a faster paced, more dynamic, modern society." (Arnold 2014:2) In essence, the material changes brought on by coal, specifically anthracite during the first half of the nineteenth century, produced the technological conditions producing class division within capitalism. The segmenting of work regimens into deskilled processes reinforced the divisions between wage laborers, managers and monopolistic wealth (Chandler 1972: 177-178).

Formation of the Anthracite Industry (1820-1870)

The presence of anthracite coal in the northeast corner of Pennsylvania was known as early as the late eighteenth century, but difficult geological and geographical conditions prohibited its efficient extraction and movement until an economic, social and infrastructural apparatus for its production and consumption was established by financiers, merchants, labor and transportation interests in the beginning of the third quarter of the nineteenth century (Dublin and Licht 2005:10-34). Anthracite coal, composed of nearly pure carbon, requires a high temperature to burn, but when lit produces a high temperature flame with very little smoke owing to its lack of impurities. Despite this superior quality, establishing and maintaining a mass market for anthracite would prove to be difficult throughout its history, especially when inexpensive and easily ignitable bituminous coal led the competition for home heating and transportation markets. Domestic and industrial consumption of anthracite would not commence until the technology to burn it in the form of customized furnaces and hearths were developed by industry interests and the public convinced of the utility and thrift of its adoption (Dublin and Licht 2005:10; Itter 1943:28-29). The development of a reengineered grate for burning anthracite in fireplaces is attributed to Wilkes Barre industrialist Judge Jesse Fell in 1808, paving the way for the exploitation of a massive domestic-use market (Dublin and Licht 2005:11). Adopting these methods required American manufacturers to change both the technologies and techniques to efficiently capture the energy from anthracite.

Anthracite coal occupies four distinct fields running roughly southwest to northeast across six counties and about 480 acres of northeast Pennsylvania. Comprising of the Northern, Eastern and Western Middle and Southern fields, each region developed with a particular set of social and economic arrangements, extractive techniques, labor relationships and integrated capital

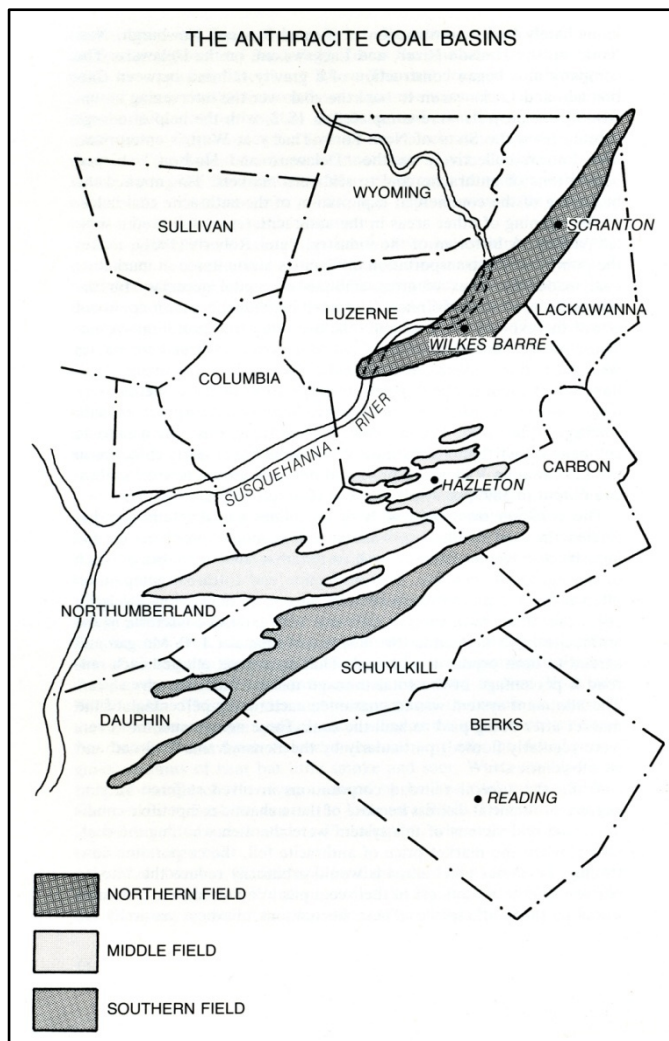


Figure 2-1. The six counties of the anthracite region and its three distinct coal fields. The Middle Coal Field, in which Lattimer and Hazleton are located is often further divided into western and eastern Fields.

interests (Figure 2-1)(Dublin and Licht 2005:10). Each region would transport its coal to different markets based upon geographical utility, transportation logistics and entrepreneurial relationships. Southern fields shipped to Reading, Harrisburg, and Philadelphia, while the Middle fields shipped to New Jersey New York and by steamship to Boston. Throughout the region's history, this heterogeneity of practices, capital interests and

labor demographics would serve to restrict unified actions on the

part of both labor and capital to standardize procedures, organizations or agreements (Aurand 2003:14-22; Dublin and Licht 2005:10).

The geographical and geological provenance of anthracite contributed an entangling complexity to the laborious processes of its extraction and transportation. Unlike English and Virginian coal, located on the shores of rivers or oceans, anthracite was found within and between isolated mountain ranges. Found in diagonally stratified beds, anthracite was formed by the same tectonic folding and pressure that produced the Appalachians. Massive capitalization was required to construct the network of canals and railroads to connect markets to each mineral source, across the mountains to reach the industrial centers to the north and east. By the 1830s, investors had completed three major canals in the region; expanded eventually to a total of six. Prior to 1850, the anthracite canals ranked among the “most heavily capitalized privately owned corporations in the nation” (Powell 1980: 7). In time, eleven rail lines were constructed to align with the canals, connecting to existing rail networks throughout the country (Chandler 1972; Powell 1980:13). Capital investment in transportation in the region required companies to find ways to ensure uninterrupted, or even better, escalating loads of coal would fill railcars. The solution for many was the consolidation, integration or otherwise monopolization of coal production by transportation interests. Harold Aurand (2003:21-22) suggests that coal production within these corporations became “subordinate” to transportation interests. While the coal operations were not neglected, they functioned as ways to ensure the financial security of other industrial interests. Coal-rich properties were purchased but only strategically

exploited in a manner that may have been disadvantageous or inefficient to coal operations. As a result these investments unnecessarily “bloated operating expenses” (2003: 21). Coal was sometimes supplied within transportation companies under value. At the same, supplies for coal operations were purchased regardless of price based upon company interests. By the third quarter of the nineteenth century, this monopoly came to be known as the “anthracite combine”, a “complex network of interlocking relations” between transportation and coal operators that conspired to control supply, demand and commodity values. Production costs, translated into worker’s wages, were frequently used as pawns in this struggle. Independent coal operators paid as much as 60% of profits from coal mining to this monopoly of transportation interests, requiring the cutting of production costs (Aurand 2003: 19).

A unique landscape reflecting the political economy of the coal industry began to take shape by the 1850s. Depending on the region, coal operations were run by either large transportation conglomerates such as the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad and the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company, or by smaller independent family run operations such as that of Lattimer Mines. The former variety tended to be run through a form of absentee ownership connected to a corporation located in Philadelphia or New York (Rose 1981:65). Lattimer was one of about ten operations run by the Pardee Family around Hazleton (Foulke & Foulke 1979). These family-run operations resembled feudal systems of land tenure, overseeing large tracts of land dotted with isolated small mining operations coupled with worker settlements “strewn, by the caprice of the worn

and upended strata” (Berthoff 1965: 262). This particular arrangement of company town, known colloquially in the region as a “patch town”, reflects a situation in which companies maintained ownership of practically everything within the boundaries of the landscape: parcels, houses, roads, retail businesses. In these isolated environments workers became dependent upon company paternalism, often through the binding of debt. It should be mentioned that the company store and housing situation reflects, almost exactly, the situation reported by Engels in 1845 in *The Condition of the English Working Class*, described as the *trucking* and the *cottage* system, workers were forced to rent housing from companies and paid in credit to the company store.

Besides the company owned-towns, “free towns” also developed in the region, providing services to the coal industry as well as rental housing for workers. In time these commercial centers, though tied to the interests of the coal industry, developed diversified economies producing a middle class of professionals and merchants (Aurand 1989:9). In the north, Scranton and Wilkes Barres became the largest cities in the region. In lower Luzerne County, the city of Hazleton developed after 1820 and was incorporated by 1840. Between 1850 and 1890 its population grew from 1,500 to 12,000 people (Rose 1981: 66).

With the completion of transportation networks and the technologies for domestic and industrial consumption distributed throughout the tidewater market, demand for anthracite rapidly increased. Between 1822 and 1842 consumption jumped from 2.5% to 86.5 % of total coal usage (Chandler 1972: 154). Investment in the region rose precipitously every year between 1820 and 1850

as small and large companies proliferated. From a total production of 365 tons in 1820, it exceeded three million by 1850. This massive expansion flooded eastern markets, such that prices dropped by more than half during the same period (Powell 1980: 12). By its peak in 1917 the industry would produce a total of 100 million tons of coal (Powell 1980:12). The pattern of overcapitalization and overproduction coupled with an unpredictable consumer market affected the industry throughout the remainder of the century as labor and capital struggled to devise a stable relationship between wages, profit, investment and market values adequate to all (Aurand 2003).

Work in the Anthracite Industry

If the dependable and intense energy produced by coal set off an industrial revolution throughout the country characterized by mechanization, deskilling and the “veneer of steel, glass and light”, the experience of laborers extracting the substance could not have been any more different (Johnson 2010: 266). The geological positioning of coal, deeply buried in narrow and sharply contorted seams, the industry was infamously difficult to mechanize until the rise of machinery capable of strip mining in the 1930s (Jerome 1934: 121, Blatz 1994: 14). In contrast to the technological and organizational adjustments confronting industrial workers in other industries, coal miners used essentially the same methods, tools and skills for the entire first century of the industry (Dublin and Licht 2005:20, Arnold 2014: 3-4). Because of these difficulties, coal miners retained, to a certain extent, some control over the pace and methods of their craft (Dix 1989, Arnold 2014:3-4).

As superficial deposits of coal were depleted in the early stages of the industry, the excavation of deep seams of anthracite grew increasingly difficult and costly. At an industrial scale, coal operations required major capital investment, including the minimal measures taken to sustain the lives of laborers working underground in unfathomably difficult conditions. Industrial scale mining operations required the technological means to ventilate poisonous and explosive gases and to drain water before humans could survive the subterranean environments as deep as 2000 feet below surface (Dublin and Licht 2005:20-21). This required implementing an assortment of pumps, boilers, fans and other ventilation apparatuses, as well as elevators to deliver product, workers, and tools in and out of the ground. *Mere* survival, not comfort was the goal of such technologies.

Geological deposits of anthracite coal, indeed, proved to be an engineering challenge to excavate. Sandwiched between sheets of rock in strata of various thickness and declination, each advance into a coal seam involved some combination of caprice, foreknowledge and risk. Miners are required to chase anthracite seams across geological folding and faulting that defies the logic of aboveground space, sometimes diving precipitously below the water table. The typical method for the excavation of anthracite was “the room and pillar” method. In this method a miner, working alongside a single laborer who does the lifting and shoveling, excavated a rectangular room, known in industrial parlance as a “breast”, off of the main stretch of tunnel, known as a “gangway”. Between each breast miners would leave a pillar of coal to hold up the roof,

generally composed of slate or some other material. Miners excavated into the “coal face” in whatever direction or declination the coal seam travelled until it ended, blasting away coal with dynamite to loosen material (Blatz 1994:12-13). Laborers then loaded coal into waiting carts to be pulled to the surface by mules, to waiting elevators, or to inclined slopes where the material could roll to a stop for processing.

Miners in the region were most frequently paid by a contractual affair connected to individual productivity. These methods of payment could vary by region, company, working condition or labor situation. Wages would be tied, at different times and places, to carts- filled, footage excavated, or the weight of coal mined. The size of carts varied by company or mine. The wage-value of each cart was frequently judged by a company appointed inspector who determined the purity of the coal content, “docking” pay if a large fraction of sediment or matrix was contained (Blatz 1994:14). Contract miners were obligated to pay for their equipment and the wages of their laborers from the wages they made. As a result, miners were compelled to self-discipline their own productivity. This sometimes meant bypassing safety procedures to ensure the fastest productivity with the least expense. Even then, as informants in the region have reported, miners might be receive “the

snake” at the bottom of their paychecks, indicating a debit or zero-sum gain for their labor rendered minus expenses (Figure 2-2).

TOTAL DEBIT	2263
BALANCE DUE	

Figure 2-2. The “snake” at the bottom of a Lattimer Coal Company Pay stub.

For underground workers, the everyday violence of dangerous working conditions sustained a constant threat to the mortality and health of mine workers. Friedrich Engels, writing of British mines in the 1840s, identified conditions that transcended space and time when he wrote: "In the whole British Empire there is no occupation in which a man may meet his end in so many diverse ways as in this one. The coal-mine is the scene of a multitude of the most terrifying calamities, and these come directly from the selfishness of the bourgeoisie." (Engels 1969:274) During the nineteenth century the anthracite industry held the highest mortality rate amongst American professions, just below railroad work (Aurand 1985:227; Aldrich 1997:361). In fact, the Pennsylvania anthracite region led the world's coal mining regions in fatal accidents per 1000 employees for the end of the nineteenth century, averaging 3.25 individual deaths between 1891 and 1896 (Aurand 1985:228). Between 1870 and 1913, the peak of industry, anthracite mining killed an average of 400 men a year (Aldrich 1997:361). Even after a series of safety regulations were passed by the Pennsylvania legislature beginning in 1870, underground workers faced a number of threats ranging from explosive and poisonous gases, ceiling collapse, drowning, crushing by equipment and kicking by mules. These accidents were frequently blamed on miner's refusal to respond to safety measures. Aurand (1985) suggests that miners frequently did not dispute this fact, but pointedly suggested that carelessness came out of the economic necessity of timesaving measures (Aurand 1985:232). In the last two decades of the nineteenth century, coal operators, politicians and outside observers blamed the influx of new

immigrant workers for what seemed to be the deteriorating conditions of the safety record of the industry (Aldrich 1985:366). In fact, among other factors, due to the depletion of upper strata resources mines were being sunk into lower elevations, multiplying the chances of potential roof collapse, flooding or gas explosion. In truth, in this period fatality rates for underground workers in mines actually improved, possibly owing to the passing of safety laws and increasing enforcement (Aldrich 1985:366).⁹ Of course if a crippling injury did not force the early retirement of a miner, long term exposure to coal dust produced black lung or the miner's asthma in workers. (Wallace 1987; Dublin and Licht 2005:20-24)

Mining operations involved the labor of an army of workers other than miners, both inside and outside the subterranean realm conducting day to day operations (Blatz 1994:12). In contrast to the bituminous coal industry, the complexity of mining anthracite required a considerably larger workforce to process the coal following its removal from the face. In the anthracite industry in 1889 only 30% of colliery workers were underground miners with the task of removing coal from the face, in comparison with 80% in the bituminous industry. Roughly one-third of the workers at an anthracite colliery typically worked aboveground maintaining operations or transporting and processing coal (Blatz 1994:12). Outside labor included an army of engineers, inspectors, laborers, carpenters, blacksmiths, mechanics, machine operators, breaker boys and administrative staff (Miller and Sharpless 1998:83-134).

Laborers ranged in age from as young as six until workers were considered no longer employable. In 1870 a law was passed barring children

below the age of 12 from working underground, but it often went unenforced. Labor tasks were seriated by age, a system that served to perennially reproduce the core of the workforce as children worked their way up the labor hierarchy (Powell 1980:15). Children were employed to drive mules, to control the many doors inside the mines, the stop coal carts and as assistants in nearly every task outside the task. Most infamously, children were employed in the coal breakers (Powell 1980:16). Coal frequently came to the surface mixed with the surrounding geological matrix of slate and other materials. This material required crushing and sorting followed by washing; a task that, for the first hundred or so years of work, was conducted by children and ageing laborers in the impressive structures known as breakers that once dotted the landscape. A newspaper article from 27 July 1897 describes one such accident at the No. 3 breaker at Lattimer. Note the practically ubiquitous citation of personal blame for the accident.

DEATH IN A BREAKER

A sad accident occurred at the No. 3 Lattimer breaker yesterday in which Wm. Linderman of Harleigh lost his life. The boy was employed in the capacity of conveyor or tender, his duty being to see that rice coal, which is conveyed to the boiler house by this line, was equally distributed in the various bins. It was not however, while engaged at this work that the accident befell him. He had occasion to go into the breaker for some reason or another and it was when he was returning to his post that he was caught. An Italian who is employed about the breaker noticed the little fellow making an attempt to cross between conveyor or chain and told him he had better not do so. The boy did not heed the advice given and a moment later he was crushed to death. The Italian at once gave the alarm and the machinery was stopped but too late to save the victim as death was almost instantaneous. The boy was 15 years of age and was almost sole support of a widowed mother and several children, the father having died some years ago. A boy who has lately reached the age of 12 is employed in the same breaker where the accident occurred. [*Wilkes Barre Times Leader* 1897:3]

After about 1900, technology and market factors including mechanical sorting and other automated means reduced the utility of child labor and the use of mules in the mines. By the time child labor laws were securely passed during the New Deal, technology was developed to replace those tasks traditionally given to children. For this reason, Aurand argues it was not morality or law but technology and economics that first motivated the removal of child labor from the industry (Aurand 200:78-79).

Labor and Immigration (1860-1917)

The historical development of power and wealth in the Anthracite Region, inextricable from material entanglements of geology, geography and technological advancement, provided a political economy ripe for aggravated class and racial tensions. High investment costs, capricious markets, natural disasters, monopolistic regulations, overproduction and labor unrest all produced an economic environment that challenged operator's capacities to produce profit from anthracite extraction. To make up for this risk, operators in the region took several measures to ensure that operating costs would remain lowest where there was the most room for flexibility: worker's wages. Low wages were maintained through a surplus army of labor bounded by a material landscape engineered to strategically destabilize a social order conducive to capitalist growth. Despite work conditions that facilitated miner's avoidance of industrial discipline for longer than other economic sectors, labor suffered to make up for the threatened profits. Though fortunes were made and lost in the region by

coalmining operations, the fact is that by and large the wealthy of the region remained wealthy, rather wealthy, and widespread poverty never left the region.

The narratives of labor organization and migration in the region are inextricable. Interpenetrating identifications of class, race and ethnicity facilitated capitalist's deployment of a hierarchical throng of skilled and unskilled labor to squeeze profit out of the ground. Groups were played in competition against each other. But this diversity was not always an obstacle. Laborers and their families found common ground by dint of shared working and living conditions, developing strains of solidarity that facilitated their capacity to majorly disrupt the smooth functioning of the industry at times. Sometimes this resulted in incremental changes to working or living conditions. Sometimes when groups resisted they were violently suppressed by operators working in collaboration with local law enforcement; and sometimes with the assistance of the State. Overall, however, conditions such as safety and wages were improved by piecemeal actions of organized labor beginning only in the latter end of the nineteenth century.

Industry followed national and regional economic trends, experiencing regular boom and bust periods beginning with a frenzied speculation in 1829-30 followed by a collapse. Similarly, 1836 proved to be a good year followed by collapse in 1837 (Itter 1934:33). Bust periods, often connected to overproduction and a subsequent drop in prices resulted in work stoppages and widespread unemployment. As a result, early labor uprisings between about 1830 and 1868

followed a pattern of wildcat strikes, regional conflict connected to work conditions by colliery or coal market.

It is likely that transnational flows of information, people and ideas contributed to strike waves as early as the 1840s. If so, it may be argued that even if labor radicalism did not occur within the scale of the entire Anthracite Region as a whole, they might have transpired within the broader context of a transnational strike waves (Hanagan and van der Linden 2004; van der Linden 1999). When a major depression hit the Southern Field in 1843 resulting in a major work stoppage and an unemployment rate of 20% in the region, strikes followed. Unrest was greatly exacerbated when news was released of an incoming 500 immigrants from Wales, drawn to the region by either labor agents or steamship companies (Itter 1934:34). Perhaps it is not a coincidence that Engels reports on a large strike that stopped work in the English coalfields during the period between 1840 and 1843, connected to a drop in wages as well as a protest of the *trucking* and *cottage* system (Engels 1969). Others report on similar strikes among coal miners in Loire, France in 1840 and 1844 (Rutledge 1980). A number of short-lived regional unions and wildcat strikes in the region followed, such as the “first and last strike” by the Bates union in 1849, the Forestville Union of 1860 and the Archbold Benevolent Association of 1863 (Aurand 1966:22; Greene 1968:71-72).

To some degree, beginning in the early stages of the industry companies controlled the character and flow of in -migration to the region through the use of labor agents, though this was far from the exclusive pattern by which the region

was populated. Agents were sent overseas and to major ports courting new immigrant groups to make up this labor pool (Barendse 1981:7-8, 24-28; Brooks 1898; Roberts 1904; Greene 1968). In the late nineteenth century, global industry became fixated upon “The Labor Problem”, defined by a lack of cheap, durable, and easily exploited labor in the country (Guterl and Skwiot 2005). Efforts to remedy this problem spurred the generation of a vast apparatus of global agents including administrators, bureaucrats, steamship companies, labor agents and recruiters, scholars, managers and workers who created and shared knowledge and experience to ensure the manageability of this labor flow (Dillingham Commission 1911:661; Guterl and Skwiot 2005; Hanagan and van der Linden 2004). At the same time, the intertwining processes of colonialism and migration resulting from a globalizing economic system was viewed by many at the time as propelling a similar ends, as “pressures that dr[i]ve one race to confront another” (Bender 2009:71-72). As industry brought foreigners into contact, sometimes in confrontation with nativized populations, anxieties over racial amalgamation were contrasted with a consonant fear of insufficient or unsuitable labor to accomplish the tasks of industrial-scale work.

Between the late eighteenth and mid-nineteenth century, systems of serfdom in Europe came to an end with an emancipation of peasants. Peasantry entered a new era of geographical, social and political mobility drastically altering the social order of modernity. As the scale and practice of agricultural moved towards productivity and consolidation, land became scarce as wealthy landowners purchased up available acreage. From the resulting agricultural

productivity, global prices of many products dropped. Small scale agricultural producers could no longer survive on meager scale economies without sufficient cash. These new systems of land tenure freed the peasantry of the obligations, and also the protections, of the feudal system. Marx termed these pre-industrial populations as *vogelfrei*, literally “bird-free”, who wandered freely with only their labor as a commodifiable property. Simultaneous with this change, centralized and later and increasingly mechanized production in urban areas increasingly demanded the unskilled labor of the now mobile peasantry. (Herder 2002:333). Moving to urbanized areas and then often across the ocean, these peasants and their families made up the proletarian mass migrations of the period between the 1820s and the turn of the century (Herder 2002:331). These changes swept across first Western, then Eastern and Southern Europe, developing systems of migration both circular and uni-directional. North America received about a third of this migration that, between 1815 and 1939, amounted to “50-55 million Europeans – or about one-fifth of Europe’s entire population in 1800” (Herder 2002:331-332).

The demographics of the anthracite region reflected this human mobility throughout its history. Anthracite coal is found in few other places in the world in large supply. The only place of major extraction included portions of the British Isles. Craft techniques for its difficult extraction were first imported along with skilled labor. These first employees hailed from Scotland, Wales, England and Germany. Itter (1943:31) reports of an article appearing in the *Pottsville Weekly Miner’s journal* from the summer of 1827 detailing the arrival of sixteen

experienced miners from England, brought to the region along with their tools of trade to introduce the techniques of excavating anthracite. Reportedly a fund of \$1000 was raised by industries to pay for the transport of miners to the region. The paper editorialized: "...it is high time our mining operations were reduced to something like a methodical system of working. We have been bungling, making shift, and skimming the surface of our coal fields long enough" (*Pottsville Weekly Miner's Journal*, 16 June 1827, quoted in Itter 1934:31). Bringing with them the skills and minimal resources needed to establish a social position in the region, these early migrants would frequently either leave the region for other work or ascend to managerial or administrative positions in the labor hierarchy (Rose 1981:64-65).

Irish workers and their families migrated to the region between the mid-1840s and 1880s. The first wave fled the Potato Famine beginning in 1845, though emigration continued as English landowners evicted tenants to transform land usage from tillage to pasture (Sharpless & Miller 1998:138). These Irish immigrants brought with them the class disadvantages of poverty brought on by exile or a lack of a competitive skill base in mining (Berthoff 1965; Dubofsky 1996). In a pattern echoed and elaborated upon in the region throughout the end of the century, colonialist antipathies based upon religious and ethnic divisions were recapitulated in the anthracite region, interwoven with work-related tensions (Itter 1934:32).

During the period of the Civil War, demand for coal increased dramatically resulting in soaring prices (Keil and Usui 1992, Palladino 2006). In some

instances, miners took advantage of positive industry conditions to demand higher wages (Aurand 1991:301). In some cases, the already long history of unjust social and material conditions, coupled with growing class consciousness led miners to rebuff entreaties to cooperate with the war effort, much less to contribute men to the fighting. Nonetheless, some miners did serve, including a large contingent of men from Hazleton (DeFazio 2008). Most notably, a contingent of miners and a mining engineer from the Reading railroad enlisted in the Pennsylvania 48th excavated the tunnel that played a prominent role in the Battle of the Crater in Petersburg. Despite this visible support for the war effort, draft riots divided the region, particularly in the southern fields, occupants maintained an independent spirit throughout the region's history (Palladino 1990).

As suggested by Palladino (1990) and others, coal operators, closely connected to war interests throughout the industrial northeast, increasingly put down strikes with the confidence and power of State support in the periods during and after the war (Aurand 1991:301; Palladino 1990). In an action redolent of colonialist intervention of the latter Twentieth century, a contingent of federal soldiers occupied the Southern coal field throughout the war at the invitation of coal operators, suppressing labor resistance and draft resistance. Appealing to the industry's patriotic connections to the war, operators associated striking behavior with treason to garner federal support in suppressing labor radicalism (Aurand 1991:301; Palladino 1990).

By the end of the Civil War, definitions of race and citizenship at the center of the conflict remained essentially unresolved despite the passing of the 14th Amendment extending citizenship to many disenfranchised groups. In an effort to come to terms with the still nascent country's plural origins, popularized misreadings of Social Darwinism led to the belief by nativized populations that the nation's citizenry was solely generated from migrants from Northern or Western Europe (Pula 1980; Ngai 1999, 2004; Gabbacia and Ottanelli 2001). Scientific beliefs in a great chain of being provided the framework around which growing nativist chauvinism defined citizenship, class and race, congealing over the next half a century. In the anthracite region, nativist patriotism, integrating anti-Catholicism, craft unionist protectionism and anti-immigrant sentiment spread during the period after the Civil War intensifying class and ethnic tensions. Infamously, violence erupted in the region in the 1870s when Irish miners killed several Welsh and English superiors under the auspices of a secret society known as the Molly Maguires (Dubofsky 1996:40–45; Miller and Sharpless 1998:136–170). This would begin a pattern that continued throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth century as an accretion of immigrant groups encountered each other in the social order of the region.

In 1866, the Pennsylvania legislature gave coal operators the unprecedented power to maintain a militarized industrial police force. The Coal and Iron Police were appointed by the Governor's office with members selected and paid by the coal companies (Shaloo 1929). For a commission fee of \$1 the state would "sell its sovereign power" with all the rights of a municipal company

of police to enforce the protection of industrial interests. This infamously often included strikebreaking as well as espionage (Shaloo 1929:59). They acted as a heavily armed livery force in all major actions in the region throughout much of the region's history, organizing the posse of deputies during the Lattimer Massacre (Aurand 1991:301; Novak 1996:118). By 1905, in response to public outrage over the Massacre and many other violent episodes wherein the civil and legal rights of laborers were violated by this private army of industrial powers, the Pennsylvania State Police were formed to supplement this force with a State-operated force. The Pennsylvania State police were structured along the lines of the Philippine Constabulary, a militarized police force that operated in occupied Philippines between 1901 and 1935 (Repetto 2010). Drawing a number of members from this colonial force, the State Police also became known for their brutality. A Pennsylvania commission ruled in 1915 that the while the State Police:

....is an extremely efficient force for crushing strikes, but it is not successful in preventing violence in connection with strikes, in maintaining legal and civil rights of the parties to the dispute, nor in protecting of the public. On the contrary, violence seems to increase rather than diminish when the constabulary is brought into an industrial dispute, the legal and civil rights of the workers have on numerous occasions been violated ... [PAHistory.com 2014].

Transferring coercive techniques from colonial contexts, they often brutally targeted new immigrant laborers. As a result they were labeled "the American Cossacks" by the Eastern European victims after the storied enforcers of Russian imperialism (explorePAhistory.com 2014; Jones 1997).

The earliest effort to create a consolidated industrial labor union came in 1868 with the formation of the Workingmen's Benevolent Association (WBA).

Organized by a mineworker from the town of St. Clair in the Southern Field by the name of John Siney, the WBA would be crushed by 1874, victim to the age old issues of regional differences and militant operator resistance (Greene 1968:61-65). An immigrant from Ireland, Siney already had experience organizing unions working in the British Isles (Itter 1934; Greene 1968:62). His approach to organizing at the time was perhaps unusual for the region's history. Siney sought to work with capital interests to suppress what he perceived as the root problems of capital flow in the region, namely overproduction. Expanding first from the town of St. Clair, the union expanded in the region with a meeting in Hazleton on 17 March 1869, pressing for changes along a number of fronts. Temporary gains included the passing of a sliding scale that would tie miner's wages to the prices of coal as a means of mediating the rapid fluctuations in value. Similarly, a measure passed in 1875 permitted the union to select a check-weighman who would supervise the company's measurement of the contents of coal carts (Greene 1968:63). This measure mediated worker suspicions that companies regularly defrauded miners of the coal produced by underestimating the weight of excavated coal. Safety measures were also stressed, with WBA lobbying leading to the passage of a law in 1870 authorizing state oversight in mine safety including, among other things, the requirement for expanded ventilation in mines and a prohibition of the employment of boys under 12 from working underground (Aurand 1991:303; Aldrich 1997:362).

Strikes continued sporadically throughout the period between 1868 and 1875, with the exception of a short period of tense accord between 1872 and

1874 (Aurand 1991: 304). By 1873, as Franklin B. Gowen took control over the Reading Railroad, the largest operator in the region, coal transportation cartels successfully monopolized aspects of the industry forming the first comprehensive Anthracite combination (Schlegel 1946). This monopolistic combination elected to fix prices and production rates in order to ensure control over the market price of their product. Labor organization was tolerated only in so much as it cooperated in these efforts. Throughout the remainder of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the combination worked tactically to either appease or ruthlessly crush organized attempts to share in profits. (Aurand 1991; Aurand 1968; Green 1969)

In late 1874 and early 1875 the WBA, renamed the MLBA (Miners' and Laborers' Benevolent Association) rebounded in the Southern and Middle regions in response to industry efforts to first cut production then reduce wages (Aurand 1991; Greene 1968:65-67). When a "riot" erupted in Hazleton in April of 1875, the governor of the State of Pennsylvania sent a company of militia into the region to pacify the strike (Aurand 1991:304). By several accounts, operators spent lavishly on expanding and strengthening their private military police and private investigators during the strikes of 1875, suppressing strikes, infiltrating unions and protecting strikebreakers (Aurand 1991:304; Greene 1968:68). The WBA collapsed by 1875, largely due to their inability to coordinate the differences of the four fields into coordinated strikes, but also to the violent suppression of operators. Though a number of regional or wildcat strikes erupted throughout the

remainder of the century, it would not be until 1903 that the UMWA would once again organize the entire region. (Aurand 1966; Greene 1968; Schlegel 1946)

The period between the end of the WBA and the rise of the UMWA beginning in 1897 illustrates further efforts at forming a united regional coalition of labor, complicated in this time period by the introduction of national industrial unions, increasingly monopolized capital interests, coercive federal and other law enforcement interventions and new dynamics owing to the introduction of new immigrants to the region. By 1876 national unions such as the Knights of Labor entered the region emanating out of the center of their support in Scranton. Miners in Scranton struck for higher wages in July of 1877 as the country suffered through a deep depression. While marching through town with partial leadership from the Knights, a contingent of industrial police confronted the parading strikers. Subsequently, violence erupted as the police fired upon the crowd. Six men were killed and 54 wounded. In an action that would be repeated throughout the subsequent events, the National Guard was deployed to the region. The strike ended by October of that year when other regions refused to join the effort (Aurand 1968:171, 1991:305; Greene 1968:72).

The massacre in Scranton and the subsequent defeat of the organizing efforts that followed signaled the need for broader organization in the region. In 1884 the Miner's and Laborer's Amalgamated Association entered the region having established a stronghold in the bituminous regions of the country. The Knights, however, were still favored by Irish workers. In the middle years of 1880s the two organizations decided to combine efforts and create a joint

committee to organize the region. Among their successful lobbying efforts, important revisions and additions were added to mine safety laws including the funding of miner's hospitals in the region providing free care to the injured (Aurand 1991:306). In 1887 and 1888 the joint committee organized a major strike in the region calling for an increase in the percentage basis of wages as connected to the sliding market price of coal. At first, the call was ignored or neutralized by operator reaction in the Northern and Southern Coal Fields, leaving the miners of the Middle Field to strike unsupported. At the mercy of the sovereign rule of the coal barons of the Middle Coal Field, the miners resisted starvation, eviction and poverty. Immigrant strikebreakers were reportedly imported to keep coal operations running. (Aurand 1968:175-176) The Hazleton *Plain Speaker*, along with other representatives of the local press and public, sided with the strike in this case (Aurand 1968:177-179). In October of 1887 they quoted a Scranton editorialist in suggesting that:

The tactics of the petty nabobs of Lehigh are more like the antics of the old time Russian despots in dealing with their serfs, than the conduct of American employers towards American workingmen [*The Plain Speaker*, 5 October 1887].

Local businesses as well as the newspaper sponsored relief funds for the striking miners as an open challenge to the sovereign rule of the wealthy ruling classes.

As the strike expanded it eventually absorbed the miners of the Reading railroad in the Southern coal field. Opposition by the Reading intensified, as they adopted strikebreaking methods of the Middle coalfields operators including eviction, and the importation of Italian strikebreakers. It also greatly increased the force of the Coal and Iron police (Aurand 1968:181). Unlike the Middle coal

fields, local business did not support the strike. This greatly weakened their ability to sustain resistance and the miners in the south returned to work defeated in January. By March, the miner's of the Middle coal fields also returned to strike. In 1892 Miners in Shamokin formed a branch of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), though it would take another five years and 19 lives lost before the Union would attract significant support. (Aurand 1991)

The Early History of the Lattimer Mines

Lattimer mines were first developed by the Pardee family and associates in 1865 (Foulke & Foulke 1979:131-132). By this time the A. Pardee & Co. was the largest coal operator in the Lehigh or Eastern Middle coal field, operating a number of mines scattered around Hazleton (Foulke and Foulke 1979:67; Greene 1968:8). Characteristic of the socioeconomic power structure of the Middle, or Lehigh field, the coal businesses in this field operated as independent family ventures with shared capital reinforced by nepotism and filial obligation. These family dynasties were led by a cohort described by historian Harold Aurand as the "petty coal kings" (Aurand 1968:170). This network extended to a variety of businesses, banks and community interests in town (Foulke & Foulke 1979:95). Ario Pardee, the patriarch of the family, made his fortune by the 1850s through the establishment of the major mines in Hazleton. In 1852 Ario built the Pardee Mansion in the center of town, a building surrounded by "spacious lawns protected by a high iron picket fence, broken at regular intervals by thick stone posts" (Foulke & Foulke 1979:39). As suggested by the biographers of Calvin Pardee, son of Ario and owner of the Lattimer Mines at the time of the Massacre,

independent entrepreneurial families such as the Pardees held any collective efforts to effect their business as running “counter to [a] deep-seated American tradition” of independence and self-reliance (Foulke & Foulke 1979:72). For the independent operators this included both the increasingly powerful industrial labor unions and the combination railroad trusts that competed to siphon profits. Between the two, they suggest, labor unions were considered by Ario to be the worse of two evils.

During the strikes of 1887 and 1888, the independent operators of the Middle coal field particularly resisted what they saw as an infringement upon the freedom of their independent financial sovereignty. Ario Pardee, representing the independent operators including Markel and Coxe, stated that, “Our position always has been, and is now, that we are unwilling to negotiate with anyone outside our employ, who knows nothing of our business and who is in no way connected with us; we are just as firm in that position as we have ever been” (quoted in Aurand 1968:175; Foulke & Foulke 1979:76). Along with the other independent operators, Markel and Coxe, Pardee restricted credit at company stores to starve out the striking miners. A song written by the miners at this time celebrated the possibility of intergenerational class solidarity:

In looking o’er the papers now
A funny thing appears
Where Eckley Coxe and Pardee say
They’ll stand for twenty years.
If God should call us miners off
We’ll have children then alive
Who will follow in our footsteps
Keep the strike for thirty-five.
[Foulke & Foulke 1979: 76]

When the miners struck, Pardee reportedly hired Italian strikebreakers to keep his mines running (Foulke & Foulke 1979:76). Aurand, on the other hand, reports that operators found Italian and Slavic miner's in support of the strike. Despite hinting that he introduced New Immigrant labor into his operations for strikebreaking purposes, the biographers of Calvin Pardee suggest Ario and his dynastic legacy experienced a suspicion and fear of the New Immigrants; a reaction owing to the violent coercion the operators enacted upon the many New Immigrants to the area throughout the period of their introduction into the region. They attribute this to the manner in which their collective organizing clashed with traditional American notions of rugged independence and self-reliance. As the biographers, also descendants of Ario and Calvin Pardee, describe, the early immigration of English and Welsh labor "naturally gravitated to localities" to work, forming a "reliable, intelligent working force" (Foulke & Foulke 1979:73). Slavic and Italian workers, on the other hand, "flocked" to the region providing "an easy target for union organizers" (Foulke & Foulke 1979:73). Recognizing the inextricable link between sovereign and economic threats, the biographers suggest that foreign elements meant "not only interference with [Ario's] right as an American to run his own business, but even constituted a dangerous threat by foreigners to the established American way of life" (Foulke & Foulke 1979:73-74). Without a hint of irony, they suggest this just before revealing Ario Pardees's utilization of Italian strikebreakers to break the 1877 strike!

The New Immigration and the Governmentality of Racialization

Beginning in the late 1870s, a large number of immigrants from Italy and various Eastern European ethnic groups including Poles, Slovaks, Galicians, Tyroleans, Lithuanians, Ruthenians, and Hungarians immigrated to the United States making up what was termed the “New” immigration. Global transformations in agricultural practices, land tenure, and political expansionism precipitated a protraction and intensification of many of the same issues driving earlier migrations from Europe and elsewhere. In the 1880s, a rise in agricultural productivity throughout the world, partially connected to the integration of colonial agricultural products, produced a flooded market of agricultural goods. Subsequently, prices dropped for many goods (Herder 2002: 341). In the largely agricultural south of Italy this resulted in a regional depression and a competitive demand for cash to purchase land released by the collapse of feudal land arrangements. Italians responded by emigrating throughout the world (Gabaccia & Ottanelli 2001, Herder 2002:341-342). Many ultimately would return to purchase land, though many stayed in their new countries. About 18 million Italians left the country between 1876 and 1930. A third of these migrants moved to North America (Herder 2002:341-342; Ngai 2004). Around the same time, a nationalist unification movement, the *Risorgimento*, affected the country. Throughout its history, the territory that would make up the landmass of modern Italy was deeply fragmented by regional languages, cultural practices, and economic and political structures. In 1862, at the time of unification, only 2.5% of Italians spoke modern Italian at home (Hobsbawm 1990:80). In the south,

culturally, linguistically and politically distinct from the north, unification involved a brutal invasion, occupation and resistance. As a result, migrants coming to America felt close affiliation to the villages of their birth, but were often without national attachments (Gabbacia & Ottanelli 2001:2).

Many migrants from Eastern Europe were also nationless subjects of the Russian, Austro-Hungarian Empire or German empires (Dillingham Commission 1911:661; Ngai 2004b). Besides the economic pressures from changing land practices, many of these populations suffered under political, religious and ethnic repression (Ngai 2004b:120). In Slovakia, for example, occupation by the Austro-Hungarian Empire turned out an effort at forced assimilation wherein ethnic groups were denied press or educational programs in their own languages along with other forms of ethnic repression (Herder 2002:340). In the case of Jews in Russia, pogroms or government instituted segregation and mob attacks forced exile of 2.4 million between 1880 and 1924 (Ngai 2004b:120).

In the anthracite region, immigrants from Italy and Eastern Europe quickly outpaced that of earlier migration networks, settling into labor hierarchies much as previous generations had done. Roberts (1904) reports the percentage of “foreign born” in the three counties of Lackawanna, Luzerne and Schuylkill, including immigrants from both the “new” and “old” immigrations, was little changed between 1860 and 1900, ranging from 27.70% in 1860 to a high of 30.84% in 1870. In 1900, 25.86% of the region’s occupants were described as “foreign born”. When expanded to foreign born and native-born of foreign parentage the percentage of the population ranges from 56.42% in 1870 and

63.13% in 1900. These numbers reveal the constancy in the flow of transnational migration to the region throughout the late period of industry. However, a clear difference in migration across time is expressed when taking country of origin into account. The following chart, reproduced from Robert's (1904:19) *Anthracite Coal Communities*, delineates the percentage of increase in migrants from regions of origin between 1861 and 1901, showing the increase in new immigrants to the region:

Table 2-1. Immigrants to the anthracite region between 1861 and 1901.

Years	Slavic and Italian	British and German
1861-70	1.05%	77.38%
1871-80	6.44%	57.46
1881-90	17.65%	52.72
1901	68.50%	13.50

Of those laboring in the mining industry, Roberts estimates that by 1900, 68.8% are foreign born, about 50% of which are Eastern European or Italian¹⁰ (Roberts 1904:20, 22-23).

Contemporary observers describe the process of “displacement” of older groups arising from a number of factors related to the “pull of industrial and social ambition and the push of racial friction” (Warne 1904, Roberts 1904, Dillingham Commission 1911b:661). In 1904, Roberts (1904:17-18) reports on the tendency of older generations to leave the region as soon as possible:

The elements of our population have been, during the last thirty years, in a condition of flux.... Mining is disagreeable work. The thrifty members of our society rise to more congenial employments. Hence, annually, there is

a withdrawal and migration of the “elite” of the group.... As soon as the receptive members of mining towns are trained in and acquire the principles upon which the social fabric of our institutions rests, they withdraw to the cities or migrate... [Roberts 1904:17-18].

On the other hand, racial antipathy is cited by the Dillingham commission (1911b:661) as the central cause of this social ambition when it reports on the older generation’s “....distaste for mine work *since* the immigrants entered it....inducing the English-speaking miners to change their occupations, and...preventing them from allowing their children to enter the industry”. Domestic occupations are also vacated by “ancient householders” when immigrant households or businesses are in proximity, disturbed by the “nocturnal hammering” of household occupations or the “vociferous joviality” of a saloon (Dillingham Commission 1911b:662).

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, governments began to incorporate racial-thinking, long a isolated component of national imaginings, into formal and informal modes of governmentality, dispersing racial beliefs into the discourse of bureaucratic, juridical, scientific, and Progressive administration (Arendt 1958). In this time period, state governance of both domestic pluralities and colonial contexts demanded the implementation of *regimes of truth* designed to classify, define, differentiate and circumscribe the bodies and practices of subordinate groups, marking their capacity to be socially controlled, expelled or assimilated (Foucault 1980; Stoler and Cooper; Stoler 2009). Racialization accompanied the development of a *taxonomic state* wherein “ways of living were congealed into ‘problems,’ subject persons were condensed into ontological categories; innocuous practices were made into subjects of analysis and

rendered political things” (Stoler 2009:30). Progressive era efforts to inform decision making yielded scientific approaches to solving the race and labor problem using statistics and ethnographic data (Zeidel 2004:20). Some have argued that demographic work in the twentieth century served an equivalent role as craniometry accomplished in the nineteenth: transforming *a priori* judgments into concrete and authoritative facts (Ngai 1999:77). Progressive-era reforms confronted what they saw as the problematic moral nature of foreign elements. In response, they aimed at instilling the values of middle class American life on immigrant working class communities (Cohen 1986). Poverty was disconnected from structural economic causes that prevented mobility. Rather, as Paul Reckner and Stephen Brighton suggest, “poverty was explained in terms of personal and cultural failures on the part of the impoverished” (1999:82). The knowledge gained from this research was distributed through a shared print culture including the work of government commissions, industrial studies, sociological examinations and Progressive reformers. Works such as John Common’s *Races and Immigrants in America* (1907), the Dillingham Commission’s *Dictionary of Races or Peoples* (1911) and Peter Robert’s *Immigrant Races in North America* (1910) provided “culturalist extensions of Weberian sociology of the state,” emphasizing not only the state’s monopoly on physical force, but also in “legitimiz[ing] symbolic force” (Cooper 2005:2).

Capital interests benefitted from, if not purposely exasperated, the destabilizing competition that developed between ethnic groups and longer-established generations of labor in the Anthracite region. Through a variety of

factors, racialized nationalities of each group came to occupy a place in a relatively-positioned hierarchy, leveraging within and against their capacities to resist exploitation. The discourse of racial hierarchy was reified and exacerbated by companies through wage practices, discriminatory litigation and the institutionalization and reinforcement of particular spatial and material conditions (see Berthoff 1965; Mulrooney 1989; Novak 1996). Margaret Mulrooney charts the feedback loop whereby ethnicity and race clearly define the limits to movement in the coal company towns of southwest Pennsylvania. It is likely that such a system, to some degree of formalism, prevailed in the company towns throughout the anthracite region, serving as precursor and model to company town landscape and policies of the southwest:

...the ethnic group to which a miner belonged determined the status of the job he held; this, in turn, determined his earning power. Companies then used earning power to compute the amount of rent an employee could afford, generally one-fourth of his monthly wages. Each company then used that figure to calculate how much it would spend on construction so that, ultimately, the amenities provided were a direct result of how much the employee earned. And to bring the cycle to a close, companies based the exclusion of provision of certain amenities on the ethnicity of their workers. But unlike other cause-and-effect relationships, this progression was not proportional; that is, an employee might alter the status of his occupation, and hence his earning power, but he could never change his ethnic origins and so remained somewhat limited in terms of housing [Mulrooney 1989: 135]

As Mulrooney suggests, racialized identity often set the material limits for movement within the economic sphere in ways used to the advantage of the owners of the coal mining operations.

In a government report on the bituminous coal region from 1911, racialized aptitude and nationalities of the pluralist workforce are compared for

“Relative Efficiency”, “Industriousness and Efficiency”, “Adaptability and Supervision” and “Sobriety”. This section concludes with a chart neatly matching the hierarchically arranged chaîne opératoire of the extraction process with the preferred racial groups for each task (Dillingham Commission 1911b:549-550). By equating race, nation and aptitude, the solidity of these boundaries and their consequent divisions in quality of life, salary, work and living conditions were justified with a basis in natural structure.

Migrants to the anthracite region were the subjects of classificatory work in the Dillingham Commission, a federally-sponsored fact-finding effort to inform lawmaker’s decisions on how to structure immigration restriction. Employing the methodologies of social science and scientific racism, the research tied the economic and social contributions of immigrant labor to their potential contributions as future citizens (Pula 1980; Ngai 1999). A case study of one town in the anthracite region appraises the overall effects of the “social and moral deterioration” of the community by new immigrants through the vectors of criminality, health, sanitation and charity (Dillingham Commission 1911). Using an imagistic idiom borrowed from recent innovations in the science of sanitation and germ theory, the document describes immigration as an, “infusion of a large element of foreign blood”, of which “the two principal forces of its evil effects” include both “the conditions due directly to the peculiarities of the foreign body itself” and “those which arise from the reactions upon each other of two nonhomogenous social elements-the native and the alien classes” (Dillingham

Commission 1911a:671-672). The long list of “evil effects” includes items such as:

1. “The lowering of the average intelligence, restraint sensitivity, orderliness and efficiency of the community....”
2. “An increase of intemperance andcrime....”
3. “An increase of sexual immorality...”
4. “A general loosening of the forces of social cohesion.”
5. “A civic demoralization of the ruling class.”
6. “A coarsening of the fiber of native-born through contact with the immodesties of the immigrant.”

The deleterious effects of immigrants are organized as originating both from within the foreigners themselves, and as a consequence of their interactions with older generations of Americans, for whom a degraded environment is produced. The authors list the “most obvious” result of racial mixture as the “incapacity of local government and the wasteful administration of public funds” evidenced in the poor condition of infrastructure and municipal services (Dillingham Commission 1911:672-673).

On a national scale, capital, labor, and government each pursued a political agenda, addressing a diversity of interests and agendas regarding the “immigration problem”. Whether outwardly recognized or not, the issue of immigration was inseparable from “the labor problem”, the need to supply unskilled workers for the countries expanding body of mechanized industrial work. The period after 1880 introduced a series of global, national and regional depressions, exacerbating tensions within and between labor and capital. In the anthracite region, labor recognized that the only solution to the persistent issue of overproduction was the restriction of production. Capital, of course, had recourse to one other option to maintain profitability: the compression of wages.

The relationships between governmentality and sovereignty can best be understood through the relationship they construct in regards to law. Classically, sovereignty positions itself through a lawmaking act of violence. In the process it distinguishes an "us" from a "them", defining the boundaries of the social world from the excluded, the killable, bare life (Agamben 2009). As such, sovereignty is tactically produced through the very mechanism of its self-justification (Butler 2004:82). Violence, then, is always already "necessarily and intimately bound up with" the lawmaking act of sovereignty (Benjamin 1978:295). Governmentality, on the other hand, approaches the law *tactically*, opportunistically creating extralegal procedures when they meet the needs of a policy goal. In the past, Butler proposes that sovereignty operated as a focusing force for States, moored to tradition and law. Today, it emerges unmoored from this focus, emerging instead from "within the field of governmentality" itself. As a result, it produces petty sovereigns, unelected bureaucrats each endowed with the power of the state, "mobilized by aims and tactics of power they do not inaugurate or fully control... "rogue" power par excellence." (2004:56)

This practice is perfectly illustrated by the legislative efforts leading up to the 1897 Lattimer strike. As the decade beginning in 1890 transpired, new immigrants increasingly filled the ranks of the army of surplus labor, replacing earlier generations of nativized migrants; this, even as the region suffered through a series of crippling depressions. Interpreting strategy within the context of a national anti-immigrant discourse, operators, organized labor, lawmaking bodies, and the general public began to turn on the new immigrants, blaming

them for overproduction, decreasing wages, the degeneration of the region's social life and the general decline of local economy. This conglomerate turned to the tactics of legal means to legislate immigration into the region, passing a series of laws beginning in 1889 aimed at limiting the influx of New Immigrant families. In 1889 a law was passed requiring miner's to pass a law in English for state certification (Greene 1964:201). With the growing support of the public, including the press, organized labor increasingly strengthened its legal means to alter working conditions. John Fahy, a UMWA union organizer, temporarily gave up organizing in order to pursue the betterment of working class life through political means. In 1896 he joined a three person committee devoted to producing and lobbying the governor and legislature to pass pro-labor legislation (Greene 1964:202). In 1897 the governor extended the requirements for miner's certification and produced another anti-immigrant measure, the Campbell Act. Instead of dissuading new immigrant miner's pursuit of professional employment, the strategy of the Campbell Act was targeted at employers, who were taxed an extra three-cents per day per immigrant employed. Naturally, this tax would be passed on to the laborers. (Greene 1964, Novak 1996) Again, as in the case of the 1887-1888 strike, the outcomes of this legislation were largely neutralized in the Northern and Southern fields. However in the Middle coal fields, where independent operators were less inclined to appease their workers, the deduction of wages greatly angered new immigrants. In August of 1897, amidst a series of wildcat strikes throughout the region, the violent disciplining of a superintendant would provide the flashpoint to radicalize the new immigrant workers, to the

surprise and dismay of the independent operators. This tension culminated in the event known as the Lattimer Massacre.

Chapter 3

The Memory of Violence: The Lattimer Massacre of 1897

It was not a battle because they were not aggressive, nor were they defensive because they had no weapons of any kind and were simply shot down like so many worthless objects, each of the licensed life-takers trying to outdo the others in butchery.

Inscription on the monument erected at Lattimer, 10 September 1972

All: We have come to remember nineteen unarmed miners shot dead that day.

One: Remembrance begins with deep, personal identification. It begins with remembering the affliction of our brothers and sisters, and marking their pain as our own. Remembrance is a sacred moment when we raise up and hold to the light of the eternal moment, the good who have died.

...

One: For the conflagration of bullets and nightmare images forever seared into our corporate memory....

Lattimer Memorial Service responsorial, 10 September 2014

The Lattimer Massacre transpired over the course of about three minutes in September of 1897 in a northeast Pennsylvania coal town on the outskirts of Hazleton. The words inscribed on the monument to the Lattimer Massacre, erected in Pennsylvania in 1972 by the United Labor Council, the AFL-CIO and the UMWA, describes the event as a massacre not a battle. The striking miners are shot down “like so many worthless objects” while the members of the sheriff’s posse are “licensed life takers”. As many as 150 men armed with pistols and rifles fired upon unarmed striking laborers and miners of Eastern European descent striking for fair wages and working and living conditions equal to that of longer-established groups. The posse killed at least 19 and wounded as many as

forty more (Pinkowski 1950; Novak 1996). Many specific details of the event have been obscured not only by the passage of time, but also by the many conflicting reports conveying or interpreting the events of the day. This chapter will focus on the specific context and passage of the event, offering an archaeological perspective of the event that materializes certain episodes, while also adding some ambiguity to its sequence.

Historical Context of the Massacre

In the years leading into the massacre of 1897, tensions regarding national and regional industrial labor practices developing throughout the century intensified. By the 1890s the anthracite industry was in turmoil. Capital and labor struggled over profits and wages within the context of a regional economy altogether resistant to stability. For laborers, work was sporadic throughout the decade for a number of reasons. Beginning in the early 1880s a series of global, national and regional depressions exacerbated tensions between labor and capital, drawing out competition between laboring groups already divided by race and class. Anxiety, anger, and desperation led to striking behavior by labor, which also stopped work. Thirdly, a number of industrial disasters struck collieries around the region including floods, fires and explosions. During the lead-up to the Panic of 1893, which hit the region in advance of the nation, the price of coal dropped to the lowest it had been since its peak in about 1865, with the exception of the 1877 depression. From the peak price of \$8.30 a ton in 1864, prices dropped to about \$3.20 in between 1891 and 1892 (Roberts 1901:74; Jones 1914: 54; Rose 1981).

Capital had recourse to a few options to maintain profitability in uncertain times including the mechanization of production to increase productivity, the regulated control of prices through the work stoppages or other means, the maintenance of a surplus labor pool and the compression of wages. Regulating the pace, composition and distribution of work deeply affected relationships within and between laborers and the various communities of interest in the region. The anthracite combination, formed by railroads and coal operators, began in 1873 with the consolidation of the Reading Railroad. It operated with some degree of consistency and effectiveness into the first few decades of the twentieth century (Brooks 1898; Chandler 1980; Walker 1924). The capacity for monopolization led one commentator in 1898 to describe the combination as a “masterly contrivance” in which participation is “ruthlessly enforced” among companies. Ironically, he likened this collectively-enforced participation as being not unlike the treatment of recalcitrant members by trade unions (Brooks 1898:308). Companies used an assortment of techniques to regulate production and control prices including work stoppage, mechanized extraction processes, inciting strikes, and limiting the coal cars available for miners to fill (Blatz 2004:48; Congress 1889:LXXVI-LXXVII; HoR 1889:511; Robert 1904:283; Walker 1924). During the strike of 1888, this manipulation led to a Federal investigation (HoR 1889). In his testimony, attorney W.H. Hines described the system as one in which “[the coal operators] take first the miner by the throat with one hand and the consumer by the throat with the other” (W.H. Hines, to Congress 1889: 530). As the mechanization of operations increased productive

efficiency in the late nineteenth century, a radical reduction in workdays was required to effectively slow production in earnest. By the summer of 1897 collieries were open only two to three days per week (Novak 1996).

By this time, despite the decreasing opportunities for work, large numbers of immigrants from eastern and southern Europe sustained the ranks of an army of surplus labor, joining or slowly replacing earlier generations of nativized workers. As in other industries, the new immigrants were at first turned onto relatively less skilled laboring roles and could be, therefore paid considerably less (Barrett and Roediger 1997; Bodnar 1982, 1985; Dubofsky 1996; Gutman 1977; Roediger and Esch 2012). Maintaining this pool of surplus labor allowed capital the logistical flexibility to respond to the exigencies of an unpredictable market. In 1898 one operator admitted to a reporter from the *Yale Review* that he, “must have more men on hand than could be used at any except for the best business periods” (Brooks 1898:306). Notably, decisions from the combination scheduling the amount of work for each colliery for the foreseeable future were kept from workers or other organizations representing them to ensure laborers could not choose to relocate their labor to their best advantage (Evans in Congress 1889:512).

With the death of Ario Pardee in 1892, the operations at Lattimer and the other mines were turned over to the management and ownership of his son Calvin, in charge of the company at the time of the Massacre. Calvin’s tenure proceeded apace with the spirit of mechanized industry and he led the region in the development of strip mining and washery or culm bank reclamation,

processes that produced more coal at lower costs (Roberts 1901:20-21). For a time, these new processes were recognized as a capital effort to destabilize the value of craft skill of miners conducting underground extraction. A motto of strikes during the time incited a boycott of coal produced through the washery process: "Don't handle washery coal; that is what the operator stole from the miner" (quoted in Roberts 1901:212).

Following the national trends of a maturing industrial society, roles in these unskilled or low-skilled processes were often filled by new immigrants just entering the region (Roberts 1901:21). The diversity of groups entering the region offered a further advantage to operators whose carefully balanced arrangements were threatened most by the possibility of organization. Competition and hierarchicalization made the possibility of organization particularly difficult. Edward Pinkowski (1950:209) alleged that, "[Calvin Pardee] filled the houses at Lattimer largely with Italian immigrants, and those in Harwood with Slovaks, Poles and Lithuanians. With a wholesale mixture of nationalities he felt that there would be less chance of a consolidation of the working men against his interests". In fact, census and company records indicate this was not entirely the case, at least by the turn of the century, though it may have been true for the period leading up to the Massacre as the missing 1890 census is not present to provide us with evidence supporting this assertion. Despite their responsibility for the initial introduction of new immigrant labor to the region, capital nonetheless kept a wary eye out for signs of radicalism in their new workers, particularly after the Massacre. An operator commented to the same reporter that the practice of

importing new immigrant labor, “cannot be said to have turned out well, because the constant surplus, in times of depression, is open to so many dangers...” (Brooks 1898:306).

Throughout this period, the pattern of increasing radicalization begun in the middle part of the century continued as miners took to sporadic organization either in national trade unions or within regional or colliery-specific factions. A perceptive observer of the time reflected upon the need of labor unionism as a natural response or defense from capital’s rationalized organization in the form of the combination begun in the 1870s:

The situation then in these hard coal fields is one of organization upon one side and the hopeless want of it on the other... for this mass of struggling human beings, there is no rational ordering, nor even a thought of one. Here the competition goes on without let or hindrance” [Brooks 1898:309].

The region had failed to produce a comprehensive union since the fall of the WBA in 1874. Like many of the time, this observer placed blame upon the new immigrants for the failure to organize.

Drawing opinion from national anti-immigrant discourse, organized labor, lawmaking bodies, and the general public held the foreigners responsible for overproduction, decreasing wages, the degeneration of the region’s social life and the failure to organize upon the new immigrants. Organized labor blamed new immigrants for undercutting the effectiveness of striking efforts, taking up the racializing discourse citing the clannishness of new immigrant communal life made them unfit for the development of class solidarities (Brooks 1898; Greene 1965:11; Roberts 1901:196-197).

In reviewing the history of past strikes in the region including those of 1877, 1885 and 1888-1899, scholars have found no grounds to indicate new immigrants are to blame for the failure of organization in the region. Rather, they find the failure to propose effective union policy, the inability to coordinate regional striking efforts, and united operator resistance to explain the weakness of labor in these fights (Blatz 1994; Greene 1964, 1968; Wolensky 2014). Importantly, by taking this evasive and scapegoating solution, historians sidelined the causal factors of operator manipulation of the labor market as well as the effects of deskilling and mechanizing production processes. Each of these practices disempowered labor by segmenting solidarities and communities. In time, labor, allied with Progressive reformers, perceived the restriction of immigration to the region as one solution to the persistent issue of low wages, industry overproduction and the failure of organization.

In tallying the successes and failures of organized labor in the Anthracite region between the 1870s and the turn of the century, there is one facet in which relative success was attained. Beginning with the lobbying efforts of the WBA, labor interests in the region found some degree of success in influencing the passing of laws and electioneering (Blatz 1994:53-54). In fact Dubofsky (1996:74-82) reports that unlike the political climate of the country beginning in the turn of the next century, the period between 1870 and 1897 found labor in a positive position in regards to the influence of national politics. Boosted by popular opinion and a press media sympathetic to their cause, labor interests successfully mobilized a number of independent political parties including the

Greenback Labor, the People's and the Populists. They also lobbied for the reform of labor laws including those concerning wages and working conditions. (Dubofsky 1996:74-82)

A number of laws were passed in the Anthracite region between around 1869 and 1897 serving labor interests. With the passage of the countries' first mine safety laws passed by the Pennsylvania legislature in 1869 resulting directly from the lobbying efforts by the WBA, the legal realm was established as one avenue of agency for labor. Subsequent laws and codes directly resulting from lobbying by labor unions or interests were passed in 1879, 1881, 1889, and 1891, 1897 and 1901. It was only natural that, in connecting the source of trouble in the region to new immigrants, efforts would be made to use politics to limit or retard their participation in the industry. It was with such an intention that in 1889 the Pennsylvania legislature passed a law requiring miners to be certified by passing an examination and certifying a minimum of two years' experience as a miner's laborer in Pennsylvania (Aurand 1985:228; Turner 1977:14). This law was passed based upon arguments made by anti-immigration lobbies that rising accident rates in the mines could be attributed to inexperienced workforce, targeting specifically the new immigrants who progressively made up the bulk. The requirement that petitioners gain experience in Pennsylvania ensured that even workers with skills garnered overseas or out-of-state would have to spend two years in a laborer's position (Turner 1977:14).

Interlude: The Tactical Use of the Law in Anti-Immigration Efforts

The relationships between governmentality and sovereignty can best be understood through the relationship they erect in regards to law. Classically, sovereignty positions itself through a lawmaking act of violence. In the process it distinguishes an "us" from a "them", defining the boundaries of the social world from the excluded, the killable bare life (Agamben 2009). In such instances sovereignty is tactically produced through the very mechanism of its self-justification (Butler 2004:82). Violence, then, is always already "necessarily and intimately bound up with" the lawmaking act of sovereignty (Benjamin 1978: 295). Governmentality, on the other hand, in the instances in which it applies the law it does so *tactically*, opportunistically creating extralegal procedures when they meet the needs of a policy goal. A strict understanding of the linear or chronological evolution of sovereignty to governmentality in political history is perhaps an overdetermination in the work of Foucault, the artifact of misinterpreted Marxist determinism underpinning his thought. In fact, Foucault (2009:471) does not argue for the replacement or substitution of sovereignty with governmentality but a "shift of emphasis and the appearance of new objectives". But he also suggests that sovereignty can reemerge in a state of emergency in a "reanimated anachronistic form". Judith Butler (2004) proposes that in the past, sovereignty operated as a focusing force for States, moored to tradition and law. But it can erupt detached from a central focus, instead emerge from "within the field of governmentality" itself. In this guise it produces "petty sovereigns", unelected bureaucrats endowed with the power of the state, "mobilized by aims

and tactics of power they do not inaugurate or fully control... 'rogue' power par excellence" (Butler 2004:56) The "licensed life takers" cited in the monument acted within just such a form, enacting what appeared to be a kind of frontier justice. The confrontation of these two approaches to the law, however, operated in accordance throughout the buildup, eventhood and aftermath of the Lattimer Massacre. In each instance they perform against the best interests of the striking immigrant miners. The practice of using legalistic measures tactically is well illustrated by the efforts of organized labor and nativists to legislate immigration to the region leading up to the 1897 Lattimer strike. Ironically, in 2006 the city of Hazleton attempted to pass municipal laws to legislate Latino immigration to the town as well, an effort that would be ruled unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.

Legislating Anti-Immigration in the Anthracite Region

With the successes of political influence and the relative failure of organization, the fledgling UMWA would turn towards politics in the region in the 1890s. In 1896, a new representative by the name of John Fahy was appointed. He began his tenure organizing by courting the new immigrants, offering speaking roles at rallies to eastern Europeans as well as the rank-and-file (Blatz 2004: 49). Despite these efforts, membership in the anthracite region remained dismal as membership fluctuated, sometimes reflecting the strapped miners' financial inability to pay their dues. In 1896 Fahy temporarily gave up this pursuit in exchange for a tenure influencing politics in Harrisburg. In 1896 he joined a three person committee devoted to lobbying the governor and legislature to pass pro-labor legislation (Blatz 1994: 53-54; Greene 1964:202). In 1897, he helped to

expand the 1889 labor law to include a language component targeted specifically at prohibiting foreign laborers. This addendum to the law required that at least twelve questions on the examination for miner's certification be answered in English, bypassing a loophole that allowed petitioners to complete the exam through an interpreter (Aurand 1985:228; Greene 1964:201). Furthermore, at Fahy's urging the governor produced a more explicit anti-immigrant measure known as the Campbell Act, which placed a tax of 3-cents per day on employers for each foreign born male over twenty-one they employed (Blatz 1994:54; Greene 1964:203;). Praising the law, Fahy suggested that it could have been even higher, commenting in a UMWA journal editorial:

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. I have an idea it would also do the foreign-born.... a power of good by keeping them out of the coal mines where all is cruel poverty and misery. (John Fahy 1896, quoted in Blatz 2004: 54; Turner 1977: 15)

Naturally, this tax would be passed on to the laborers (Greene 1964; Novak 1996). The courts and political establishment went a step further to close a possible loophole in this process. A few days before the Campbell Act was passed, the Naturalization Court of Luzerne County, which held the jurisdiction over the greater Hazleton area, revised its rules complicating the process for naturalization. The new rules required, among other steps, a petitioning process, the appointment of an attorney and an examination on state and national laws in English. These procedural roadblocks greatly increased the cost, complexity and time it would require to become a citizen, the only way to avoid the tax (Turner 1977:16).

The collection of laws passed in this period are striking in the degree to which they reveal the governmentalization of immigration policy. This tendency is reflected in the diffusion of the traditional sovereign domains of security and territory into matters of policy at the center of the interests of citizens and institutions. As creative lawmaking acts, they bring into the hands of the public the reasoned power to draw the divisions of labor and race in the body of law. In a methodological sense, this assemblage of laws directly written furtively as measures to legislate aspects of safety and employer culpability reflect the round-about way in which governmental power treats the use of law “only as a set of tactics” or *rules* among many other heterogeneous means to accomplish policy goals (Butler 2004:52, 62; Foucault 2009). The Campbell Act, quite explicitly reflecting anti-immigrant sentiment, even goes so far as to attempt to engineer the racial landscape via the regulation of employers. Strikingly, the passage of the English requirement into the miner’s certification law of 1889 in 1897 is a clear reflection of the national efforts by Henry Cabot Lodge and the Immigration Restriction League to enact English literacy exams at the nation’s borders to legislate immigration of new immigrants. With this in mind we should remember that only in 1896 the law was vetoed by President Garfield as overly radical. Garfield found the roundabout way in which it attempted to legislate immigration suspicious. Garfield, in his response to Congress in 1896 wrote that:

The ability to read and write as required in this bill, in and of itself, affords... a misleading test of contented industry and supplies unsatisfactory evidence of desirable citizenship or a proper apprehension of the benefits of our institutions. If any particular element of our illiterate immigration is to be feared for other causes than illiteracy, these causes should be dealt with directly instead of making illiteracy the pretext for

exclusion to the detriment of other illiterate immigrants against whom the real cause of complaint cannot be alleged. (Congress 1921)

Ironically, this lawmaking tactic, including its circumlocutory strategy, oblique motivations and obvious scape-goating, perfectly echo the events of 2006 when the engineers and supporters of anti-immigration employed laws and statutes to attempt to limit immigration to the city of Hazleton. As in the historical case, these laws were enacted when municipal authorities and private citizens were discontented that Federal enforcement of existing national laws was insufficient. Also, echoing the tactics used in the historic case, the 2006 laws targeted employers who used immigrant labor (and in the contemporary case, landowners who rented to them) as well as legislating obstruction through language (Longazel 2010; McKanders 2007).

Perhaps the most significant aspect of the events leading up to the Massacre is the degree to which racial thinking played a powerful role in shaping the decisions, practices and the character of relationships between all the actors in the drama. Even as the stakes of each group could be distilled into economic necessities, the operators, the public, the media, law enforcement, the judicial system, and the strikers themselves interpreted events within an interpretive framework of racial thinking.

The Anthracite Region of Pennsylvania: The Summer of 1897

With the Campbell Act passed at the beginning of the summer of 1897 combined with the stress of the economic recession, tensions were high in the region. In the Southern and Northern coalfields, where large corporations often pursued discretionary tactics to mollify their workers, backlash from workers from

the Campbell Act tax was neutralized. However in the Lehigh region, where independent operators refused to give any such concessions that they interpreted as acquiescence, this was not the case.

The precipitating event for the first instance of striking came in the first few weeks of August 1897 in a response to cost saving measures by the superintendent of the Honey Brook Colliery, a mine operated by the Lehigh and Wilkes Barre Coal Company (L & WB) located to the south of Hazleton. Gomer Jones, the newly appointed superintendent made logistical changes to save money, targeting these measures not at the underground miners but at the mule drivers and the above-ground stripping laborers, many of whom were of new immigrant background (Blatz 2004:56). Jones' measures included removing some jobs from payroll, lowering some wage rates and adding a tax to coal used by employees. During the second week of August, Jones made further changes, consolidating the mule stables from the Audenried stripping into one location. This change would have added several hours of unpaid travel time to the mule driver's day, many of whom were young men or boys from Eastern Europe or Italy. The mule drivers at Audenried struck on August 14th, demanding either to be paid for the time, or the old locations to be restored. Greene reports that the striking laborers, who met in nearby McAdoo, were presided over by a Slovak supported by an Italian assistant (Greene 1968:130). The striking laborers set up a picket line near the colliery, urging other works to strike as well. Gomer Jones confronted the picket, using harsh language and swinging an axe handle or crowbar (Novak 1996:19-20; Aurand 2002:7). The exact sequence of events is

not entirely clear, but when a melee started, a young mule driver by the name of John Bodan was struck by Jones, breaking his arm. That evening Bodan reported the assault to the police, listing out witnesses among the present and provided the crowbar as evidence (Novak 1996: 20). Word spread quickly about the assault and by the 16th of August many of the workers of the L & WB colliery struck in sympathy for the drivers. Two leaders of the opposition were elected, a Slovak by then name of Jozef Kinchila, and an Italian named Nille Duse (Novak 1996: 27; Wolensky 2014:206). They demanded the wages and coal price be restored to at least the previous rates if not higher. They also demanded the removal of Gomer Jones. A committee made up of representatives of each nationality employed by the L & WB collieries made a trip to New York to confer with company officials. By August 20 the striking men made agreements with the company winning some of their demands including a promised analysis of wage rates from other collieries and an investigation of Jones' conduct. This strike came to an end by the 23rd of August, though tension remained high in the region (Blatz 2004:55-57). As a result of this unrest, John Fahy, back at work in the field, organized seven UMWA locals comprising of about a thousand men in the region. These locals were separated by ethnicity (Turner 1977:25).

Somewhere about the 25th of August the strike wave hit the collieries belonging to independent operator A.H. Van Wickle. Again, it was not the Native miners but the young, often foreign-born slate-pickers that struck this time, demanding higher wages and an end to the system of company stores and obligatory company doctors (Blatz 2004; Greene 1968; Turner 1977). It is

reported that by the 21st of August, the first wage deductions from the Campbell Act had come into effect and the laborers unexpectedly found their paychecks diminished (Blatz 2004; Turner 1977). The strike quickly spread to other collieries, stretching into the beginning of September. Parades and rallies composed mostly of Eastern European and Italian men occupied the parks and streets of the city. Some wielded clubs and iron bars, marching behind American flags. On the 3 September 1897, *The Hazleton Sentinel* printed this description of a rally in McAdoo and the subsequent march towards Hazleton:

By 10 o'clock this morning the vicinity of the hall on Blaine Street was black with people including many women. The Italian women are the most aggressive and they display a spirit that in such times is most dangerous to contend with. Speeches were given from the steps of the building...Blaine Street is a very wide road thoroughfare but the throng of people choked it completely. The strikers gave the word to move and they came down to the corner a solid mass of humanity that was formidable to behold. At the head of the column three men carried American flags and a large stoutly built woman carried a mallet. A score of young men had formed a line with their clubs held horizontally. Everything caught before this line had to either join the ranks or get out of the way.

On 4 September, 1897 in McAdoo the striking miners impatiently awaited the results of the eight person committee charged with securing concessions from Head Superintendent Lawall of the L&WB company. The *Wilkes-Barre Times* had this description:

It was a spirited meeting, full of Italian and Hungarian curses, threats and insinuations... The committee reasoned, but of no avail, the miners were determined to give a demonstration. One burly Italian yelled at the top of his voice, "Whata da good of [the committee of] eighta da men! I'a kill a Lawall better alone!"...And to demonstrate that he meant what he said he drew forth a good sized carving knife and flourished it in the air yelling "Vendetta!" This burst of Italian eloquence tended to invigorate the crowd... The Italian continued the matter in hand, "We getta do move on,

and close up the district," he said. [*Wilkes-Barre Times*, 4 September 1897; Wolensky 2014; Greene 1968]

UMWA representatives took the opportunity to organize, forming locals and signing on a great number of laborers and miners. However, the newspaper reported that ultimately, their efforts to contain the energy and momentum of the strike was found wanting. A march beginning in McAdoo on the morning of the 1st of September was composed of:

...about three hundred men, mostly Italians, who marched on the Monarch coal washery. Here they drove the employees from the place....The shouts and yells of the half maddened men could be heard throughout mountain town, growing momentarily in volume. [*The Hazleton Sentinel*, 2 September 1897]

In the strength and mystery with which the foreign influence swayed the crowd, the correspondent portended the undesired but potential necessity of violence:

The strong arm of the law cannot be subordinated to the designs of the inflammatory leader, and order must be maintained. Does it mean bloodshed? We hope not." (*Hazleton Sentinel* 2 September 1897)

Eight days later, the anticipated violence did indeed occur, perhaps primed by the fear mongering tones used in the papers that almost demanded it of those held responsible for maintaining order.

As colliery after colliery fell in the region to strikes the local independent operators grew anxious. Reportedly, the Coal & Iron Police were not responding to the situation to their satisfaction and the operators agreed that a stronger force was needed. A meeting of operators citing this was later leaked to the press (Novak 1996:93). Determined to stop the chaos, the loss of profit, and the instability to the social order, the local coal company operators called upon the local sheriffs of the three local counties to stop the striking. James Martin, Sheriff of Luzerne County, was called back from a vacation in Atlantic City to protect the

city and the colliery operations surrounding it including that of Lattimer to the north. When he entered the city, rather than with public officials, was with administrative staff of the Lehigh Valley Coal Company and the Calvin Pardee Company. At this time it was made clear to Martin that he would be held responsible if the mining operations in the region were affected. They also at this time pledged that the companies would pay the expenses for a posse to be drawn up (Novak 1996:90; Turner 1977:28).

Martin deputized a posse of 87 local citizens, applying the law of *posse comitatus* that allows the drawing up of an armed force of deputized citizens if a condition of unrest such as a riot is present (Turner 1977:28). A local businessman, Thomas Hall, who owned a business selling blasting powder to coal companies, was appointed as one chief deputy. Two other men, A.E. Hess, an employee of the Lehigh Traction Company, and Samuel Price, a lieutenant in the Coal & Iron Police, took charge of two other divisions (Novak 1996:119, 125). At the suggestion of Platt and Zerby, Martin authorized Hall to select and notify the men for the posse, an action which the law forbids a sheriff to delegate (Coxe, in HoR 1901:137). Nearly all the men involved had middle class or professional positions in the city or surrounding regions. By name, all are of Western European origin including Anderson, Babcock, Barton, Cook, Diehl, Hess, McShea, Mulhall, Nichols, Osborne, Pardee, Platt, Siewell, Turnbach, Warriner and Zierdt. There was one Catholic among them, an Irish schoolteacher by the name of McShea. Among them were half a dozen college graduates. Professions included many with close financial links to the coal industry including

a banker, two civil engineers, a construction foreman, a mine superintendant, a businessmen involved in the sale of blasting powder, a superintendant of Bell telephone, a lumber merchant, a bookkeeper and company store manager for a coal company, a school teacher and a tea company agent. At least one coal miner, Alonzo Dodson, was also present (Pinkowski 1950: 9; Novak 1996:118-119, 124-126, 131, 158). Twenty-three deputies were employed by Calvin Pardee & Company, 22 of which can be identified in the census records as living in the town of Lattimer. Fourteen worked for the Lehigh Valley Coal Company. Six were members of the Coal & Iron Police (Turner 1977:28).

The coal operators, responsible for the calling up of the posse, agreed to pay for all of the expenses accrued by the deputies. The superintendent of the G.B. Markel and Company ordered rifles and shotguns, shipping them to a warehouse owned by the A. Pardee Company. The weapons were dispersed by Ario Platt of the Pardee Company to each member of the posse. They were each given a Winchester repeating rifles and by some accounts, a shotgun and/or a revolver (Pinkowski 1950:9-10; Turner 1977:28-29; Novak 1996:90-92). The shotguns were loaded with No. 8 shot (Pinkowski 1950:9-10). The rifles were likely the Model 1895 Winchester repeating rifle. The load being carried is reported to have been .44-40 caliber (Novak 1996:136). In addition, the deputies were supplied with a special traction car or trolley so they could move unimpeded throughout the region. This vehicle, along with telegraphic communication allowed law enforcement to anticipate the movements of the marching strikers (Turner 1977; *Hazleton Sentinel*, 3 September 1897).

Each of the sheriffs of the three counties surrounding Hazleton, Carbon, Schuylkill and Luzerne, had written up proclamations citing the Riot Act of 1860, demanding the cessation of...

...all tumultuous and unlawful assembly, and from all acts of disorder or violence, and from all acts of interfering with the liberty of other citizens, or tending to a breach of peace. Notice is further given that all such acts of disorder and lawlessness will be summarily repressed and punished in accordance with the laws of the land" (Turner 1977: 29; Wolensky 2008)

These were printed and nailed up throughout the area. Each of the sheriffs deputized a number of men, who joined company sponsored Pinkerton detectives, Coal and Iron Police, and company guards. Reportedly, a total of 500 deputies and 300 Pinkertons joined other law enforcement to make up this force (Greene 1964:206). For the next few days the deputies chased the strikers across the town, attempting to head them off. Sheriff Martin was successful on some of these occasions, as when the marching strikers were repelled from closing down the Crystal Ridge Colliery on the 7 September by a simple threat of force and the reading of the proclamation aloud (Turner 1977:29). Sheriff Martin reports that a part of this group proceeded to Lattimer and was similarly repulsed by deputies (Martin, in HoR 1901:69; Turner 1977:29). A newspaper reports that at this time some rioting occurred with strikers reportedly "terrorizing residents" in the town, though it is not clear exactly what occurred (NYT 5 February 1898). When the deputies tried to stop a group of strikers trying to shut down the strippings at Beaver Meadows, Martin reports that one striker shot at them with revolver. This time the deputies fired warning shots in the air and the marchers dispersed (Turner 1977: 29). Despite these successes, for the most part the strikes were orderly and quiet. Martin, who was known for his restraint, remarked

to an acquaintance on the 9th of September that the posse was not entirely necessary given the fact that the strikers conducted themselves in a relatively orderly fashion. To a Mr. Frank Pardee on the evening of the 9th, Martin would complain that as the strikers were “doing nothing wrong” he “had no right to interfere” with them (HoR 1901:138). The coal operators, on the other hand, did not think this was the case.

By 9 September, most of the collieries to the south of the city were shut down placing great pressure on the mine ownership. The two collieries of Calvin Pardee were an exception. Harwood, to the south of the city and largely occupied by Eastern Europeans, had already been on strike for a few days and a large UMWA local had been organized among its miners and laborers. A Slavic laborer, Joseph Mehalto from Crystal Ridge, was elected the president and John Eagler, a Hungarian, was elected secretary. Upon the formation of the union they sent a demand to the Pardee office for a raise of ten cents in wages, a reduction in the cost of blasting powder and the elimination of the company store and doctor (Pinkowski 1950:11). The colliery at Lattimer, however, remained open. In order for the strike to work, production had to stop in all of the operations of the notoriously stubborn and powerful Pardee family business (Pinkowski 1950: 11; Turner 1977:30).

September 10, 1897: The Lattimer Massacre

In his testimony to the Austrian Consulate, John Eagler reported that “From the side of the laborers at Lattimer, who were also employed by the C. Pardee Company, many a time there was sent word to us that we may come

over to them and they are willing to come out on strike for the same as us” (Eagler, quoted in HoR 1901:54-55). Novak reports, without citing a source, that an emissary from Lattimer, an Italian, visited the Harwood local on the evening of the 9th of September, (Novak 1996: 105). That evening they decided to send a group of men to shut down the mines at Lattimer the next day.

Reportedly, on the morning of the 10th of September a representative from Lattimer by the name of John Glanati, (alt. *Glavati* or *Hlavaty*) the only individual from the Lattimer representatives whose name has been recorded, came to visit Thomas Racek of Harwood to encourage the march (Racek, in HoR 1901:48, Sivar, in HoR 1901:50; Stiver, in HoR 1901:51; Novak 1996: 109). The leaders of the Harwood group first sent a message to the McAdoo local asking for support and for a flag they could carry along the march route. The UMWA local declined to help or provide a flag at this time as they had their own meeting pending that day. They, however, insisted that the marchers walk under an American flag and urged them to not bring any weapons. Siver and Eagler went to Humboldt colliery to borrow a flag (Eagler, in HoR 1901:55). Somewhere around 250 to 300 men collected in Harwood around 1 o’clock and began the march to Lattimer, intending to pass through West Hazleton. On the way, they collected men from patch towns they passed. Some accounts suggest this accumulation involved compulsion; other accounts suggest the march was orderly. Eyewitness accounts estimate the number of marchers ranging from 200 to 1000 men, with the majority of accounts averaging between 200 and 300 men (Evans in LFM 1898;

Sykes in LFM 1898; Charles, in LFM 1898; Hoyt, in HoR 1901:85; Sherman, in HoR 1901:50; Stiver, in HoR 1901:51; Pinkowski 1950:11, 12; Turner 1977:30).

In West Hazleton, at a location known locally as McKenna's corner, Evan Jones, Chief of Police in West Hazleton, as well as the Sheriff and about 40 of his deputies confronted the strikers, refusing them entrance into the city and demanding that they disband. In some accounts Martin read his proclamation to the strikers (Martin, in HoR 1901:70; Turner 1977:31). Other accounts suggest otherwise such as that of Ando Siver, who later testified that he saw "...the sheriff take a folded paper out of his pocket and without opening it put it back directly. It is true the sheriff said that this was his proclamation but whether the paper he showed was a proclamation or not I could of course not know" (Siver, in HoR 1901:50). Novak reports that Evan Jones interceded when Martin and the deputies attempted to disrupt the march, to their dismay. He reassured the marchers that they could legally march on the public road peacefully and provided they did not walk through the town (Siver, in HoR 1901:55; Novak 1996:121). Martin's own account of the event describes how he:

...begged them to go home and not cause any more trouble. I think that some of them wanted to do so, but it looked to me, by the way they acted and talked, as if the majority wanted to keep on and stop Lattimer Mines at any cost. They also told me that to-morrow thye would all bring guns along, and we would see whether we would stop them then, and that if we shot they would shoot, and called me and the deputies all the vile names they could think of (Martin, in HoR 1901:70).

An incident of violence broke out and a striker's arm was broken by deputy Thomas Hall (*NYT* 11 February 1898). Deputy Ario Pardee Platt took offence at the striker's wielding of the flag and took one of the flagpoles, broke it and tore the flag up throwing it to the ground.

Name calling from both sides occurred in this incident, as well as ominous and threatening words elicited from the deputies. Striker Joseph Mekki said the deputies yelled out at the strikers, "If you do not get out of the road we will shoot you down like dogs" (NYT, 11 February 1898). According to Sheriff Martin's account, strikers flaunted their protection, responding, "I am not a citizen and you cannot do anything to me" (Martin, in Palmer 1913: 160-161). Striker August Catski testified that while standing next to the trolley in West Hazleton he overheard one of the deputies say, "Let them go until we get to Lattimer, and then we'll shoot them" (Catski, NYT 11 February 1898). John Welsh, a man from Hazleton who witnessed the encounter spoke with Deputy Edward Turnbach in the trolley, who commented that: "We have been marching around the country after these fellows for several days now. I don't see why the sheriff won't let us shoot some of them" (FLM 1898: 366). Other witnesses overheard phrases such as, "I'd like to get a pop at the sons of bitches. I'll bet I'll drop six", "Everyone of the Goddamn Hunks ought to be shot" and "We'll get even with them in Lattimer" (Turner 1977: 31; Miller and Sharpless 1998).

Following this first violent confrontation the striking miners continued their march towards Lattimer. The deputies jumped on the trolley and made their way to the road leading into town to await them. There the posse was met by about forty or more deputies or employees of the Calvin Pardee Company making up a total force of around 80 to 90 men. What followed resembles a prototypical *Rashomon*-moment as many crucial details vary greatly among the eyewitnesses

to the event. Sorting through these accounts only a schematic sequence emerges.

Reportedly, there were two roads leading into the town, a train route into the strippings and a wagon road. The deputies were first deposited along the train route assuming the strikers would approach the colliery workings first. The marchers stopped at the first corner that headed into town briefly and then took the wagon road. The sheriff and his posse first arranged themselves in a horseshoe shape, possibly running across the road into town. The sheriff then rearranged the men so that they stretched from the edge of the road into the field to provide *enfilading* fire, or to deliver ordinance along the long axis of the marchers. Deputy A.E. Hess later testified that the line of deputies was 75 to 100 feet from the road on the right and 15 feet on the left" (Hess, in HoR 1901:141). Purportedly, when the marchers came into view, Sheriff Martin left the posse and walked towards the head of the line. He met them below a large gumberry tree. After some form of discussion turned into struggle at least one shot was fired. A volley from the posse followed, continuing for one to three minutes as the marchers turned and ran, caught between the posse and the raised bed of the traction line. Even as they scattered to the southeast and southwest away from the fire, the men continued to empty their magazines. A deputy was seen pursuing the retreating men, running up to the top of the embankment and firing towards the schoolhouse in Lattimer. The principal and his assistant witnessed the start of the event from the schoolhouse several hundred yards away, and as strikers ran in their direction the deputies turned to fire towards them hitting the

schoolhouse and felling several men yards away. A 1950s text about the massacre written by Edward Pinkowski (1950:14) describes the confusion and horror of the event in agonizing detail, describing how:

most victims were shot in the back and the bullets went right through their bodies.... Men froze momentarily as their comrades fell about them. Three bodies, face downward, lay along the trolley bank, and three others a short distance away. The blood of the dead and dying soaked the dusty road and stained the water which flowed past...

Following the massacre, a shaken Sheriff Martin took the first train back to Wilkes Barre. At the train station he gave the first of several different accounts he would give of the moments before the firing began. To a reporter at the station he described how:

They acted very viciously, reviling and kicking me, knocking me down and tramping upon me. I called upon my deputies to aid me, and they did so, but they were unable to accomplish much. I realized that something had to be done at once or I would be killed. I called to the deputies to discharge their firearms into the air over the heads of the strikers as it might probably frighten them. It was done at once, but it had no effect whatever on the infuriated foreigners, who used me so much rougher and became fiercer and fiercer, more like wild beasts than human beings... I then called upon the deputies to defend themselves and shoot if they must to protect their lives or to protect the property that they had been sent to guard from being demolished. The next second there were a few scattered shots fired into the infuriated foreigners and a moment later the entire force of deputies discharged a solid volley into the crowd. I hated to give the command to shoot and it was with awful sorrow that I was compelled to do so, but I was there to do my duty and I did it as best I knew how.... (Martin, quoted in Novak 1996: 143)

As Martin made this statement, recorded by a few reporters and printed in the paper the next day, his attorney George Ferris took him by the arm and pulled him away to the hotel across the street. In the next public statement made by Martin the story had been altered by the coaching of his attorney. This time he reflected:

When the strikers reached us I ordered them to halt and they did so... A few of the men came from the head of the crowd and shouted that they did not care for me or my deputies and that they intended to go to Lattimer and stop the mine. While I was arguing with the men I saw them talking secretly and I knew that some trouble was brewing. The first thing I knew some big Italian came from the crowd, one of the men that had been shouting at me, and grabbed me by the throat.... The fellow pulled my head under his arms and struck me on the shoulders, and when I had a chance to look up I saw that I was surrounded by several fierce looking men. I shouted to the men that they should arrest the person and who had attacked me, but in the confusion the deputies evidently did not hear what I said. Then I heard a shot and it was soon followed by another. This seemed a signal for a combined volley on the part of the deputies and before I could extricate myself from the crowd that had surrounded me there was one rifle crack after another.... The order to fire never came from my lips. When the deputies saw that I was attacked I suppose they thought it was their duty to protect me.... (Martin, quoted in Novak 1996: 145)

Testimony from strikers and some witnesses about the sequence of events is varied but with some degree of consistency. As later accounts by Martin would attest to, he pulled a revolver and attempted to fire at a striker at point blank range to defend himself. John Eagler testified to the Austrian Consulate in the days after the event, describing those few minutes:

I was then in the first row, and when we came to a stop about 25 yards off Lattimer the Sherriff came up to us and told us we had to stop. The sheriff went to about the middle of the first row, and some fellow of the second or third row said "Go Ahead" and the sheriff caught a young fellow by the name of Mike Malady. The latter said to the sheriff, "It was not I." Then the people of behind said again, "Go Ahead!" and pushed ahead. Then the sheriff caught a hold of another fellow, as it seems to me, by the name of Nuvosny, and put a revolver right to his breast. I heard a snap of the revolver, but it did not take any effect. While this happened and the crowd pushed forward the firing started. Mike [Ceslak], a co-laborer of mine, who was standing beside me, dropped to the ground and I dropped with him, but still believing that there were blank cartridges the deputies were shooting with. But when lying on the ground I saw blood.... The firing lasted about one or two minutes, while all of us were running, and I am quite positive that the deputies shot while we were running and while we had our backs turned toward them. (Siver, testimony, in HoR 1901:55)

Bystanders had a variety of perspectives that provide even more complexity to the events. Charles Guscott, the principal of the school in Lattimer located only about 300 yards away from the scene of the massacre observed that:

....a number of striking men—probably 500—came along the public highway. These men showed no outward appearance that I could see of a riotous body. They were orderly and unarmed, making no boisterous demonstrations of any kind. As they advanced to within 40 yards of the company houses they were met by the sheriff. The sheriff, with about 60 of his deputies, who formed a line almost parallel with the public road, but not across it, stepped out to meet the strikers. The strikers did not make any attempt to pass him, but crowded him to hear what he had to say. As I was about 300 yards away from the sheriff I could not hear what he had to say; however, I saw him take two men and pull them to the side of the road. Then the strikers made an attempt to march down the road. About two minutes after the sheriff stopped the men I heard the report of one of the deputy's guns, followed by about ten seconds by another, which was followed by a volley [Guscott, in HoR 1901:53].

Mrs. Elizabeth Harvey, the wife of the company physician at Lattimer, described how "...the sheriff stepped toward the strikers and halted them. They talked a few minutes and then marched on. Then the firing commenced. The sheriff was tussling with the two men. While he was tussling the rest of the strikers rushed towards the deputies." Upon cross-examination, she related that:

those from the rear rank kept crowding on the front men. These front men were then driven on toward Lattimer by those behind, and when they came about opposite the deputies they were fired upon, and they started to run after the volley backward as they came. The shots struck the men as they were running" [Harvey, in HoR 1901:130].

Other accounts assert that the flag carried by the strikers, as in the confrontation at West Hazleton, played a symbolic and material role in the confrontation as Martin went to grab for the flag carried by the strikers, resulting in a tussle (Culen 1977: 45).

After the shooting ended, the dead and wounded were cared for by strikers, witnesses and deputies. Grace Coyle, the principal's assistant at the school reports that she:

...helped many of the wounded strikers who fell near the schoolhouse. I bandaged the wounds of some of those who were shot through the arm or leg, and we carried one man shot in the stomach, and another in the chest, into the schoolhouse; gave them water to drink, and tried to make them comfortable.

By some accounts the violence continued after the shooting as when Deputy A.E. Hess was observed kicking a prostrate victim. When he was upbraided for his behavior by a bystander he replied, "shut up or you will get the same dose" (Novak 1996: 131). The wounded were placed on the trolley with the help of some deputies and bystanders and were transported to the Hazleton State Hospital. A witness, John Marinko, said that the conductor originally refused to carry the wounded because they could not pay fare but the schoolteacher gave him \$1 to defray the costs (Markinko, in LFM 1898: 366).

The hospital in Hazleton was overrun with the wounded, requiring the expedited discharging of patients to make empty beds (Pinkowski 1950: 17). Exact numbers of the wounded vary by account but generally run between 32 and 50 with the most frequently cited number being 38 (Stearns 1898; Pinkowski 1950; Miller and Sharpless 1998: 234). The treatment of wounds required amputation, the perforation of skulls to relieve pressure from head wounds, and multiple abdominal bullet extractions (Pinkowski 1950). In the Philadelphia Inquirer on the 14th of September, Dr. Kellar reported that, "The head cases are extremely puzzling. The bullets have imbedded deeply into the substance of the brain, which has oozed out through the openings of the skull. These bullets, of

course, cannot be removed. Notwithstanding this the patients are conscious and spend portions of the day in conversation with their lives and families” (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 14 September 1897). Following the examination of one victim by a coroner at this early date, the superintendent of the hospital presumptively declared to the paper, “I have no doubt that when the affair has been carefully investigated it will be found that there was no infraction of the law on the part of Sheriff Martin and his deputies” (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 14 September 1897). Meanwhile, some deputies fled town including J. Potter Clarke, Ario Platt, Jr., Calvin Pardee Jr. and Samuel Price who hid in a hotel in Atlantic City under assumed names (Miller and Sharpless 1998: 234; *Wilkes Barre Times* 17 September 1897)

Responses to the Massacre

News of the event spread quickly throughout the region. Following the incident the Pennsylvania National Guard under Brigadier General John P. Gobin was called into town by a request by Sheriff Martin and at the direction of Governor Daniel H. Hastings (Miller and Sharpless 1998: 234). Five regiments of the third brigade were mobilized, arriving by the morning of the 11 September. General Gobin, fearing that the upcoming funerals might agitate the public to violence, “so distributed the [the troops] that the crowds of foreign miners who attended these funerals should realize that in or near all quarters of the community for miles about there was an ample military force to preserve order” (Gobin, HoR 1901:76). Around 2500 men were placed strategically throughout the town (Miller and Sharpless 1989:18; Pinkowski 1950:18). The Ninth

Regiment Infantry was stationed in Hazle Park in West Hazleton. The Thirteenth regiment was stationed in Lattimer, setting up camp near the town. Additional regiments would occupy Audenried, central Hazleton, East Hazleton and Drifton (Novak 1996; Gobin, in HoR 1901:75).

The communities in and around Hazleton responded to the massacre in a number of ways including the mass spectacle of ceremonial internment and an expansion of striking and organizing behavior. Plans were quickly made for the internment of the victims scheduled to occur on the 12 and 13 of September. A funeral procession preceded each burial throughout the city accompanied by ethnic regalia and music. Victor Greene (1968:140) in *The Slavic Community on Strike* describes one “snake-like procession wending its way along the road” thusly:

The day’s weather supplied the perfect background for what took place. Through a fine, chilling drizzle and a heavy mist, a brass band playing the death march led the cortege. With muffled drums it preceded the three biers, the families of the deceased and a thousand paraders in grocery and beer wagons past culm piles crowded with fascinated onlookers. Prominent in the was a double file of men and boys of St. Joseph’s Society wearing red, white, and blue sashes on their shoulders and crepe badges over their hearts.

The dead were distributed throughout the many different ethnic and religious cemeteries throughout the Hazleton region. Twelve of the dead were interred in St. Stanislaus cemetery on the east side of the city. Others were buried in the Vine Street and St. Stephens cemeteries in Hazleton. One of the dead was buried in the nearby town of McAdoo. General Gobin, in a meeting with religious leaders, “requested that in their sermons everything of a revengeful, or vindictive character or to provoke a breach of the peace should be omitted” and that “Under

no circumstances would I allow bodies of armed men, clothed in the uniform of a foreign nation to appear in these funerals” (Gobin 1898). An initial request that no music be played at the funerals, in fear of the passion it might inspire among the foreign body, was revoked by the brigade commander (Wilkes Barre Times, 13 September 1897). His demand that no weapons be displayed during the proceedings went unheeded as ten members of the Italian-American Society held their ceremonial sabers aloft at St. Stanislaus (Philadelphia Inquirer, 14 September 1897)

Mass meetings were held in neighborhoods throughout the town and the striking of the last few weeks was greatly expanded. In some cases, new demands were made of the coal operators. By the 14 September a total of ten or eleven thousand workers in the region struck in sympathy for the victims, refusing to work until demands were met or at least all the victims were buried. Fifteen collieries were entirely closed (Philadelphia Inquirer, 15 September 1897; Greene 1968:142). The community of Lattimer, which had taken a backseat in the previous three weeks of striking, became a hotbed of radical activity. Fifteen hundred workers at Lattimer walked off their jobs on the 12 September (Miller and Sharpless 1998: 235; Beik 2002: 68). A massive meeting was held in the town on the 14th and 15th resulting in a number of demands for the coal companies including the immediate dismissal of all officials who participated in the posse (*Philadelphia Enquirer*, 14 September 1897). A meeting held on the morning of the 15th of September, in which every member of the colliery attended, resulted in the demands for an increase in

wages and the abolishment of the company store. The Philadelphia Inquirer reported that:

In the long statement they prepared the miners declared that the company was charging them \$3.25 for a sack of flour that can be purchased in Hazleton for \$2.25; that they were forced to pay \$1.95 for twenty-five pounds of sugar that the Hazleton Merchants sell for \$1.25. The company... pays \$4.35 for fifty pounds of giant powder and charges them \$5 for twenty-five pounds. While they are obliged to purchase for \$2.75 kegs of black powder for which the company pays from 80 to 90 cents. These grievances, the men declared, were too serious to be borne [Philadelphia Inquirer, 15 September 1897].

Despite this unrest Calvin Pardee in an interview for the Philadelphia Inquirer maintained that his men were “happy.... until a mob forced them from work” (Philadelphia Inquirer 16 September 1897).

In the aftermath of the massacre, violence came largely in the form of rumors and threats. *The Philadelphia Enquirer* (14 September 1897) reports that the miners in Lattimer planned to “blow up the officials and the company store with dynamite”, though this rumor never surfaced in reality. However, six extra watchmen were assigned to patrol the town. Other news articles indicate that divisions existed between the English-speaking laborers at Lattimer and the enclaves of Eastern and Southern European workers. An article in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* from the 15th of September reported that a committee of English-speaking miners had been formed to confer with miners “from the Hungarian and Italian colonies for the purpose of endeavoring to persuade the latter to be more reasonable in their demands” to the Pardee Company management. An article from the 18th of August shows that even stronger divisions between these two groups surfaced and that the presence of miners

amongst the deputies proved to be a divisive issue in the town. The *Wilkes Barre Times* (18 August 1897) reports that:

At Lattimer where the Calvin Pardee mines are located the forty or fifty English-speaking miners say they would go back at once if their safety is guaranteed but they say they dare not....They say the foreigners think they are all deputies and that if they tried to resume work their lives would not be worth a moments purchase. The foreigners are quite determined not to go back and they are not at all backward in making threats as to what they will do if any of the others try to work.

On the 19 September *the Philadelphia Inquirer* reported that:

A large party of Italians entered the home of Deputy Sheriff Jacob Dougherty, at Lattimer, early this morning. They searched the house from cellar to garret for the deputy whom they declared they had come to kill. A squad of soldiers from the Thirteenth Regiment was dispatched to the scene and arrived just in time to see the last Italian make his exit from the rear door.

A third article from the 15th September hints at another result of tensions in the town. The *Philadelphia Inquirer* reported that as a result of the shooting Italians were leaving the town *en masse*.

The extended striking, however, took its toll on the working and living conditions of the miners and their families and as companies began to offer some amount of recompense, men began to return to work by the 16 September (Greene 1968: 142-143). To those holding out for more radical reforms, the need to extend the strike was a matter of desperation. In the town of Lattimer and elsewhere, women were often at the forefront of efforts to push for more radical reforms. In Lattimer, "Big Mary" Septak, who managed a boardinghouse in town, led a group of women in attacks on any men who dared to return to work prematurely. "A short stout Hungarian woman" she "cavorted about in most amusing style" carrying a "crude sword fashioned out of a lathe" (*Wilkes Barre Times* 20 September 1897). This entailed a confrontation with the National Guard

troops, who were perplexed at this show of womanly determination. There are numerous accounts of cavalry troops confronting women armed with clubs, rolling pins and frying pans (Greene 1968:143-144; Pinkowski 1950). An order was given to the National Guard troops that if a battle with the women required the use of sabers, that only “the flat of the blade be employed” (Philadelphia Inquirer, 16 September 1897). An effort to shut down the washery at Lattimer by Mary Septak and her “amazons” was ultimately unsuccessful as troops pushed them off the road by the muzzles of their rifles (Pinkowski 1950: 27).

By the 20th of September, “the backbone of the great strike” was weakening as miners, piecemeal, began to return to work (*Wilkes Barre Times* 20 September 1897). At Honey brook Colliery the workers returned to work under the watchful eye of an armed accompaniment of cavalry armed with “gattling guns, and ammunition and other terrifying accoutrements” (*Wilkes Barre Times*, 20 September 1897). At Lattimer, the *Wilkes Barres Times* reported that 800 of the 1500 workers returned to work, most of whom were Italian. The Eastern Europeans, on the other hand, noisily paraded through town the night before, rattling tin cans and chanting, demanding that the members of their community resist the urge to return. By October 4th, however, all the collieries in the region would be back in operation (Greene 1968:144).

The national and international audience responded to the events of the Massacre with heterogeneity of positions. Nonetheless, they appraised the significance of the event as connected to other aspects of political and social life. The Austro-Hungarian government viewed the situation in international terms as

an attack on the life of sovereign Austro-Hungarian nationals. The Austro-Hungarian consul in Philadelphia quickly began an investigation of the event when it was brought to their attention by a prominent Hazletonian Hungarian by the name of John Nemeth. Within the month of September they commenced an investigation including a collection of eyewitness accounts from witnesses including some of the marchers. They also assembled a list of confirmed citizens of the Austro-Hungarian Empire among the killed and wounded noting age, birthplace, where wounded, and for the dead, the number of surviving relatives for whom the deceased was a supporter. They promptly demanded a criminal investigation of the deputies with the intention of the federal government supplying indemnities to the surviving families of the fallen (Greene 1968; HoR 1901). The basis to call for indemnities came from a similar situation that had occurred recently in American history, the lynching of Italians during a riot in New Orleans. In this case, the Italian government was awarded indemnities for the families of victims (Wilke Barre Times 11 September 1897; Hoyt 1898).

The day after the massacre, newspapers across the country expressed shock and dismay in language such as “Yesterday’s butchery- A Mob of Heartless Deputies Fire into a Throng of Marchers and Accomplish Deadly Work” (*The Daily Standard*), “Strikers Shot in Cold Blood” (*Pottsville Republican*), “Strikers march to Death” (*The New York Tribune*), “Mowed Down by Deputies” (*San Francisco Chronicle*), and “Dead in Heaps, Deputies Fire on Miners at Lattimer” (*Boston Daly Globe*). Ethnic newspapers expressed dismay fully appraised the racial, nationalist or ethnic victimization inherent to the brutality,

poignantly editorializing the implications (Stolarik 2002; Turner 1984). In the socialist Slovak-American newspaper *Fakla* an editor opined, “In the freest country under the sun, people are shot like dogs. Slavs are the victims of American savagery” (Pucher-Ciernovodsky 1897, quoted in Stolarik 2002:35). A Ukrainian paper based in the Anthracite region, *Svoboda*, used the massacre as an opportunity to illuminate the role of anti-immigration sentiments in the violence when it lamented, “Knowing what hatred is breathing every capricious American against any Slavonic man.... It can be said with certainty, that the sheriff ordered to shoot toward hated Hungarians...” (*Svoboda* 1897, quoted in Turner 1984:127).

Other editorialists connected the tragedy to other transnational events such as the growing American imperialism evident in the concurrent U.S. involvement in the Spanish-American War. In the saber-rattling aftermath of the blowing up of the Maine, the massacre was invoked by a commentator that questioned the nation’s readiness to mobilize for war in this instance, but for the “carnival of carnage that takes place everyday” in the mines and industrial work environments, “no popular uproar is heard” (Zinn 2003:307). Similarly, a London based paper suggested that, “There is no reason for America to fight Spain after all. An outlet for her fighting energy is provided by the indiscreet vigor of a Pennsylvania Sheriff” (The Daily Mail, 14 September 1897, quoted in Greene 1964:210). Likewise, *Lucifer, Light Bringer* an anarchist newspaper based in Chicago suggested there was a direct connection between the massacre and imperialism in this stunning passage I quote in full:

If this is not imperialism, pray in what does imperialism consist? From the state of this centralized Federal power packing the Supreme Court with its creatures and partisans... the arrest of Emma Goldman and the massacre of the helpless strikers at Lattimer, Pennsylvania, this hydra-headed imperialism overshadows the land. In brief, the United States has finally become under the evolution of despotism, a judicial military ecclesiastical capitalistic, plutocracy embodying the aristocratic principle of the Doges of Venice, with the imperialism of ancient Rome working through the Parliamentary machinery of monarchial England. Every avenue of the nation's life is fed and poisoned by a capitalistic corrupted and religion-by-law-perverted public school system....And worst of all, the enslaved and degenerate American, thanks to the public school, loves his chains [Baylor 1898:57].

Anarchist organizations throughout the country used the example of Hazleton to call for violent retribution. Branch 2 of the organization Social Democracy in America passed a resolution demanding that for, "every miner killed or wounded a millionaire should be treated in the same manner" (Falk 2003:288). A member of that organization's board of directors responded that he would "burn every dollar's worth of their property" and "destroy their palaces" (Falk 2003:288).

Other media sources were more supportive of the cause of the Sheriff's cause, writing in support of the Sheriff, generally supporting his unequivocal duty to maintain the peace and the strength of law. For example, on the 23 September 1897 the *New York Observer* wrote that, "The first duty of government is to protect life and property, so to defend its citizens in possession of the results of their toil....It is for such emergencies that sheriff's posses exist, and the law places no limit to the means they shall use..." Similarly, *Life* writes that given the lack of available troops at Lattimer at the time we should accept that, "...the Sheriff did his best, there is nothing for it but to back him up, condone his indiscretion if he was indiscreet, and admit that he did his duty" (23 September 1897, *Life*).

The Trial

By the middle of September, authorities faced mounting pressure to prosecute the sheriff and his deputies by the community, the Austro-Hungarian government and an organization of citizens devoted to the cause known as the National Prosecuting and Charity Committee of the Lattimer Victims or the NPCCLV (Turner 1984: 25). An arrest warrant for the sheriff and 78 deputies was issued by Judges L.H. Bennett and John Lynch on the 20th of September. The defendants were charged with killing and wounding the strikers “feloniously, willfully, and of their own malice” (Turner 1984: 25). The defendants were arraigned; a bail of \$6,000 set for each, and a trial date of 1 February, 1898 was scheduled.

When the trial came the defendants were comprised of Sheriff Martin and 68 deputies making a total of 69. About ten of those originally named in the indictment were dismissed by *nolle prosequi*. The defendants were charged jointly with murder, with a second count of manslaughter for each man killed. In addition they were charged in a separate indictment for “the felonious wounding of each man wounded”, and in this indictment charged again for murder and a second count of manslaughter for each man killed (HoR 1901:82). This trial was to be considered a test case, in which the defendants were to be tried only for the killing and manslaughter of one of the victims, Michael Ceslak, with the remaining charges pending on the results (HoR 1901:82).

One hundred and three witnesses testified for the prosecution and 111 for the defense (HoR 1901:83). The prosecution, which by some accounts was conducted poorly, hoped to show that the posse was unnecessarily called and by

the time of the confrontation, was already predisposed to violent confrontation (Greene 1968:241). The case for the defense of the Sheriff and the deputies depended upon evidence for the belligerence of the strike in the days preceding the march and during the confrontations at West Hazleton and Lattimer. Throughout the trial, the sequence of events leading up to the violence was recounted from an abundance of sources. These included the eyewitness accounts of strikers, deputies, professionals, and bystanders and from third person observers such as public officials, lawyers and media. The task of recreating the events have been complicated by the fact that the trial transcripts disappeared, having last been in the hands of Henry Palmer, one of the trial lawyers who used them to write a personal memoir of the trial (Palmer 1913). Nonetheless, portions of testimony have been recorded or summarized in official reports, newspaper articles and dramatizations. At times, these accounts lack supporting evidence or proper citations. Additionally, given the confusion of the moment, the seriousness of the crime, and the political stakes of the post-event trial, it is impossible that details were dissimulated, manipulated, or outright fabricated. As a result, crucial details vary by account including the nature of the precipitating interaction, the number killed, the number wounded, the types of wounds accrued, the duration of the firing, the number of deputies, the number of strikers, arrangement of the deputies, the position of the strikers, the distance between the two parties, the position of the sheriff once the firing began, whether the word “fire” was yelled, whether the proclamation was read, whether the strikers had weapons, and what sort of weapons the posse were armed with.

One witness, in close proximity to the fray, even insisted that it was not Martin who confronted the strikers but Deputy Hess with a rifle in hand (Welsh, in HoR 1901). Of the seven deputies that testified, only Charles J. Haen admitted to firing his weapon (HoR 1901:135-142,145).

Woven into the rhetoric of both sides was a subtle argument regarding the nature and responsibility of citizens versus foreigners. In his opening address, Martin's attorney George Ferris implied that in recognizing the high standing of the professional men called to the posse should be evidence enough to counter the charge of wrongdoing, citing the fact that the sheriff, "did not choose loafers, bar-room bummers, toughs and thugs but good, law abiding citizens-men of good judgment, good character, good standing in the community" (Ferris, in Palmer 1913). In essence, all were good capitalists. Many times, the flags that played such a material and symbolic role in the event was evoked or the physical evidence materialized by attorneys. Scarlet, speaking for the defense, "handled the evidenced flag the strikers carried", opining that, "they marched along the highway as labor has a right to march, believing that the flag they carried would protect them- not the red flag of anarchy, but the flag it is a pride to be wrapped in in death...." (Palmer 1913:113). For the defense, Attorney Lenahan (Palmer 1913:116) responded:

It is true this crime was done under one flag, that flag that was drenched in the blood of the patriots, that flag was to be the cover of the brigand who put himself beyond the pale of the law. It is for that flag you bared your breast to rebel bullets-to protect that flag. They would desecrate it!"

Attorney Henry Palmer spoke in terms equally dramatic, citing the fear that Lattimer could become "the place where was born a movement" to "wrest from

the American people the liberty so dearly bought". Again the image of the flag was evoked in his warning that "Men, unless throttled now, will rise up in rebellion against our government to tear down the Stars and Stripes and fix over the highest places the red flag of riot and confusion" (Palmer 1913:119-120).

The trial went on for five weeks, and in the end Sheriff Martin and his deputies were acquitted of any crime. The Attorney Lenahan's eloquent but theatrical address that was said to have ultimately swung the jury despite overwhelming evidence was coached in fear-mongering tones that played upon anti-foreigner and anti-anarchist sentiments of the time. He described the strikers as, "that lawless horde that came from the steppes of Asia [that] has found its way here..." He continued, "...the history of the Hun and Slav in the old country is that of mischief and destruction. And they marched under Attila ruthlessly over Europe. No home was too sacred or virgin too pure for their assault" (Lenahan, in Palmer 1913:117-119).

The Austro-Hungarian consulate hired Mr. Robert D. Coxe, a Philadelphia-based attorney, to follow the trial. He unambiguously states in his report to his clients that the trial "resulted in a miscarriage of justice" (HoR 1901:144). He argues a number of points defending this proposition, holding that the preponderance of evidence accrued from 109 unrelated witnesses produced a relatively consistent narrative of events. As a result, he concludes, it is unlikely that a story was prearranged (Coxe, in HoR 1901:113). He demonstrates that the defense's witnesses depended upon the somewhat peripheral issue of the events leading up to the massacre and the calling up of the *posse comitatus*,

rather than the transpiration of needless violence on the part of the deputies in the course of the massacre itself. Their argument was based primarily upon the matter of whether the community was sufficiently terrorized to justify the calling up of the posse. To this he suggests that the very presence of the posse the week before the event was a preemption that might have “unduly excited the community”, and thereby “gave birth to those apprehensions” (Coxe 1898, quoted in HoR 1901:114). In regards to the question of weapons among the strikers, he suggests that given the testimony, the maximum amount of armed strikers could not have exceeded two or three, and even if this number were correct, they could not have warranted the mass killing that resulted (Coxe 1898, quoted in HoR 1901:114). Coxe concludes his report stating that given the result of the actions taken to “restore order and obedience to the law”, in fact no such condition resulted. Rather, it “precipitated a condition of affairs in the Hazleton Region infinitely worse than that which ... existed previous to that date.” (Coxe 1898, quoted in HoR 1901:114).

Archaeology of the Lattimer Massacre

Contemporary narratives of the massacre and its social context have been written by a few historians though synthesizing of accounts collected in newspapers, official documents, and the scraps of trial transcripts that have survived therein (Greene 1964, 1968; Novak 1996; Pinkowski 1950; Turner 1977). The first piece of literature devoted wholly to the massacre is Edward Pinkowski's 1950s *The Lattimer Massacre*, from which some dramatic passages are excerpted above. Pinkowski's account relates the events through dramatic

prose, demonstrating a clear partisanship in his account in favor of the strikers. The ambiguity that presides over the historical documentation of the event is downplayed for rhetorical force. A number of accounts by historians Victor Greene and George Turner followed, providing a rich contextual analysis derived from their intellectual roots in the schools of new social and labor histories (Greene 1964, 1968; Turner 1977). Nonetheless, the diversity of accounts are partially addressed in each of these accounts. The most recent, best known, and perhaps most theatrical, account of the event comes from Michael Novak's 1978 historical fiction *The Guns of Lattimer*, reprinted in 1996 with a new introduction by the author. A number of contemporary accounts derive the core sequence of events largely from these secondary sources (Miller & Sharpless 1998; Wolensky 2013). Additionally, a number of historical essays have been written about the event providing much needed analysis and context (Aurand 2002; Beik 2002; Blatz 2002; Culen 1977; Dubofsky 2002; Stolarik 2002; Turner 1984; Wolensky 2008). Wolensky's 2014 account, in particular, adds a much needed context of Italian radicalism to the proceedings.

In all these accounts, however, the timeline for the few crucial minutes of the massacre can be traced back to same contested primary sources first used by Pinkowski in the 1950s: newspaper accounts, eyewitness reports and trial fragments. In 2011 Paul Shackel and I endeavored to add an archaeological account of the few moments of the massacre to contribute to the scholarship surrounding the event and in the process, return the event to the active attention of the public. We were aided in this project by the members of BRAVO

(Battlefield Restoration and Archaeological Volunteer Organization) of Monmouth, New Jersey led by Dan Sivilich, who readily joined our project, contributing the time and effort because of his family heritage in the region (Sivilich 2011:1). Our goals for this first survey were to determine the location of the massacre site, identify a firing line and locate the initial engagement. Further goals for the study included reconstructing the size of the posse, the variety of munitions they employed and tracing their movements throughout the event.

Site Description

The rough location of the massacre site was identified using archival sources and local knowledge. The roughly 6.25-acre parcel is located near the west entrance into the town of Lattimer (Figure 3-1). The project area reflected the ubiquitous signature of mining landscapes in the area consisting of scrubby trees rooted in a matrix of coal processing waste known locally as *culm*, composed of unharvested small fraction coal, slate and other rock. A study of photographs from the period established that a waste pile of culm was deposited on the site, visible in aerial photographs of the site area taken in 1938, postdating the massacre. By the 1950s, much of the waste material was removed, most likely for reclaimed to extract remnant coal. An electrical substation occupied the eastern edge of the site, also visible in the 1938 aerial. It was not present during the 1897 event. The first house along Main Street, that figures in some accounts as a landscape reference to the location of the posse, was burned down in the third quarter of the twentieth century and a new house has been built roughly in

its location. The raised bed of the trolley tracks that also featured so prominently in accounts was also eliminated from the landscape sometime after the 1950s.

Survey Methods

The survey crew spent two weekends in November and December of 2010, a total of about 113 hours, examining the site. Standard battlefield surveying techniques using metal detectors were employed in the survey. Ten foot-interval transect lines were laid through the underbrush and on each day a crew averaging about eight field technicians conducted a systematic and then a semi-systematic metal detector survey (Sivilich 2011). Artifacts were excavated immediately upon being located by each volunteer using small shovels or garden-type trowels. Excavation depths did not exceed 12". Each artifact was placed in a specimen bag and assigned a separate artifact number except in cases in which a number of identical artifacts were found together adjacently. The excavation site was marked with a pin flag. Modern debris such as aluminum cans, shotgun shells, etc. were not marked or documented but removed and later discarded (Sivilich 2011).



Figure 3-1: Boundaries of the Lattimer Massacre Survey conducted November 13, 14 and December 4, 2010.

The artifact locations were digitally recorded using two separate methods. A datum was set up for the site relative to utility poles across the road from the study area. First, for items visible from this location each location was shot in with a Trimble 5600 total station laser transit with a TDS Ranger 500 data collector. For object locations that were not visible from the road, an Earthmate PN-20 handheld GPS unit was used to piece-plot each location. All data was compiled and plotted using ArcGIS 10.2 software on geo-referenced aerial photographs.

Artifacts

A total of 43 artifacts were recovered in the survey. They included seven bullets of various calibers, 22 cartridges, six copper jackets, a miner's tin cup, a cupric metal suspender clip, a silver-gilded serving spoon and several objects of unidentified copper alloy hardware (Sivilich 2011). The non-arms-related artifacts were most likely unrelated to the massacre with the exception of the tin miner's cup, which showed signs of perforation by shotgun blast. The other items likely

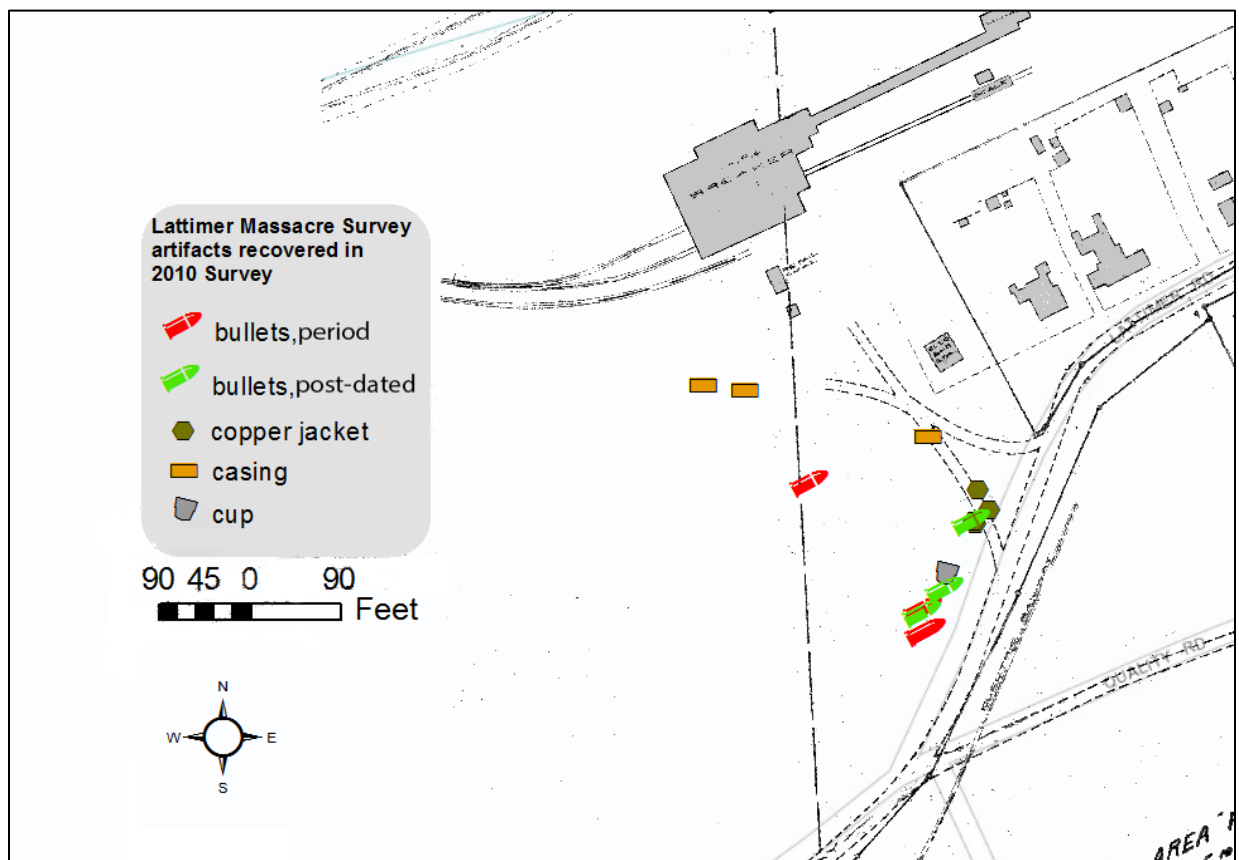


Figure 3-2. Map showing the locations of selected artifacts recovered in the Lattimer Massacre Survey plotted into ARCGIS 10.2

reflect domestic refuse from the adjacent houses or material remnants of the electrical substation.

Battlefield archaeologist Doug Scott aided in the analysis of munitions, employing the techniques of firearm identification. Artifacts were examined for tool



Figure 3-3: Selected non-arms-related artifacts recovered from the Lattimer Massacre survey including: (top) silver gilded spoon; (bottom-L) miner's tin cup; (bottom-R) ribbon pin or suspender hook.

marks such as those left by firing pins, extractor and ejector marks and barrel rifling. Weights and diameters for each bullet were carefully measured and recorded. In many of these cases, striations, flaws, scratches, and other unusual wear patterns were

carefully documented to match munitions to a particular weapon or class of weapons (Scott 2011). The period of the massacre is a difficult period for firearm analysis given the introduction in this period of numerous developments in armament technology including the centerfire cartridge, smokeless powder, high velocity rounds and copper jacketing (Barnes 2006: 10).

Brass cartridges or casings contain the gunpowder charge propelling the projectiles from firearms. Cartridges remain in the weapon or are ejected at the time of firing so their recovery in battlefield archaeology often indicates the rough location of a weapon at the place of discharge. Headstamps are company logos and inscriptions placed into the base of cartridges indicating caliber and place of manufacture. Scott determined that the sixteen shell casings we recovered in the

survey all post-date the massacre. These included four .30-06 cartridges that have a *terminus post quem* date of 1906 (artifact #'s 239, 282); ten .35 Remington cartridges with headstamps dating to after 1932 (artifact #'s 240N, 277); seven .30-30 cartridges with headstamps that post date them to the 1970s (artifact #'s 240S, 257, 278, 279, 280, 281); and a single .32 pistol casing that dates to after 1903 (artifact# 271) (Scott 2011: 2-3). A total of seven bullets were recovered, of which four could date to the massacre. Those that decidedly post-dated the massacre included one .357 round (artifact# 253) developed in 1935 and two .38 Specials, introduced in 1902 (artifact #'s 243, 245) (Scott 2011: 3-4).

Seven copper jackets (artifact #'s 251, 252, 254, 255, 256, 264 and 265) were also among the munitions recovered in the survey. Copper jackets were applied to bullets with the invention of smokeless powder. The resultant increase in muzzle velocities from this innovation required that a jacket of copper alloy of 60% copper and 40% nickel be applied to bullets to prevent their melting when coming into contact with the barrel. Dating these items proved difficult using the standard array of scientific methods and technologies available to firearm identification. These rounds often

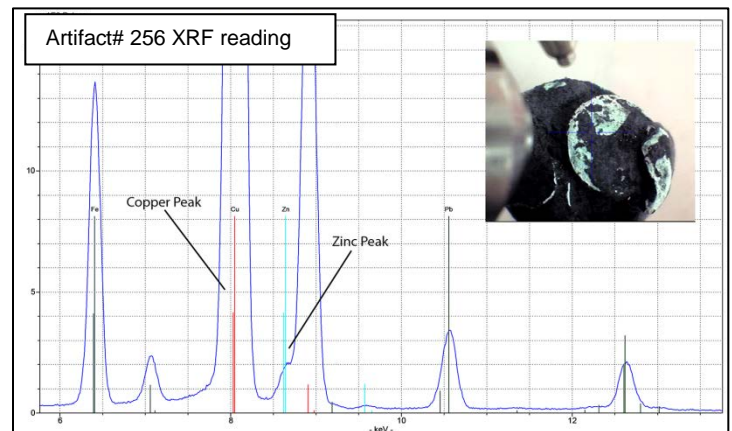


Figure 3-4: Typical XRF reading of post-1922 copper-zinc alloy jackets showing copper and zinc peaks; (inset) Artifact# 256, copper jacket, during the XRF analysis.

had an exposed tip called a soft point, advertised by Winchester as “metal-patched” and adopted around 1892 for the .30 Winchesters. However, with

significant use of these munitions during the Spanish- American War, particularly loaded in the new 1903 Springfield rifle with its faster muzzle velocity, the cupro-nickel compound had a tendency to melt in the barrel (Hatchers 1966: 343-345). This was solved in 1922 with the use of copper and tin and later zinc.

The copper jackets were found clustered near the road where historic



Figure 3-5: Artifact #'s 258 (L) and 242 (R) .38 Long and Short revolver rounds.

accounts suggested close range firing occurred. To determine whether the jackets could be of the period of the massacre a trace elements analysis or XRF was used to test the chemical signature of the alloy used in its

manufacture. Jeff Speakmen, Head of

Technical Studies at the Smithsonian

Museum Conservation Institute contributed a few hours to conduct this analysis.

A typical readout of one of the jackets (artifact# 256) can be seen to the right showing a peak for copper and zinc content and the complete lack of nickel. This analysis revealed that these jackets also dated to after the massacre, at least after 1922. It was determined that the bulk of the munitions uncovered in the survey reflect recreational, subsistence-based or unrelated criminal gun use in the eras after the massacre, all of which are not uncommon practices in parts of rural Pennsylvania.

Of the munitions that pre-dated or were contemporaneous with the period of the massacre, two were .38 caliber long or short rounds artifact# 242 and

259). These rounds were introduced in 1875 for the Colt Revolver, though many other manufacturers chamber the round. Markings on them suggest they were most likely fired from one or more Smith and Wesson revolvers (Barnes 2006: 298; Scott 2011:4). A single, heavily impacted .22 round was also identified (artifact# 259). The .22, developed in the 1860s, is still the most popular small bore round today. These three rounds were found in a cluster at the edge of the road, adjacent to the plotted position of the “massacre tree”. A fourth round, a heavily patinated .32 caliber pistol round may also date to the massacre (artifact# 238). The



Figure 3-6: Artifact# 259, heavily impacted .22 round.

.32 was introduced in 1875. The land and groove marks suggest it was fired from a Smith and Wesson revolver. It exhibited heavy patination akin to that of other period munitions identified. It could date to the massacre. It was found in the middle of the field, approximately 170 feet from the gumberry tree (Figure 3-8).

A complete table of artifacts with descriptions from Doug Scott's (2011) munitions analysis and *terminus post quem* dates for each diagnostic material follows:

Artifact #	Form	Count	Description	<i>terminus post quem</i>
250	badge or ribbon pin	1		
237	brass plate	1		
273	brass plate	1		
238	bullet	1	pistol round, .32 caliber, fired in a Smith & Wesson revolver	post-1875
242	bullet	1	.38 caliber Long and Short, fired in a Smith & Wesson revolver, impact deformed	post-1875
243	bullet	1	.38 caliber full-jacketed/ .38 Special, fired in a Smith & Wesson or Ruger revolver	post-1902
245	bullet	1	.38 caliber full-jacketed/ .38 Special, fired in a Smith & Wesson or Ruger revolver	post-1902
253	bullet	1	0.357, , fired in a Smith & Wesson or Ruger revolver	post-1935
258	bullet	1	.38 caliber Long and Short, fired in a Smith & Wesson revolver	post-1875
259	bullet	1	pistol round, 0.22, impact deformed	post-1860s
241	clothing snap	1		
251	copper jacket	1	cupro-nickel jacket, about .30 caliber	
252	copper jacket	1	cupro-nickel jacket, about .30 caliber	
254	copper jacket	1	cupro-nickel jacket, about .30 caliber	
255	copper jacket	1	cupro-nickel jacket, about .30 caliber	
256	copper jacket	1	cupro-nickel jacket, about .30 caliber	
264	copper jacket	1	cupro-nickel jacket, about .30 caliber	
265	copper jacket and sheet metal	1		
274	lead sinker	1		
249	misc. copper hardware	1		
239	shell casing	2	.30-06, stamped "R-P 30-06 SPRG"	post-1960
257	shell casing	1	.30-30, stamped "Winchester 30-30 WIN"	post-1970s
271	shell casing	1	.32 pistol, stamped "R—32 ACP"	post-1903
277	shell casing	2	Remington .35, stamped "W-W Super 35 REM"	post-1932
278	shell casing	1	.30-30, stamped "Winchester 30-30 WIN"	post-1970s
279	shell casing	1	.30-30, stamped "Winchester 30-30 WIN"	post-1970s
280	shell casing	1	.30-30, stamped "Winchester 30-30 WIN"	post-1970s
281	shell casing	1	.30-30, stamped "Winchester 30-30 WIN"	post-1970s
282	shell casing	2	.30-06, stamped "R-P 30-06 SPRG"	post-1960
240N	shell casing	8	Remington .35, stamped "W-W Super 35 REM"	post-1932
240S	shell casing	2	.30-30, Winchester brass shell casings	post-1970s
272	silver-gilded spoon	1		

Table 3-1. Artifacts Recovered from the Lattimer Massacre Survey, Fall 2011.

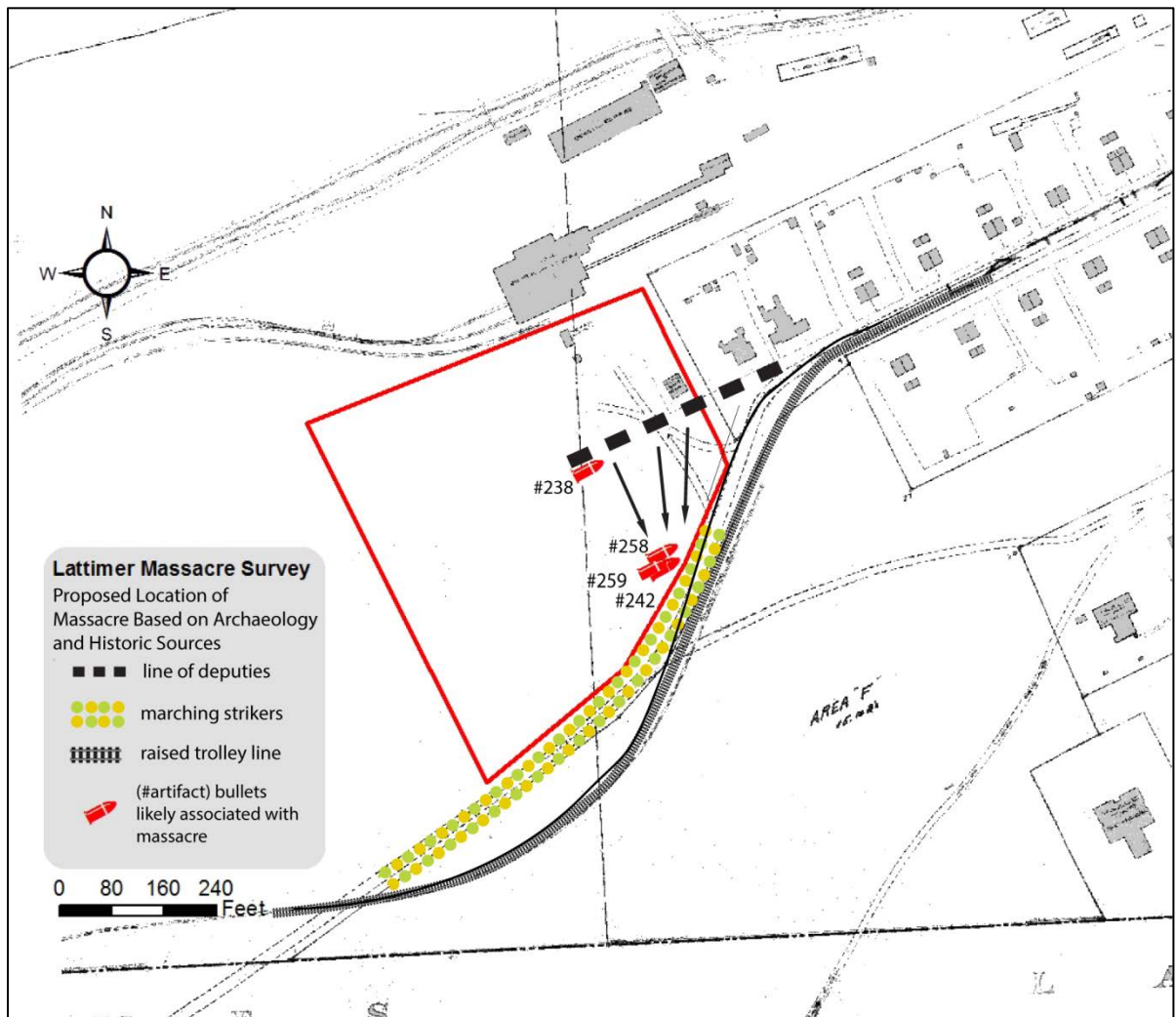


Figure 3-7: Map showing bullets identified in the survey with likely association with the massacre relative to locations of the deputies, strikers and raised bed of the trolley line.

Analysis

The figure above shows the locations of the bullets identified during the survey relative to the positions of the deputies, marchers and the raised bed of the trolley line as described in historic accounts of the event and reconstructed through existing landscape features. At the conclusion of the survey and subsequent analysis some of the initial goals for the project were satisfactorily completed while others remain elusive. No cartridges dating to the massacre were found. The location of the initial engagement was identified by a cluster of three bullets from the period of the massacre or earlier. A fourth bullet was identified roughly where the right side of the line of deputies was situated. From this limited data, the rough location of the massacre site and the initial encounter has been established and new questions can be proposed of the initial sequence of events in the Lattimer Massacre.

The absence of brass cartridges can be interpreted in several ways. They may have been collected from the field after the massacre or the processes of building up and removing slate may have removed, covered over or otherwise disturbed them from their location. An additional possibility is that the location was not in the area surveyed. This is an unlikely possibility given the consistency of historical accounts tying this location to existing topographic features. The line of deputies is described by historic sources as lining up along the fence line of the first house, in an enfiling line or crescent, and arranged parallel to the line of marching strikers (Hess, in HoR 1901:141; Martin, in Palmer 1913:80; Novak 1996:125). This arrangement of the deputies was decided upon by Martin who,

after first arranging the men in line across the road, was dissatisfied with this approach. He then instructed them to line up along the side of the road (Martin, in Palmer 1913:80). As the road curved towards the house at this location, the marching strikers moved closer towards the deputies so that, as one account held, the line of deputies was "75 to 100 feet on the right and 15 feet on the left" from the line of marchers (Hess, in HoR 1901:141). It was reported by one source that the right side of the line of deputies delivered the most fire and even swiveled towards their left to pursue strikers who ran in the direction of the school. In the process one of the members of the posse was shot in the arm (*Wilkes Barre Times*, quoted in Novak 1996:131).

Two of these bullets identified in the survey originated from one or another .38 Smith & Wesson revolver and not from the .44 Winchester repeating rifles described in many accounts. If this cluster of bullets, including two .38 Long and Short rounds and a heavily impacted .22 represent the initial volley, the



Figure 3-8: .32 caliber revolver bullet identified at the site of the Lattimer Massacre, near where the deputies were reportedly standing.

archaeology has gone one step closer to answering the question of who fired the first shots. As pointed out by Turner (1977:4), there is no one answer for how the shooting began. Sheriff Martin gave multiple accounts of who fired first and why, in some accounts he ordered the deputies to fire, and in other accounts asserting a complete ignorance as to how it began as he was incapacitated at the moment.

The same is true of the accounts of deputies, strikers and other witnesses.

When asked if the deputies were all armed with Winchesters during the trial, Martin asserted, "All except a few, who had buck shot guns" (Palmer 1913:83). The archaeology raises the question of who of those present might have been armed with a revolver besides the sheriff. One possibility points to those who were not among those deputized and armed on the 7 September from the original shipment of rifles but who were previously armed with standard issue side arms: the Coal & Iron police, Pardee Coal Company guards or other law enforcement agents. Of course the possibility exists that the bullets predate or postdate the massacre. However, their spatial patterning, clustered near the location of the "massacre tree", as well as their proximity to the road gives some evidence to their association. All historic accounts suggest that after the initial account the massacre continued on for one to three minutes, with the deputies firing at the fleeing strikers as far as 300 yards away, in the area to the south of the area surveyed. Future research may return to survey this area as well.

The fourth bullet, a highly patinated .32 revolver bullet is an anomalous find that may suggest a number of possibilities. It may be from an unrelated event such as hunting or target shooting. It may have been a misfire, or shot into the ground by a reluctant or anxious member of the posse. Or it may have been, controversially, return fire from a striker with a pistol. While trial transcripts contain accounts of weapons among the strikers, these accounts are controversial. In several instances, witnesses later admitted they were paid to

relate this falsity in court (Novak 1996: 211-212; 215). Nonetheless, the archaeology presents us with just such a possibility.

Conclusion

In the discussion above, the Lattimer Massacre can be understood as a deeply *scalar* event, ranging from the microhistorical sequence of its opening volley explored through the intersection of historical documents and archaeology, to the changing dynamics of labor-capital relationships of the region in the years surrounding the event. At another scale, the event was played through the national context of great social, political and economic upheavals that span the period between about 1880 and 1920. The event is embedded in the political economy of Gilded Age industrial capitalism, in the inequality that expanded at an outrageous pace as capital increased its share of profit by mechanizing work processes and the cultivating the new immigrants into a pool of surplus labor. Concurrently, the period is characterized by the assertion of the state in the biopolitical policing of American social and economic life through the administration of racial identities and relationships exemplified in the passing of laws such as the Chinese Exclusion Act (1882), Foran Act (1885), Scott Act (1888), Geary Act (1892), Plessy vs. Ferguson (1896), Anarchist Exclusion Act (1902), and the formation of the Dillingham Commission in 1911. Concomitantly, parallel transformations in the external policy of the American state through the Spanish-American War, the suppression and occupation of the Philippines and the seizure and construction of the Panama Canal, defined the ever-closer relationship between race and nation through discursive operations of

justification (Kramer 2006; Greene 2009). Newspaper readers of the era, including public officials, law enforcement and business leaders would see articles about domestic events such as Lattimer juxtaposed with news about imperial exploits, both written in similarly racialized discourse such as in the example from the New York Evening Journal provided here (Figure 3-9).

At a regional scale, these changes altered the character and outcome of encounters between actors, each connected at some level to these shifting boundaries of the law. Regardless of the particularistic



Figure 3-9: Page from the *New York Journal*, 24 August 1898 which juxtaposes articles such as "Another Big Strike At Lattimer" with an article suggesting "Filipinos Ask To Be Annexed" and a cartoon supporting American imperialism entitled "Their First Rock the Cradle of Liberty".

complexity or regionally-inflected social landscape in which each conflict played out, the broad workings of national history can be discerned in the actions of agents and in their efforts to justify or explain them. The bureaucratization of racial thinking in this time empowered all those called to interpret and execute

these laws with the sovereignty of the state, paradoxically, in the process unbinding them to law itself. At such a scale, the question of “who shot first?” or “who was acquitted in the trial?” become an abstraction, a Kafkaesque exercise in absurdity as it becomes clear that the racial dimensions of the social life of the region informed the decision, or rather predisposition for violence on the part of the deputies just as it would preordain the outcome of the trial. As editorialized in a sympathetic and revealing *Wilkes Barre Times* article the very day after the massacre, though the Sheriff and his deputies may be questioned in the coming days as to the righteousness of their actions, in fact, “it must be remembered that confronting the sheriff and his legal force was a desperate mob of unreasonable and unreasoning men whose carelessness of life both the sheriff and his deputies were thoroughly acquainted” (*Wilkes Barre Times*, 11 September 1897).

As the editorial might suggest, the eruption of violence might have seemed almost predestined when it first occurred to all those who witnessed or participated in it. The true domain of predestination, like the memory of violence after the fact, is not in the performance of the two to three minutes of the event itself but in the realm of the everyday.

Chapter 4

Migration, Part 1: The Social and Material Landscape of the Company Town

The shooting occurred at the bend of a dusty road leading from Hazleton and bordered by a rank growth of bush. For a background, however, the affray had a row of half a dozen frame cottages, mean enough in appearance, yet in the little yard in front of each a few bright-hued flowers grow. To-day only a step from these desert blossoms lay a portion of a man's brains, and a little beyond a horrible bundle of gory rags, upon which the blood was still wet.

(*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 12 September 1897)

This quote from a reporter's account of the setting of the Lattimer Massacre treads carefully between the hypothetical paradox of the event and the possibility of perceiving the reality behind it. The tenor of the brief description jumps back and forth from the mundane tragedy of the everyday landscape ("dusty", "rank", and "mean") to the mundane efforts at domestication ("little yards" with "bright-hued flowers") settling finally upon the sublime horror of the brains and still-wet blood. It recalls the scene in filmmaker David Lynch's 1986 noir classic *Blue Velvet* that begins in a Technicolor depiction of a typical American suburb, disrupted by the collapse of a man watering his lawn. In the next scene, Jeffrey, the protagonist whose father collapsed in the aforementioned scene comes upon a disembodied human ear in the grass. The find initiates an exploration of the porosity of everyday spaces as Jeffrey sets out on an exploration of the dark side of life cohabitating small town American life; a consequence of the collapse of his father figure. Žižek suggests the disembodied ear is a "fragment of reality" that "continually threatens to blow up the settled frame of reality" (Žižek 2001: 129).

Three days after the massacre Emma Goldman gave a speech in Boston, asking the crowd a crucial question, contextualizing the violence by initiating a similar exploration into everyday life (Falk 2003:286, Shackel and Roller 2012:769). She theorized:

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....

Had the strike not erupted into violence, the events would have taken their place in labor history amongst the many wildcat strikes in the period, significant perhaps only for the ethnic background of the strikers. In her speech Emma Goldman uses the instance of violence to ask a crucial question, where is the difference established between *homo sacer*, “the killable” and the citizen? As Goldman suggests, a crucial clue to the origins of the violence comes not from the sequence of the moment, but in the social, political and material context that allowed the violence to take place. Like Jeffrey’s journey in “Blue Velvet”, this investigation demands we look into the domestic landscapes that produced, reinforced and maintained crucial markers of difference between the citizen and the other.

Social theorist Slavoj Žižek warns that by foregrounding instances of physical violence between individuals or groups, what he terms *subjective violence*, we run the risk of distracting needed attention from *the objective, the ambient level* of social, political and symbolic violence that backgrounds these eruptions (Žižek 2008). Accordingly, attention to subjective violence distracts

from a broader critique of systems that depend upon systemic and symbolic violence and its constituent components for their continuance: domination, effacement and classification. As Žižek (1989: 2) writes:

Objective violence is invisible since it sustains the very zero-level standard against which we perceive something as subjectively violent... It may be invisible, but it has to be taken into account if one is to make sense of what otherwise seem to be "irrational" explosions of subjective violence.

When we talk about systemic violence, we are talking about material, social and economic conditions directed towards the creation and maintenance of dominance by elites. It also includes the maintenance and proliferation of ideological beliefs necessary to reproduce these conditions. While the definition of this system as a "normal state of affairs" or a "zero-level" may sound like a classical definition of "culture" in anthropology, it is far from the truth. In fact, what we call culture is constructed out of social relations of power, and cannot be understood without their recognition (McGuire 2002:139). Anthropologist Eric Wolf (2001:399) advises that "much of what anthropologists have called culture is 'ideology-in-the-making, rationalizations', developed to impart to the practical existence of everyday life an imaginary directionality, a fictitious resolution".

On the other hand, successful archaeological work at places such as Ludlow and Berwind, Colorado and Blair Mountain, West Virginia examine moments of confrontation and terror as reference points to presence and revisit difficult and forgotten histories (Larkin and McGuire 2009; Ludlow Collective 2001; Nida and Adkins 2011; Reckner 2009; Wood 2002). In these places, the very material presence of violence allows the interrogation of this background with a perspective that foregrounds violence. In the history of the coal region,

incidents of subjective violence in the course of coalfield strikes between 1890 and 1930 are frequent enough to be considered emblematic or rather, *systemic*. Between 1890 and 1909 the anthracite coal industry experienced the highest level of strike mortality of all industries, calculated as deaths per million persons employed (Fishback 1995:429). Overall, the anthracite mining industry far exceeded other industries in this domain, exhibiting mortality rates double that in the steel and allied trades industry, twenty times that of manufacturing, and seven times that in transportation and public utilities (Jeffreys-Jones 1978 reproduced in Fishback 1995:428, 429).

Considering the interactions of the three systems of violence - subjective, symbolic and systemic - we can concede that in some shape or form, violence is found at both the very center and the periphery of the social. We will be better prepared to interrogate the landscape surrounding the Massacre by comprehending the depth with which violence constitutes the social, the material and the political. What is required is a study of material violence continuous with the social and material landscapes within which they occur.

Violence at the Center and Periphery of the Social: Sovereignty, Transnationalism, and Migration

The patterned nature of violent confrontation in regional history, described tentatively at the end of the last chapter as *predilection*, questions whether violence erupts in these environments not simply as an abomination but as a manifestation of the inherent violence that structures power in social relationships, institutions, and material landscapes. State power over the life and

death of subjects is classified under *sovereignty*: the authority to declare life or death, to suspend the rule of law, or to act outside of it. More abstractly, sovereignty positions itself through a lawmaking act of violence distinguishing an "us" from a "them", defining the boundaries of the social world from the excluded, the killable bare life (Agamben 1998). Through this tautological lawmaking act, sovereignty tactically produces itself through the very mechanism of its self-justification (Butler 2004:82). Violence, then, is always already "necessarily and intimately bound up with" the lawmaking act of sovereignty (Benjamin 1978:295).

Recent scholarship such in works of transnational history focus on events, persons and phenomenon that transcend or traverse the confines of borders, both disciplinary and physical, foregrounding the forgotten encounters, often violent, that historically defined the boundaries of territories, identities and political bodies (Guidotti-Hernandez 2010; Seigel and Sartorius 2010). Seigel and Sartorius (2010:2) suggest that, "refusals of the spatial distinctions between border and nation, margin and center, are 'centering' questions of violence" in recent historical work. They cite the dislocating, deterritorializing and economic and social marginalization caused by contemporary neo-liberalism as the inspiration for this scholarship in its pursuit of these neglected moments across space and time. The expansion of U.S. Empire, the global war on terror, the mobility of populations displaced by warfare, border disputes, rising nationalism and anti-immigrant fervor foreground the conflicts that arise in peripheral places resulting from the shifting of people, identities, capital and borders.

Transnational history demonstrates that the nation-state always already operates within dynamic and reactionary forms of identity-formation. Transnational ties, or any substantive connections to nationalisms abroad, fundamentally challenge the imagining of a nation coterminous with its boundaries, “with... a single people defined by their residence in a common territory, their undivided loyalty to a common government and their shared cultural heritage” (Schiller et al. 1995: 51). The foundational work of critical nationalists such as Benedict Anderson, Eric Hobsbawm, Ernest Gellner and Arnold Smith (Anderson 2006; Gellner 1997; Hobsbawm 1989; Smith 1986, 1995, 2010) scrutinize the constructionist “imagining” of nationalist unity. Using comparative and multidisciplinary methods, these scholars identify the mechanisms by which borders were drawn and power was consolidated through the creation of “imagined communities” in the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Challenging post-modern notions that globalization and its destabilizing and fragmenting effects on identity are a recent venture, this scholarship shows that nationalisms grew alongside, and often *through*, an earlier phase of globalization (Gabaccia et al. 2004:58)

Migration, or at least movement, is often at the forefront of transnational scholarship, leading one historian to declare that migration is a social process that is the “basic condition of human societies” (Hoerder 2002: xix; Gabaccia 1999). Transnational approaches to migration elucidate the roles historical narratives play in defining discourse and policy in the present (Levitt and Schiller 2004; Schiller et al. 1995; Schneider 1998). Through encounters between

migrants and their reception by policies and apparatuses of government and economy, we can come to understand much about how ethnic boundaries define themselves. “In effect,” observes Fassin (2011: 215), “immigrants embody the articulation of borders and boundaries.... They cross borders to settle in a new society and discover boundaries through the different treatment to which they are submitted”.

Migrants embodied the first great ideological challenge to the governmental boundaries of the nation state as it developed in the twentieth century. Hannah Arendt (1958) cites migrants and refugees as formative figures from whom the nation-state protections were stripped. When the issue of refugee protection reached the levels of an international crisis during and after the Second World War, it induced the need for an alternative framework for rights based upon a definition for universal humanity. Agamben suggests that, “[b]ringing to light the difference between birth and nation, the refugee causes the secret presupposition of the political domain –bare life- to appear for an instant within that domain” (Agamben 1998: 131). In their presence within territorial borders but outside of citizenship, they draw attention to the precarious and vulnerable political condition of all subjects of the state, to the ideological gap between political identity and bare human life (Agamben 1998; Kristeva 1991).

The manner in which the State articulates a biopolitical regime through the figure of the migrant is evident in the technologies of social engineering practiced between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This is a defining period in the creation and diffusion of new roles and forms of the nation-state

integrating global capitalism, rational governance and imperialism (Anderson 2006; Bender 2009; Greene 2009; Hobsbawm 1989, 1990; McKeown 2003; Ngai 1999, 2004). Within the context of the expansions people, goods and ideas in motion, a transnational effort was made by capitalists and governments to administer flows of capital and labor to their best advantage (Gabaccia et al. 2004; Guterl and Sqwiot 2005:41; Sassen 1988; van der Linden 1999, 2003;). Central to this process was the elaboration of a global “labor problem” defined by the constant, “lack of cheap, durable, and easily exploited labor” in the centers of production (Greene 2009; Guterl and Sqwiot 2005:41; Hanagan and van der Linden 2004).

A dialectical tension characterizes this time period as the domestic economy of nation-states and colonial administrators shared new technologies of social control. The governance of domestic pluralities and colonial contexts alike required the implementation of *regimes of truth* designed to classify, define, differentiate and circumscribe the bodies and practices of subordinate groups and asses their potential for control, expulsion or assimilation (Foucault 1980). To solve the issue of “the labor problem”, a global network of administrators, bureaucrats, labor agents, recruiters, scholars, managers and workers shared knowledge and experience to direct labor flows around the world (Guterl and Skwiot 2005, Bender 2009, Greene 2009). This knowledge was distributed through a shared print culture including the work of government commissions, industrial studies, sociological examinations and Progressive reformers.

History has shown that inconsistency or ambiguity defined this prosecution, particularly in regards to the case of national economies that depend upon migrant labor for profit (Camp 2011a; Coutin 1995; Fassin 2011; McKeown 2003; Ngai 2004). Historian Daniel Bender (2009:71-72) suggests that to many turn-of-the-twentieth-century observers, imperialism and migration were one and the same process:

...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...

Indeed, what was considered advantageous to capitalists was deemed anathema to other political interests including that of organized labor and nativist politicians.

Demonstrating the precarious nature of labor and political arrangements the US government began to systematically reject certain populations from immigrating with the passing of the Chinese Exclusion Act in the 1880s. By 1907, at the urging of political and labor interests, the United States instituted an extended social research project known as the Dillingham Commission dedicated to informing governance on how best to restrict immigration (Ngai 2004; Zeidel 2004). Through population statistics, ethnography, physiology, and economics the government sought to make informed decisions on how best to engineer the biopolitical makeup of U.S. citizenry. These studies entailed major studies of industrial sector including a single volume devoted to the coal industry. Works such as the Dillingham Commission's *Dictionary of Races or Peoples* (1911) reflect the "culturalist extensions of Weberian sociology of the state," which

emphasize not only the state's monopoly on physical force, but also in "legitimiz[ing] symbolic force" (Cooper 2005: 2). In 1924 a restrictive immigration law was passed based on constructed knowledge used to selectively excluded potentially radical and foreign elements deemed to be undesirable (Ngai 2004; Orser 2007; Zeidel 2004). In the process, a racial definition for American citizenry was established based upon skewed statistical histories of past immigration from Western Europe, a nostalgic disavowal of the true nature of American immigration history (Ngai 2004; Pula 1980).

In a study of Asian immigration restriction, historian Adam McKeown (2008) asserts that the regulation and facilitation of the movement of bodies across borders are inseparable components of the same process. McKeown challenges the simple formulation of globalization as a unilinear liberalizing global interaction with the inevitable outcome of increasing homogenization. Rather, he echoes the work of anthropologist Frederik Barth, in his essay "Ethnic Groups and Boundaries" (1968), suggests that individual cultures consist not in self-contained holistic wholes, but rather are preserved by the force of interaction with neighboring cultures, producing differentiation in dialectical response. McKeown, reflecting this idea, suggests that, "contact generates not only assimilation and convergence, but also new ways for people to distinguish themselves from each other and from what they perceive to be a homogenizing universalism" (McKeown 2003:5). The state's capacity to generate individualized political subjects arises out of the creation of boundary restrictions, mediated through the materiality of individualized passports, visas, and border checks. This

development came not only from a governmental effort to identify the undesirable and encourage the most favorable, but also to separate the individual from the collectivity, which presented the threat of collectivized combination, political and/or social. The central unit of movement in this equation was the individual, separated from collectivities of kinship, informal social networks, labor contracting or other institutions that frequently accompanied immigration in the past (McKeown 2008:11). The requirements to render individuals distinguishable resulted in the development of techniques of classification in two different forms (McKeown 2008:12):

...the characterization of each person as a unique, physical object, and the development of technical and testable categories of status, occupation, and family that could be standardized within and across nations. Technologies like photography, fingerprinting, and anthropometric measurement helped to define persons as unique objects.

The neutral language of this bureaucratic procedure replaced overtly racist identifications, just as it served to place the burden of disciplined nationalized behavior upon individual subjects, rather than collectivities.

The concept of migration used in this chapter and its companion, Chapter 6, implies more than simply the strict definition of movement from one nation to another but a general attention to spatiality and movement in this time. It is based upon claims by historians such as Isabel Hofmeyer (2006:1444) who suggests that “historical processes are [not simply] made in different places but that they are constructed in the movement between places, sites, and regions” Therefore, migration includes any movement of peoples between, across, and within spaces that imply or denote significant political or social change. Migration here reflects a

change in state resulting from this movement as groups and collective identities move across and within boundaries and borders. In the Anthracite Region, archaeology, digital cartography and discourse discussed in these chapters demonstrates that this movement takes on a decidedly material character, particularly when viewed as a dynamic process. Before commencing the discussion of material evidence, I will present a quick interlude concerning the capriciousness of public opinion in regards to migration using contemporary and historical examples.

Interlude: Community Support and Immigration, a Contemporary and Historical Example

The rapidity with which the symbolic violence inherent to identification can change is demonstrated with a contemporary example that closely parallels the history recounted here. This context will also play a role in the contemporary context of remembrance addressed in Chapter 7. For this reason, I present it here so that this transhistorical example will be anticipated and its resonance premeditated throughout this recounting of the historical context of the massacre.

We might remember the delicate months of fragile despair and community the United States displayed in the immediate aftermath of the 11 September 2001 attacks. Judith Butler (2004) suggests that following this event, the country could have chosen to join a global community, empathizing with the tragic ideological violence the post-colonial world confronts on a seemingly continuous basis. Instead, Butler and others suggest, the country chose insularity, nationalism and the suspension of constitutional rights, remodeling itself into a

paranoid security state (Butler 2004; Hansen and Stepputat 2006:10). By its most generous interpretation, America's policymakers considered the implications of 9/11 as simply a matter of border security. With some margin of public support, governmental bureaucracies commenced the exercise of "sovereign executive powers without constraints", developing policies such as *indefinite detention*, used in military prisons and developed elaborate technologies and routines for surveillance, capturing, detaining and deporting migrants (Butler 2004; Fassin 2005:218-220). The issue of the security of the southern border with Mexico, though it had no role in the threat of international terrorism, became a topic of popular political debate. This debate quickly grew to encompass a number of issues intimately connected to American identity and belonging: worker productivity, job competition, language proficiency, cleanliness, health, racial whiteness, and entitlements.

In 2006 Hazleton was the first municipality to pass laws aimed at limiting immigration. Known as the IIRA or the Immigration Relief Act and the Official English Ordinance, the ordinances pursued the localization of immigration policy, claiming that law was not effective at the national level. Hazleton, followed by many other localities, pursued the criminalization not only of undocumented migrants, but also those who employed or housed them (Dick and Wirtz 2011; Kobialka 2012; McKanders 2007). Though the IIRA in Hazleton was never enforced, and was ruled unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in 2013, its most immediate effect was manner in which it altered the character of interactions between long-term residents and recent immigrants. Through discursive

practices of politic demagoguery and media, recent immigrants were racialized as illegal, unassimilable, lazy, criminal, and stubbornly refusing to learn English (Dick and Wirtz 2011; Kobialka 2012; Longazel 2013). An informant, a naturalized immigrant from Peru who has lived in Hazleton since the late 1980s, described the effects of the laws:

From 1989 to 2005 we didn't have any problem with immigration. Absolutely nothing. 2005 when the Hispanics started moving a lot to this town is when it started, by political interests trying to stop the immigration of people using [terms like] "illegal", "terror", and the city took the occasion to approve an ordinance called the IIRA ... when they approved that ordinance the people that were probably under the bed or in the closet came out: they felt free to say "I don't want you here. You speak English with an accent or you don't speak English at all or you don't have papers." ...the ordinance gave the people the power to be racist, to be less compassionate. And it divided the city. The city before that was just like any other city. No problem. But after that ordinance the city started being divided. People that were Latino and that were foreign were hated. [AA, interview, July 2011].

As in other small towns across the country, concerns over border security compounded ideologically with other persistent traumas of late capitalism that have deeply affected the economic and political life of rural, post-industrial or otherwise peripheral communities: deindustrialization, disinvestment, stretched municipal budgets, youth outmigration, persistent unemployment and other associated social issues (Bodnar 1992; Deasy and Griess 1965; Dublin and Licht 2005; Theodori & Theodori 2014). Retrospectively, the transnational origins of anti-immigrant sentiment stemming from 9/11 have been forgotten; the connection between the fear of radical Islam and local economic woes suggests a crucial fissure in present memory.

Besides offering the dialectical tension of disrupting linear chronology, the example above also illustrates a general principle of history. In our time, we can

observe the rapidity with which aspects of broad social support can profoundly change, enervated or operationalized by political events or interests. This history, in short, illustrates major social change as characterized by punctuated equilibriums as opposed to gradualist movement. Of course to validly compare contemporary events with that of the past requires that we take into account the factor of materialism; the intensity with which the conditions of late modernity compels collective memory and forgetting (Connerton 2009; Giroux 2013; Huyssens 1995, 2003) and the speed with which mass communication transmits and disseminates values, ideas and information today (Taylor 2014). Nonetheless, this example illustrates the importance of developing a nuanced chronology of ideological changes.

Social Support for Striking Behavior in Hazleton between 1880 and 1900

For a number of reasons, the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were a time of great divisiveness in the country's history. Industrial developments defining what some historians describe as the "second Industrial revolution" including expanded urbanization, proletarianization, mass productivity, scientific management, infrastructure expansion and the flourishing of mass media take on a profound complexity when understood within the social and political context that they are in fact intractably connected to: divisive class struggle, racialized labor hierarchy, legalization of frameworks for expulsion, and the construction of nationalist mythologies (Bender 2009; Harris 1970). Shackel (2000: 150-157) describes the era as "the Assassination of Plurality", in reference to the assassination of President McKinley by a Polish Anarchist in 1901. Americans

responded with an outburst of anxiety and anger. After this event, historian Neil Harris reports that, “angry patriots decried the dangers of unlimited immigration, newspaper editors thundered against unnamed terrors subverting society, mobs wrecked immigrant newspapers and attacked foreigners in the streets” (Harris 1970:5 quoted in Shackel 2000: 151).

Compounding rising anti-immigrant sentiment, already deeply in place at the time of the massacre and certainly before the assassination of 1901, was a general weariness or divisive support for labor radicalism and striking behavior by the growing middle class in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Melvyn Dubofsky (1996) suggests that in the mid-nineteenth century, striking workers often benefited from the support of their local communities, exemplified in the cases of the 1877 and 1888 strikes in which community support was foundational to the protracted endurance of strikes. This support often even extended to that of locally elected law enforcement, even when industrialists aggressively suppressed worker resistance with the increasing support of the state (Dubofsky 1996:47).

By the late nineteenth century, however, this support reversed, as workers were increasingly isolated by local merchants and professionals. According to Dubofsky, employers succeeded in courting broad support for suppressing the disruption of strikes by instituting legal principles that defined certain behaviors and types of people as threats to civility. These frequently revolved around the definition of the liberty or negative freedom for individuals to pursue work or commerce unmolested by the collective action of either labor organization or

industrialists. This equation frequently operated to the disadvantage of labor organizers whose goals could be so easily thwarted by the uncooperative behavior of only a few. Judges throughout the country declared unconstitutional actions or legislation that “regulated the hours of labor, wages, and working conditions” of any citizens entitled to such freedoms. Striking behavior was one such action said to conflict with the principles of democracy, challenging the liberty of workers and employers alike (Dubofsky 1996:57). Through these means, industrial powers courted the “ideological sympathy” of community merchants and professionals (Dubofsky 1996:59). Dubofsky appropriately frames the massacre in a national narrative of increasingly rationalized and legalistic organization. However, he neglects the decisive role of the public’s growing fear of racialized non- or ambiguously- white labor coupled with growing support for immigration restriction measures.

In the Middle Coal Field this change is visible in a comparison of popular support for the 1887 and 1888 strike and media coverage of the pre-strike buildup to the 1897 event. Of particular interest is the racializing language addressing the miners during the 1897 strike that distinctly others and mystifies their motivations, occluding the instrumentality of their behavior. While some of the post-event public discourse swayed towards compassion for the fallen, significant editorializing validates Dubofsky’s assertion that a growing middle class readership could even justify slaughter in the name of social and economic stability and maintenance of law and order.

Owing to differences in the power structure of the different coal regions, the 1887-1888 strike hit the Middle Foal Field particularly hard. The independent operators of this region offered particularly tough resistance to labor's demands and in the end it was a failure, however it endured for a total of almost six months (Aurand 1968, 1971). With still poorly developed organized strike support, it was the public response to the striking miners that allowed the strikes to endure as long as it did. Local press had rather positive opinions about the strikers, unambiguously siding with labor against the "petty coal kings". In October of 1887 the Hazleton Plain Speaker quoted a Scranton editorialist in suggesting that:

The tactics of the petty nabobs of Lehigh are more like the antics of the old time Russian despots in dealing with their serfs, than the conduct of American employers towards American workingmen. [*The Plain Speaker*, 5 October 1887]

The press, along with many local merchants, began strike drives to fund provisions. Privately owned stores reportedly allowed miner's to open lines of credit when company town stores refused to offer credit to starving families.

Harold Aurand (1971: 26) suggest that a social division existed between the classical bourgeoisie of the time including merchants and property owners invested in community health and prosperity and the members of the "new middle class" comprising of clerical workers and bureaucrats who directly operated the functions of the coal operations. While the former supported the strikers, more than likely it was the free-market capitalism they saw as being inhibited by the despotic rule of the operators that appealed to their desires. The

newspaper seemed to side with them as well. On the 25 January 1888 *The Plain Speaker* wrote of the coal baron's system of rule:

Everything in the region belongs to the operators and must be subject to their autocratic domination. They are the lords of the domain and no man is allowed to encroach upon their territory, even the Jew peddler is not allowed to expose his wares within their borders. [Aurand 1968: 172].

The Eastern European laborers, who at this time made up a relatively small percentage of the workforce, were treated in a tolerable fashion as understudies of earlier generations of miners. The *Hazleton Daily Sentinel* reported on 14 September 1887 that:

At Jeansville yesterday morning a number of Hungarians, who did not understand the situation, went to work on the stripping, but at noon when they were made to understand the matter thoroughly, they all quit work, informing the bosses that they would not return to work until the company agreed to give them \$10 per week.

In fact, as generations before them, the New Immigrant laborers violently suppressed the arrival of "scab" labor even when countrymen, as occurred at Humboldt colliery near Hazleton during the 1888 strike when Hungarians attacked a contingent of Hungarian "black legs" (Aurand 1971: 122).

By 1897, public opinion had changed, exemplified but not isolated to the prominent role of more than seventy-eight local businessmen in the suppression of the strike and the massacre. Before the massacre the press treated the strike as a mysterious and potentially dangerous explosion of foreign energy rather than as a rational choice made under conditions of duress. In the early days of the strike, committees of organized labor representing longer established organized workers attempted and failed to bring about a quick and peaceful resolution to the unrest. By this failure a correspondent for the *Hazleton Sentinel* reflected that, "the influence governing the foreigners is *beyond the*

comprehension of the American workers, and *surrounds the thing with a mystery that is as deep as it is un-American*" (Hazleton Sentinel, 2 September 1897). The same correspondent uses the metaphoric language of electricity and hypnotism to dehumanize the behavior of the strikers, describing their actions in terms of a mob mentality that evades the rational entreaties or reckoning of the Anglo-Saxon organizers:

...there is a *deeper current* moving among those men than anyone has thus far conceived. It shows that they are *swayed by an influence* altogether *beyond the comprehension* of the English speaking people of this section of the Commonwealth [*The Hazleton Sentinel*, 2 September 1897].

By 1897, the reproach the press showed to the coal barons in during the 1887 strike had diminished such that one of the operators was sympathetically treated when, only after the threat of major strikes in his collieries, he relented and offered concessions to his laborers:

The Van Wickle coal operations hereabouts are one of the very few individual enterprises remaining in the coal mining industry. As such they are held in greater sympathy and more favor by the community at large than are the great corporations... Van Wickle does not deserve to be tied up and kept idle by the strike. His is an individual enterprise, he is a resident and citizen here, liberal and philanthropic in all his dealings with local affairs, and it is to the community's interest that his mines should be kept constantly busy [*The Hazleton Sentinel*, 2 September 1897].

Here, a sympathetic press anointed him and each independent operator with praise as a threatened class of individual enterprises in support of community growth

The massacre and subsequent acquittal were used by the national and local press as an opportunity to interlocute upon the relationship between the law and civil disobedience. In effect, discourse about the massacre was used by the country as a didactic device to define the identity of America for Americans, the

implications of the event for the population of foreign-born being somehow only circumstantial or merely tragic. Press and other commentators across the country justified the killings with a neutralized language that positioned the behavior of the foreign strikers as outside the law and therefore outside of its protection. For all those opinions that support the acquittal, the didactic lesson of the event is raised. *The Wilkes Barre Times* stated that the object lessons purportedly accrued to the survivors of the strike are that: "...authority is not always clothed in a uniform; that mob law will not be tolerated, and that the courts are as open to him as to any other" (Wilkes Barre Times, quoted in Palmer 1913: 175).

Elsewhere the lessons for the broader public are more material, as when the New York Times held that the lack of a detached, uniformed police was at fault for the violence. They proposed that:

A posse made up from the community in which such disorder prevails either must share the passions in which it originated or which it has aroused, or-what is nearly as bad-must be believed to share those passions. When it comes to the use of force, these officers are at a grave disadvantage, because they excite animosity rather than respect.... [New York Times, quoted in Palmer 1913: 177].

In this passage the editorialist opines that the true danger of allowing regional law enforcement to handle situations of unrest is *equally that of animosity or collusion*. Broadly, the outcome of the violence at Lattimer extends here to the threatening possibility that the police and deputies in Hazleton may have just as easily acted as they had in the past described by Dubofsky (Dubofsky 1996:47) by aiding the radicals in disrupting the interests of capital. As described above, the operators of the coal region had long before ensured in the institution of the Coal & Iron Police that in fact their regional concerns could be met by bypassing

local law enforcement. By the turn of the century, with incidents such as the Lattimer Massacre, this institution was offered up to national scrutiny, only to be reinforced by the Pennsylvania State Troopers who proved to be equally partisan in their enforcement of capital- labor struggle (Jones 1997; Shaloo 1929).

This discussion foregrounds discourse reflecting the beliefs of the local public including social leaders, businessmen, law enforcement, and press for the striking foreign laborers in Hazleton before and after the massacre. The problem of resting the case on discourse is the missing evidence of everyday racialized practices that account for the development, maintenance and transformation of racial beliefs across time. Simply put, a change clearly occurred between the late 1880s and the *fin de siècle* that enunciated the boundaries between citizens and those excluded or othered in the region. In Chapter 2 and in the discussion above, the role of law was addressed as one avenue whereby discriminative practice is produced and licensed. In the material culture of racialized difference in the region, a redundantly reinforcing avenue of ideological production can be observed archaeologically through the landscape, architecture and material culture of the company town.

Archaeology of a Coal Company Town: Lattimer No. 1 and 2 between 1880 and 1917

Capitalism builds a physical landscape appropriate to its own condition at a particular moment in time, only to have to destroy it, usually in the course of a crisis, at a subsequent point in time (Harvey 2001: 247).

Race... was an escape into an irresponsibility where nothing human could any longer exist, and bureaucracy was the result of a responsibility that no man can bear for his fellow man and no people for another people (Hannah Arendt 1958: 207)

Critical social theory is used in archaeology to examine political-economic, ideological, and social histories, highlighting the interdependence between capitalist political-economic relations, ideological systems, material culture, and landscapes (Delle *et al.* 2000; Fracchia 2014; Leone 1984, 1985, 2005; Leone *et al.* 1987; Matthews 2010; McGuire 1988, 2002; Orser 1996; Sayers 2003; Shackel 1996). These analyses suggest that the powers inherent in social relations are modulated by, and therefore manifested in, built environments, architectural styles, artifacts and assemblages. Regarding the manipulation or maintenance of hegemonic structures, Randall McGuire (2002:105) writes:

The patterning of material culture gives reality to social structure, but that reality may, in fact, misrepresent the social structure. It may serve to reinforce and reproduce beliefs that mask power and domination from the people of a society. In this way, material culture becomes a vehicle for domination.

The notion that material culture has a direct relationship with the nature of social relations, and that this relationship both affects and is affected by these relationships has significant implications for the study of material culture (Beaudry *et al.* 1991; Little and Shackel 1992).

Critical ideas about the intersection of space and power from social theorists such as David Harvey, Michel Foucault, Henri Lefebvre and others have influenced historical archaeologists in their analysis of ideologically-charged built environments (Shackel 1996; Delle 1999; Delle *et al.* 2000; Fracchia 2014; Leone 1984; Matthews 2010; Mrozowski 2000; Nassaney & Abel 2000; Orser 2004). Archaeologists have demonstrated the power of landscapes to dictate ideological versions of social behaviors in many different realms through the imposition of differentiation, discipline, and homogenization (Epperson 2000,

Leone 1984, Nassaney and Abel 2000, Shackel 1993). Architecture and landscape are especially effective as tools of domination as they are “relatively permanent, pervasive, and capable of fostering redundant messages” (Nassaney & Abel 2000: 254). Many of these analyses treat with subtlety the manner, method and degree to which ideologies dominate the life contained within its margins, while also exploring the capacity of subjects for resistance and subversion.

Frankavigla suggests that in mining districts, “Power and impotence are everywhere juxtaposed, for mining district landscapes are, above all, landscapes of environmental and social control” (Frankavigla 1991: 99). Relations of power, domination and resistance pervade these social and material environments (Dinius and Vergara 2011; Frankavigla 1991; Green 2010; Mulrooney 1989). Company towns are a central landscape feature of the anthracite coal regions of Northeast Pennsylvania between the mid-nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Scholars suggest that the company towns of this region proceed, and likely were the model for, other company towns created across the country during a time of rapidly expanding industrial resource extraction of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century’s (Metheny 2007; Wallace 1978). The Eastern Middle Coal Field, in which Lattimer is located, with its long anachronistic reign of feudal power structures, retained the company town system in its most fully developed form well into the twentieth century. Company towns, known colloquially in the region as *patch towns*, exemplify the interweaving of the social and economic orders that characterize the mining industry. In its raw practicality and

functionality, they are an explicit materialization of ideology, representing perfectly the antagonisms and linkages between economic space to social and political policies.

Mining communities were designed to be subservient to the economic objectives of industry. For the capitalists in economic pursuit of profiting from the unwieldy resource, the life and welfare of humans and animals involved were subservient, or at the least relatively valued, to the productivity and profitability of the operations. The extractive process of coal mining involved a constant struggle to dominate natural forces, materialized in the form of floods, fires, explosions, dust, fetid water and deforestation. Everything in the town was in support of these purposes. At the same time, residents were often subject to the nearly totalizing company control over their financial situation exercised through the control of all property and leases, the leveraging of debt, monopoly over retail situations and jurisdictional limits over even leisure activities allowed within company limits (Aurand 2005: 122-124). To more than one observer from the turn-of-the-last-century, there was a causal link between the social and the environmental struggles in the region:

The huge culm and rock heaps, polluted streams, bare and barren hills, cave-ins and strippings, make up the landscape which greets the eyes of these thousands, and if they are polluted in mind and body we need not be surprised... In these regions hardly a spot can be found in the villages and towns that is not cursed (Roberts 1904:9).

The task of mining contributes a characteristic set of industrial processes and labor conditions directly arising out of the nature of the industry. Through these operations they share “a common genetic code”. (Frankavigla 1991; Wray 2011:107). It must be remembered, however, that each mining community

reflects its own specific historical and social conditions. Frankavigla (1991) characterizes aspects common to mining districts through the themes of **Isolation, Nucleation, Differentiation, Stratification** and **Homogenization**. All mining is tied to the natural supply of the mineral resource. These resources are frequently found in undeveloped and mountainous regions of the country, isolated from the centers of capital. Such a condition of **isolation** entails heavy capital investment to create an industrial infrastructure to process the ore and the means of transportation to move it. Located far from urban centers with steady supplies of immigrant labor, it required a means of attracting and retaining a steady and inexpensive labor supply to conduct the difficult and varied work activities entailed in mineral extraction.

In their isolation, mining communities often reflect the contours of a form of colonialism reflected in absentee ownership, and the tendency to enrich the metropole and retard regional economic diversity, infrastructure development and the life choices of their inhabitants. As such, mining districts often reflect the underdeveloped periphery economically subservient to an urbanized capitalist core (McGuire and Reckner 2002; Matthews 2010:131-141). In his study of the coal regions of southern Kentucky, sociologist Charles Perry (1982, 1985) suggests that they exhibit conditions akin to *internal colonialism* defined as “the exploitation of peripheral regions' resources by metropolitan centers of a country” (1982:194). In Kentucky, the coal industry operates in an adversarial relationship with other interests including the diversification or differentiation of the economy; a situation that might threaten the workforce but allows the region to sustain itself

during economic depressions. Coal operators also hinder regional development by “resisting taxation, resisting local developmental investment that might reduce access to coal and dominating and often helping to corrupt local politics” (Perry 1982:196). Furthermore, Perry reports that the long history of violent relationships with organized labor coupled with its caustic impact on the environment make the coal producing region an undesirable climate for other industries (1982:196).

Mining settlements frequently coalesce tightly around these mineral sources. The sources of mineral form the center of this **nucleation**, around which is laid out the various components of the settlement. Around this industrial core are clustered auxiliary industrial functions including the various forms of processing, rendering and storage facilities including mule stables, coal breakers, engineering buildings and the large mineshaft entrances covering the headframe, complete with elevators and other hoisting equipment. Company towns were built as close to the mine site as possible to minimize the costs of procuring land and “to maximize the ease, speed, and economy of the operation” (Mulrooney 1991: 131). Living quarters may include company housing, boardinghouses and sometimes independently constructed shanties. A company store was customary, presenting the monopolization of the retail needs of the workers and their families, often at prices well above normal. Other amenities for the labor supply might include a company store, post office, railroad depot and occasionally a church (Wallace 1988: 138). In the case of later company towns, particularly with the growth of paternalism in bituminous regions of Pennsylvania,

space for medical facilities and recreational activities such as movie theaters might be present (Frankavigla 1991, Mulrooney 1991, Metheny 2007). The living and office space for the management, law enforcement and other elite personnel might also be included in the town.

Nucleation is also represented on a broader scale in mining regions in the form of satellite settlements linked to central company towns. This is the case in Steptoe City and Reipetown, Nevada studied by archaeologists Richard Goddard and Donald Hardesty (Hardesty 1998, 2002; Goddard 2002; Matthews 2010). Steptoe City functioned as a satellite community and work camp attached to the company town of McGill (Goddard 2002). It functioned for residents as an alternative space for residents that chose to “opt out” of the company control offered in McGill (Matthews 2010: 138-139). Likewise Reipetown, a plural community made up of immigrant workers of Greek, Slavic, Italian, Mexican and Japanese origin, eschewed the hierarchical material expression of structured company spaces. Instead, archaeologists identified evidence for of individualistic and organic development expressed in the architecture, material culture and landscape of the town (Hardesty 1998).

Social **differentiation** and **stratification** was materially delineated in company settlements through both architectural style and geographic location. Frankavigla (1991) argues that this differentiation is drawn from the hierarchical working relationships that structure the multi-stepped processes of coal extraction. Housing provided by companies typically consisted of economic, quickly-built dwellings for workers. High initial capital investment costs in

technological and industrial aspects of the work frequently resulted in a company's attempt to recapture this capital by providing minimal investment in infrastructure including heating, or indoor plumbing (Mulrooney 1991; Aurand 2003; Metheny 2007). This was compounded by the fickle nature of resource extraction. Companies often planned for the possibility that a seam would "dry up". Investment in temporary shelter mitigated potential losses should the settlements have to be abandoned (Mulrooney 1991).

The houses of management frequently reflect the middle or upper- class aesthetics of the times, featuring spacious, well-kept landscapes maintained in spatial arrangements that differentiate them from the worker's housing. In some cases this vertical structure may be manifested literally in a stratified landscape with the homes of elites placed in higher elevations offering lines of sight and access to light and air (Knapp 1991: 101). Vertical relationships, both social and geospatial can describe the symbolic delineation of a power in a more concrete fashion, in the form of *surveillance* as described by Michel Foucault (1977). In these environments the exercise of gaze by management instills a sense of constant fear and discipline within workers who are, seemingly, under the constant watch of management in both domestic and occupation realms. This domination can also be expressed in the symbols it associates or appropriates for the legitimacy of its sovereignty. Company towns in places like Berwind, Colorado used the built environment to make associations between management and churches to suggest the power and authority of those institutions (Saitta 2007). The differentiation and stratification of ethnic and racial identities were

manifested, accentuated and maintained through this built environment. In the cases of mining camps in Arizona and Colorado (Sheridan 1998, Wood 2002) and other company towns, different ethnic groups were placed either in proximity to each other or separately in order to enhance or downplay associations of ethnicity. This was done as a measure to discourage the growth of class solidarity and union organizing (Behrens 2005, Saitta 2007).

Perhaps the most visually striking aspect of many mining company towns is the fact that many were owned, built and maintained by a single company contributing to a **homogenous** quality to their architecture. Spatial layout reflected this monotony with straight lines of tightly placed, regular lots. These stylistic details can be tied to the company's intentions for securing a return on their investments by ensuring an ease of construction and maintenance. Alternately, the homogenous quality of these accommodations can be seen to reflect a Fordist interest in the production of interchangeable disciplined workers (Frankavigla 1991).

As outlined above, the qualities of isolation, nucleation, differentiation, stratification, and homogeneity structure the basic of attributes of company towns developed and operated around the country. These towns share with Lattimer Nos. 1 and 2 the function of providing for the capitalist exploitation of mineral resources, promoting or structuring social relations conducive to this task. An alternative approach to the structuring of industrial sites comes from French anthropologist Andre Leroi-Gourhan, applied by Bryan Pfaffenberger (1989) in "Mining communities, *chaines operatoires* and sociotechnical systems". The

concept of *chaines operatoires* treats labor and industrial processes as a single social system defined by culturally chosen activities. These activities are not examined within a closed system of rational choices based upon efficiency, but rather they are seen as choices made among thousands of options. To use the notion of *chaines operatoires* is to recognize that the nature of these choices expresses more than rational efficiency but rather “express meaning and political intention” (Pfaffenberger 1998: 294). The landscape of the towns may seem like a *monadic* construction: totalizing, dominating and confining space reflecting the apparent reality of the industry; and yet the dynamic presence of violence, contradiction and movement throughout the history of the town reflects the political nature of its construction.

History of Lattimer No. 1 and 2

The patchtowns of Lattimer exemplify the complexities and contradictions of all social, economic and political landscapes. It materializes elements of broad national discourse on race, ethnicity and citizenship in transformation across the period between about 1880 and 1940. The Lattimer property was developed by Calvin Pardee, son of Ario. The first shipment of coal from Slope No. 1 in Lattimer Mines is reported in 1866 (ICMAR 1880: 243). In the first report of the *Inspectors of Coal Mines of the Anthracite Region (ICMAR)*, published in 1870, “Latimore” is cited as shipping a modest 98,723 tons of coal. At the time it employed 155 men and 32 boys in colliery operations. No fatal accidents are reported, but one serious injury was sustained. James Costule, 35 and married,

was injured badly on his back and cut on his head when the car he was riding met another travelling in the opposite direction.

By 1872 the *ICMAR* reports that Slope No. 1 extended 489 feet northwards with a vertical depth of 314 feet and produced 57, 260.02 tons of coal using 941 kegs of dynamite (1872: 313). 118 men are employed inside and 65 employed as outside labor. It also reports that “Pardee Brothers and Co. have sunk a new slope to the bottom of the basin at Latimore” (ICMAR 1872: 298). It also lists the first fatality. On 19 August 1872, Jenkin Rosser, age 27, married with 2 children, was killed by a premature blast in Slope No. 2. In the remarks section of the report it states that he lived 4 days before passing. By 1874 Slope No. 2 begins to produce coal as well.

From the town’s inception, spatial hierarchy is already visible in the relationship between management and worker’s homes. An examination of detailed company maps of the town and industrial operations produced between 1878 to the 1940s, in combination with standing structures and archaeological evidence, reveals even great vertical diversity in spatial and architectural forms in the town throughout this period. Material analysis also reflects a seriation in the innumerable transformations of the town through time, reflecting changes in the industrial processes in conversation with the political economy of racial practice.

Spatial Division in Lattimer

The earliest depiction of the company town of Lattimer is on the 1873 Beers Atlas (Figure 4-1). In this map the towns appear amongst a belt of satellite mining communities orbiting the already substantial metropolis of Hazleton. A road heading northward from the city enters Lattimer No. 1 from the west and lined with company double houses numbering about thirty-two in number. Evenly spaced, they exhibit the classical homogeneity of company town landscapes. Two larger structures representing the homes of management are visible just to

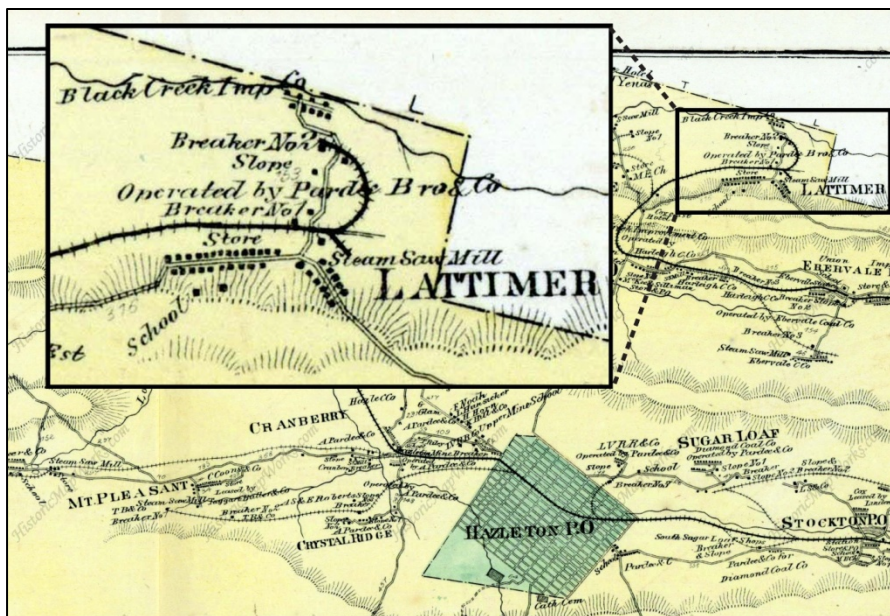


Figure 4-1. 1873 Beers Atlas with detail showing Lattimer Company Towns and industrial operations relative to Hazleton and other nearby towns

the south of these worker's homes.

Topographically, they are situated at a higher elevation, and back from the

noise and dust of the mining

operations, and yet they provided a clear view of the company houses and the mining operations. The school house, which played a prominent role in the setting of the Massacre, is clearly marked on this map as well. A rail line and carriage road snakes across the former river valley in which the coal operations are located. A number of auxiliary industrial buildings are also present, nucleated

around the south side of the mining operations, labeled “Store”, “Breaker No. 1” and “Steam Saw Mill”. “Breaker No. 2” as well as an associated slope appears to the north side of the operations accompanied by another smaller grouping of houses numbering nine in total.

A company map from the early twentieth century reveals a number of discrete zones or districts reflecting geographical, spatial, and material differentiation in the town (Figure 2). Lettered sections added to the map identify discrete areas discussed in the following section.

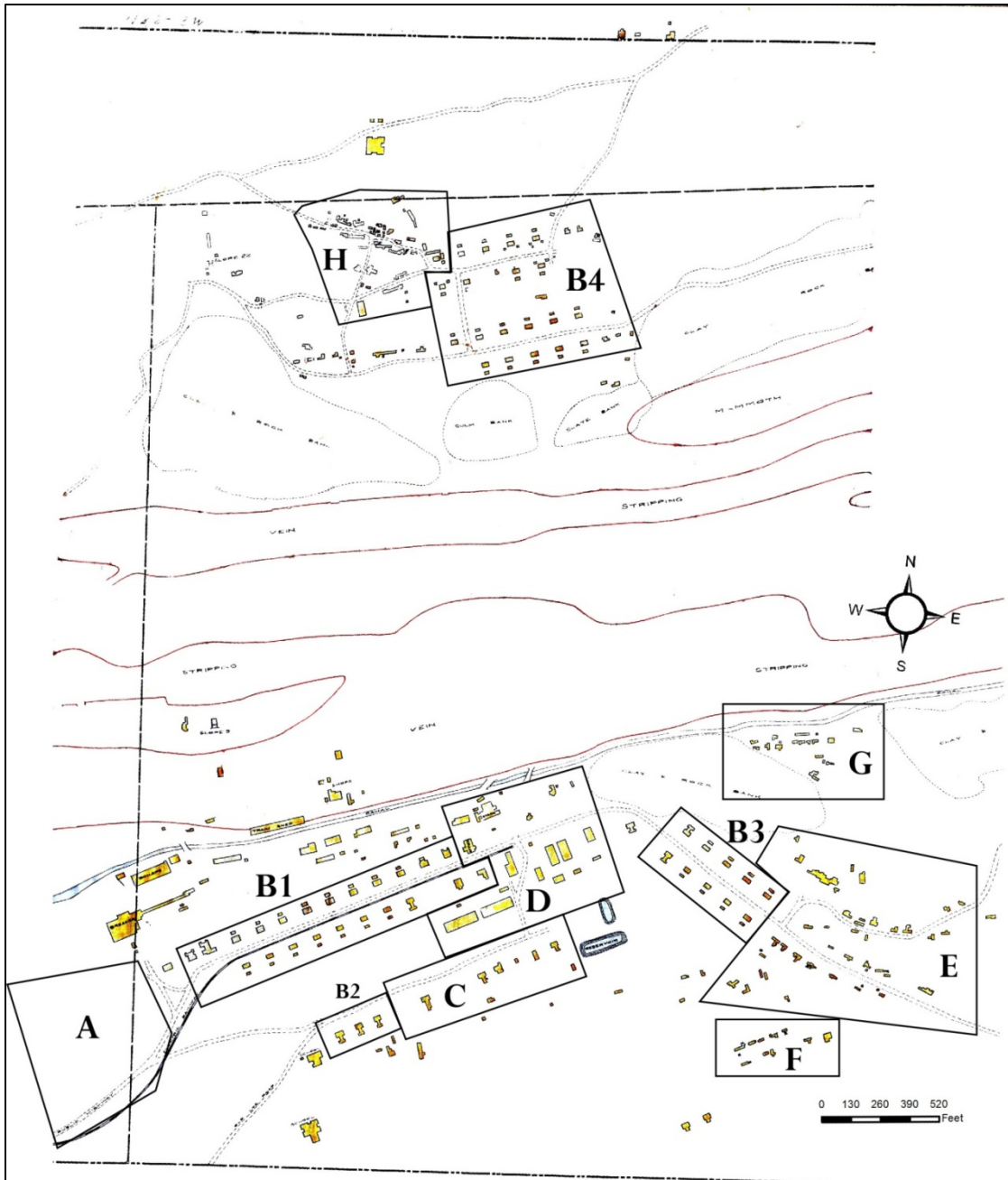


Figure 4-2. Company map, 1920s; A) Lattimer Massacre Site, B#) Company double houses, C) Quality Road, D) Auxiliary Company and Industrial buildings, E) East Lattimer, F) "Italian Dwellings, G) Canal Street, H) Church Street Shanty Enclave

A) Lattimer Massacre Site

The site of the massacre sits at the very entrance of the town where the road leading from Hazleton splits into Lattimer Main Street to the left and Quality Road to the right. Today in the patch of ground between the split sits the

Monument Stone to the Lattimer Massacre. The first company house, along the fence the deputies were reputed to have lined up to meet the strikers is no longer standing today having been the victim of arson in the late twentieth century. In its place stands a modern residence.

B) Company Double Houses

A total of 32 double houses line Lattimer No.1 Main Street. Twenty-two houses are along the first stretch of the road running roughly parallel with the mine operations (B1). An additional three double houses are located along Quality Road or Back Street. Ten double houses line the road after it takes a sharp right

turn after a high culm bank (B3). Today, private owners have customized the houses, often



Figure 4-3. An image of the Lattimer Main Street today showing looking westward showing individually modified double houses (background) and more recent housing in the foreground.

purchasing the both sides and combining them into a single-family home in conformity with late modern suburban notions of space and privacy (Figure 3). Historically the houses were nearly identical in shape, aesthetics and lot size; 2-story, single-pile wood frame

duplexes with side-gabled roofs. They are covered in weatherboard with a sheet metal roof. End chimneys protrude from each gable end. The four-bay front facade on the first floor has windows on the exterior sides with adjacent front doors for each unit. The second floors contain a single window for each unit. All windows are of the six-over-six sashed-type. Both photos show a partial front porch centralized and stretching over the front doors.

Historic maps indicate that the houses had detached summer kitchens. The Lattimer Company archives contained a blueprint with a version of the company houses of Lattimer produced in 1889. It is not evident if these drawings were drawn up to assess the structures for improvement, insurance purposes or to build entirely new houses. In the blueprint, the double houses feature a saltbox roofs. Double house lot sizes in Lattimer No. 1 run from about 185 feet in length to about 50 feet in width for a total lot size averaging about 10,000 sq feet. Census records indicate that in Lattimer No. 1 they nearly exclusively housed nativized miners and families of Western European descent including English, German and Irish between the 1880s to the early twentieth century.

In Lattimer No. 2, an additional 19 double houses were occupied by miners, laborers and their families (B4). The nine shown on the 1874 Beers Atlas are depicted with an additional ten on a company map from 1878, though it is not clear whether these were built later or were simply not pictured on the rudimentary sketch map assembled for the atlas. Census records indicate a mixture of backgrounds occupied the double houses in Lattimer No. 2 for the period between 1880 and 1910, when the overall demographics of the town shifts

to a majority of Eastern European and Italian households. Double house lot sizes in Lattimer No. 2 range in size from about 6500 to 9000 sq. feet, on average slightly smaller than those in Lattimer No. 1. Much like in No. 1, the houses had detached summer kitchens, many of which were either demolished or attached to the main body of the house with a hyphen in the mid-twentieth century.

C) Quality Road/ Back Street

Quality Road or Back Street is where the mining management lived. House design and lot size vary in this location and this display of architectural ornamentation and diversity contrasts with the homogeneity of the company-built worker's homes; a notable exception to the prevailing material logic of the company town. Between three and four large houses of heterogeneous design populate this street including the large lot of the Mine Superintendent. Additionally, a Methodist Episcopalian church, a schoolhouse and three double houses were constructed by the company. Today, a number of late twentieth century houses have filled in the spaces between houses. The residences are of Victorian design. The Superintendent's house, located central to the street, is a five-bay, 2-story Italianate structure with a low side gabled roof and an extensive rear addition features a conspicuous use of Victorian-era trim. The yard measures about 90,000 sq. feet or just under 2 acres.

D) Auxiliary Company and Industrial Buildings

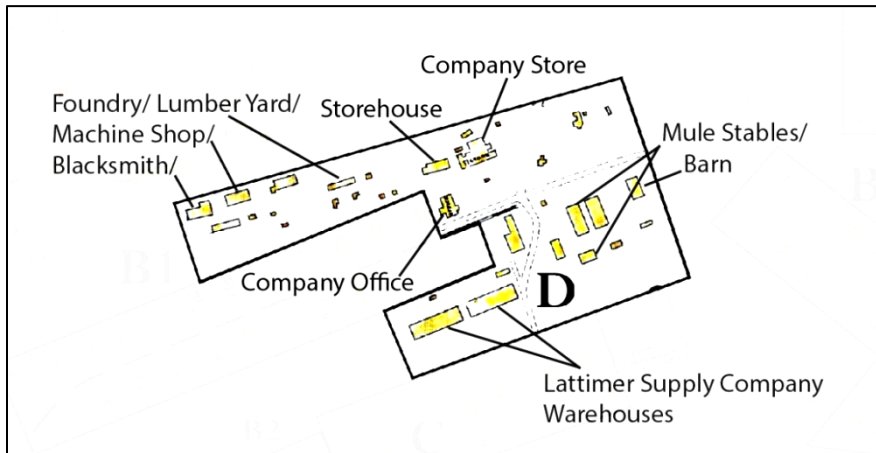


Figure 4-4. Detail of Area D showing a variety of industrial and administrative structures in Lattimer No. 1 in a map dated to the 1920s

Lattimer No. 1 was also the staging site for a variety of auxiliary buildings supporting the town and colliery operations as well

as commercial operations. Company buildings including the company store, storeroom and office were centralized in town. Company maps reveal a seriation in the development of these edifices across time destructive fires and periods of renovation. A complex of mule barns and stables for horses were located across from the store, in relatively close spatial relationship to the mining operations. The Lattimer Supply Company, connected to the Pardee family of businesses operated two large warehouses, shown in the figure in a configuration dating to about 1911. They offered industrial retail for the mining and other industries for much of the twentieth century. The warehouses, long abandoned, were dismantled and sold as scrap in the spring of 2013. A number of light industrial buildings are found tucked behind the homes of Main Street adjacent to the mining operations. They included, at various moments in the history of the colliery, a foundry, carpenter shop, blacksmith shop, machinist shop, and a lumber yard. After the closing of the mining operations, the Lattimer Foundry

continues to operate into the twentieth century offering some employment to the community.

E) East Lattimer

A heterogeneous assortment of houses line Main Street beyond the company double houses. Constructed piecemeal starting in the 1870s and continuing into first half of the twentieth century, these houses reflect company and employee efforts to meet the housing needs of an expanding labor force. In spatial alignment, this neighborhood reflects the density of the company houses, with lot sizes relatively equal to that offered by the company homes. Additionally, these houses, generally evenly spaced and fronting extensions of the main street, echo the spatial organization of the rest of the company housing. Two streets ran off of Main Street. One ran southwards, upward in elevation (Scotch Hill) with a second running downhill towards the mining operations (Lower Street) accommodating more housing in this zone.

F) "Italian Dwellings", Lattimer No. 1

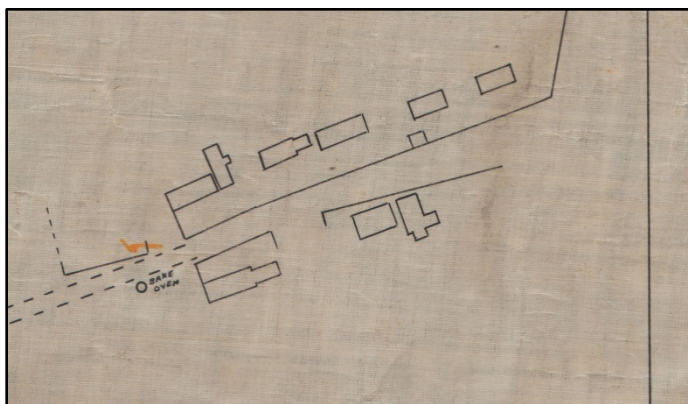


Figure 4-5. A detail of a map from the early twentieth century showing Area F, a densely-organized street in Lattimer No. 1 inhabited by Italian occupants

In contrast to the spatial arrangements and lot sizes of the rest of West and East Lattimer, two discreet areas in Lattimer No. 1 reflect a different

spatial order. Area F, described on a map from 1913 as "Italian

Dwellings" is a densely-ordered cluster of buildings lining a small road or

alleyway on the top of a hill south of Main Street. An image from 1878 (Figure 5) depicts a bread oven at the western end of the road, presumably for communal usage. Later images of the area show additional structures as well as additions added to buildings, reflecting subdivisions of houses to accommodate additional families, renters or boarders. Today, the landscape and architecture of this area has been largely obliterated. Selective demolition and recent construction or alteration of existing structures has obscured the intimate setting of this enclave.

G) Canal Street, Lattimer

The shanty settlement of Canal Street occupies a plot of land concealed from Main Street behind a large culm bank. The approximately 1.8-acre area occupies a sloping wedge of land between the large bank and a canal that borders the north edge of the settlement of Lattimer No. 1, separating it from the colliery operations. Historically, the canal served to drain water and effluvia from

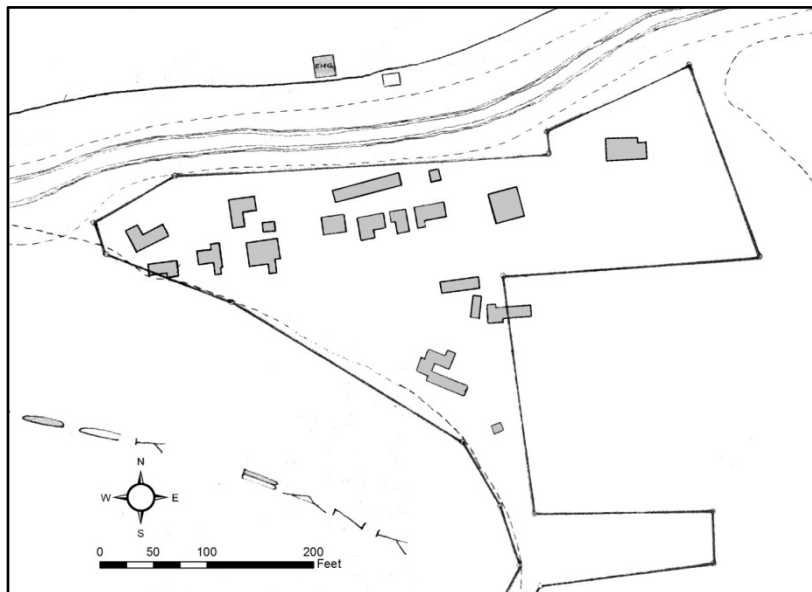


Figure 4-6. Detail of a map from the 1920s showing the Canal Street enclave in Lattimer No. 1

the mines, industrial workings and domestic occupation.

Presently, Canal Street terminates at the canal where a bridge used to carry miners and laborers across the canal to

mine workings. In the past, the road turned sharply westward leading to the small settlement. Historic maps from between 1878 and 1941 depict between nine and fifteen houses of varying sizes in the area. Historic maps, aerial photography, ground features and archaeology indicates the presence of additional auxiliary structures on the lot including privies, icehouses, storage shanties and coal sheds and the possibility of unrecorded domiciles. According to local informants the majority of structures were demolished by the late 1960s. Presently, two heavily altered historic structures as well as a recently constructed (post 1970s) house stand in the area. At present, older residents of the town remember little to nothing about the occupants, structures and landscape that made up the settlement and most new residents, including the current landowners, did not know that it existed at all.

H) Church Street, Lattimer No. 2/ Pardeesville

By the mid-1870s a total of twenty company-built double houses stood in Lattimer No.2. By the end of the decade a number of ephemeral and semi-permanent structures were built in the northwest corner of the patch. A map of the town from 1885 (Figure 7) shows the St. Nazarius Catholic church, constructed the year before, surrounded by

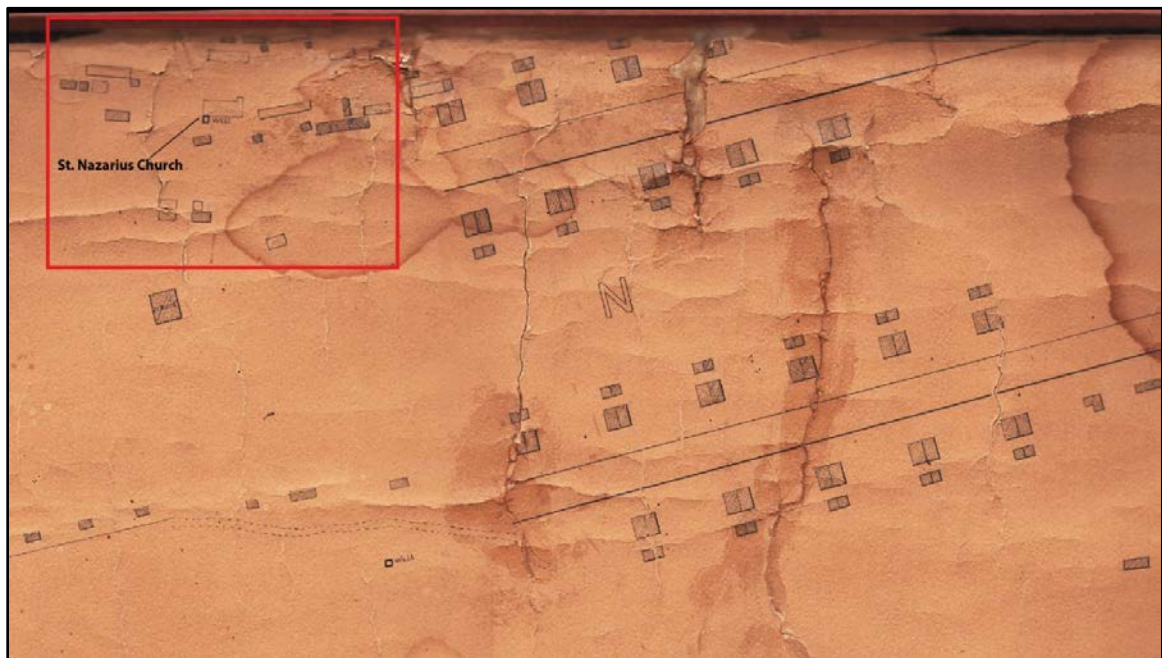


Figure 4-7. Portion of a map from 1885 showing the shanty enclave clustered around St. Nazarius church in Lattimer No. 2.

various forms of housing arranged organically around it. Structures include several long barracks-like buildings accompanied by smaller constructions. These likely included both dwellings and structures serving auxiliary domestic functions such as kitchens, privies and storehouses.

In the decades that followed, population density in the enclave increased, with houses built to fill much of the available space. The majority of the housing in this area is concentrated around a T- intersection dominated by the church at

its southwestern corner, though lower density housing spread throughout the west side of Lattimer No. 2, scattered among fenced-in empty lots containing gardens and animal pens. A company map from sometime in the second decade of the twentieth century depicts as many as 42 individual structures concentrated around the church (Figure 8). A life-long resident of the town described the formation of the neighborhood thusly:

You see where the coal company houses stop? This is where the dividing line is. And the reason for that is prior to the Italian nationality moving in to this area, even in Lattimer Mines, what we had was the coal company houses. They were built by the coal company ...the English were the first ones to move over here, in those homes.... So if you look to the westfrom these coal company houses, what do you see? All these irregularities. And the reason for that is when the Italian people came here they acted as squatters. There was no system from the coal company to control anything. And so they moved in there, and I was told by some of the old people that they cleared the land, clear-cut the brush and just began tilling the soil..... the irregularity.... it's not like with the coal company houses. Everything was even and set up like you would build a development today. Everything is neat... They just went in there and they just did basically whatever they wanted to do. There was no control from the coal company (MD, interview 21 March, 2013).

The resident notes an invisible line dividing the two neighborhoods by space and architecture. In his narrative, he also suggests that this divide is more than simply material but also social. In his positive interpretation of this history, he highlights the aspect of freedom inherent to the community's endurance of the indignities of peripheralization, noting of the Italian squatters, "...they just did basically whatever they wanted to do. There was no control from the coal company".

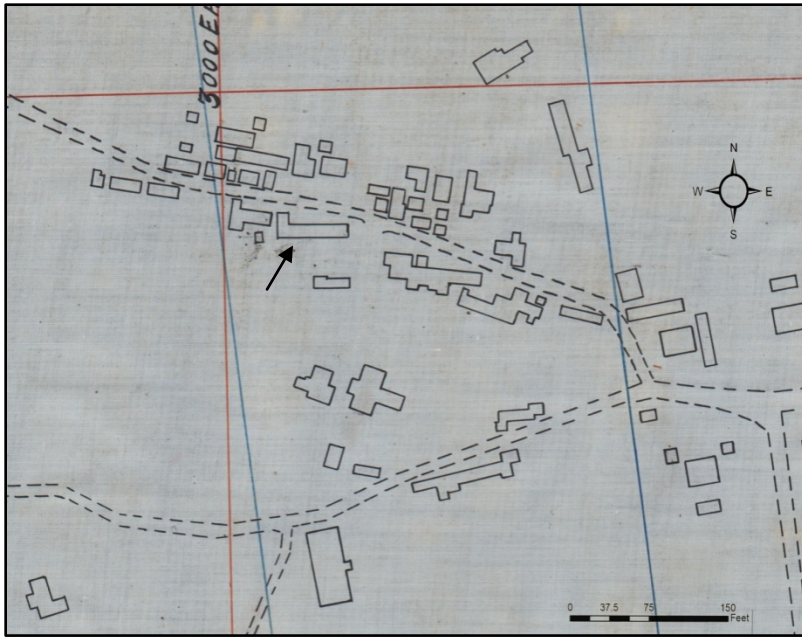


Figure 4-8. Detail of a company map from after 1912 showing the shanty enclave with many small structures clustered around St. Nazarius Church. (identified in map by a small arrow)

At other moments, this irregularity is addressed in different terms. In 1898 a magazine reporter and artist for *The Century* magazine visited the town to report on the “foreign element”

involved in the Lattimer

Massacre to its largely

white middle class readership (Hambridge 1898; Rood 1898). Their agendas are transparent in the reportage, guiding readership to draw racialized character traits from shanty landscapes. Their arguments for immigration restriction are embedded in these descriptions, warning that the Slavic and Italian immigrants are, “much more dangerous to the body politic than the excluded Chinese; for not only are they eager to work for wages on which an English-speaking family would starve, but they are superstitious and murderous” (Rood 1898:811). The artist Jay Hambridge is particularly receptive to aesthetics, explicitly articulating the epistemological connection between materialities and “mentalities” (1898:824-825):

This is a place to be described by metes and bounds and degrees of instruments, and to do it would tax the ingenuity of the best of surveyors. Can you read character from handiwork? If so, this would be a place to practice your art. Each little house, with the boxes, cubby-holes, and

fences about it, has been built by the man who lives in it. And he is a laborer, a struggler for mere existence, not deft in the use of tools, nor with an eye for the symmetrical, nor with an appreciation for anything beyond the most primal facts of living.

The settlement, “a hazy-looking mass with many poles sticking out of it” (1898: 824), is described as consisting of:

....*the queerest structures*, some of them not much larger than dog-kennels... *There is no sewage system here*, and the alley is the dumping-ground for all offal. At every few steps of this winding, reeking way are little openings leading into other' passageways, not much wider than will permit a man to walk through.

And elsewhere (1898: 825):

The roofs of the buildings slant at all angles, with no two sides of the same length or deflection. One portion will have eaves, while its companion will scorn the luxury. The same incongruity prevails everywhere. Some of the small openings used for windows are high, while others are low. One door will open in, and another out. The hinges have evidently come from the company scrap-pile, and the staples and latches and locks from the same source. Some of the roofs have shingles, others weather-boards, while others are formed of great pieces of rusty sheet-iron.

Later, Ganaro Volco, an Italian miner and shoemaker sits for one of the portraits drawn by Hambridge accompanying the article, exhibiting the generic racial characteristics of immigrants groups in the area. Though they could not exchange ideas in English, Hambridge (1898: 828) reads into the terms of his fellow craftsman the confirmation of his opening thesis:

A shoe, he said, when made by hand, --and though he couldn't express himself clearly in English, I understood,-- reflected the character of the maker, and, according to the strength or weakness of character, was good or bad, and in such measure was art. The same article made by machinery- a shrug of his small shoulders.

Hambridge appropriates the voice of the shoemaker to authenticate his determinist materialism.

The 1898 articles by Hambridge and Rood played a significant role in the history of the Massacre. During the Austro-Hungarian government's claim for indemnity for the victims of the massacre, the U.S. government assigned

assistant attorney general Henry Hoyt to report on the case for the government. Hoyt's report includes the articles as evidence for the government's case against distributing indemnities as, "a recent statement of [the immigrant's] manner of living, customs and characteristics". Hoyt, based upon the 1898 article, finds that the strikers of foreign birth, "...are ignorant, and from our point of view uncivilized" (Hoyt 1898, quoted in Palmer 1913:193). He continues:

Compared with such people of our own, they represent a status of civilization to find which generally we should have to go back several centuries. Their manner of life, their standard of living, their domestic relations and moral sanctions are all crude and defective in comparison with any proper standards.

Hoyt relents, however, that he sees the possibility for the future "amalgamation" of the foreigners in lieu of their character; in their thrift, their desire to become citizens and own homes, their affection toward children, their attachment to church, and their "loyal[ty] to those who help them or show them kindness" (Hoyt 1898, quoted in Palmer 1913:193).

Today the landscape of the shanty town is still visible, though the unique spatial arrangement of houses has been heavily obscured by the movements and actions of residents and government, rendering it nearly invisible to the casual observer. As discussed in Chapter 7, a close examination of historic maps and archaeology reveals that selective abandonment, gentrification, and systematic renewal altered the landscape of the town in an effort to reinvest it with values amenable to capitalist processes. Archaeological remains, however, attest to this history.

Archaeology of Canal Street, Lattimer No. 1

During the summer of 2012 the Department of Anthropology of the University of Maryland conducted a preliminary archaeological survey of portions of the Canal Street enclave as well as significant excavations concentrating on one lot. Standing structures and archaeological and visible ground features were surveyed and recorded with a Total Data Station and added to an ArcGIS database. Subsequently, they were layered onto a variety of topographic and historic maps.

Preliminary goals for the survey and excavations include mapping the overall historic landscape of the enclave, identifying building techniques and materials used for shanty construction for comparison with those in other districts of the company town. Recording a chronology of building sequences was also important. Excavations also sought to identify domestic-related and other artifacts revealing aspects of the historical sequence of community formation, endurance, resistance, and identity.

A total of eighteen surface features were mapped in the lot at the time of the survey (Figure 9). They included (**F16**) a single standing structure, a much-altered historic home consisting of a two-story frame structure on a concrete foundation. At the time of the survey the house was occupied by Willie and Michelle Vitz, the owners of the plot of land, and their two dogs Thor and Miley. **Feature 1** is a block foundation, approximately 20 feet by 25 feet. **Feature 2** is a block-lined well or cistern associated with Feature 1. **Feature 3** and **4** are two poured concrete pads, likely associated with a twentieth century domicile or other

structure. **Feature 5** represents the macadam and asphalt remnants of Canal Street, running East-West across the site for approximately 275 feet.

Feature 6 is a water hookup, possibly associated with a house depression in this location. **Feature 7**, the depression of a house foundation was associated with a fallen brick chimney capped with a ceramic pipe finish as well as a brick lined well or cistern (**F8**). **Features 17** and **18** were similar roughly rectangular depressions, though lacking any visible architectural remnants.

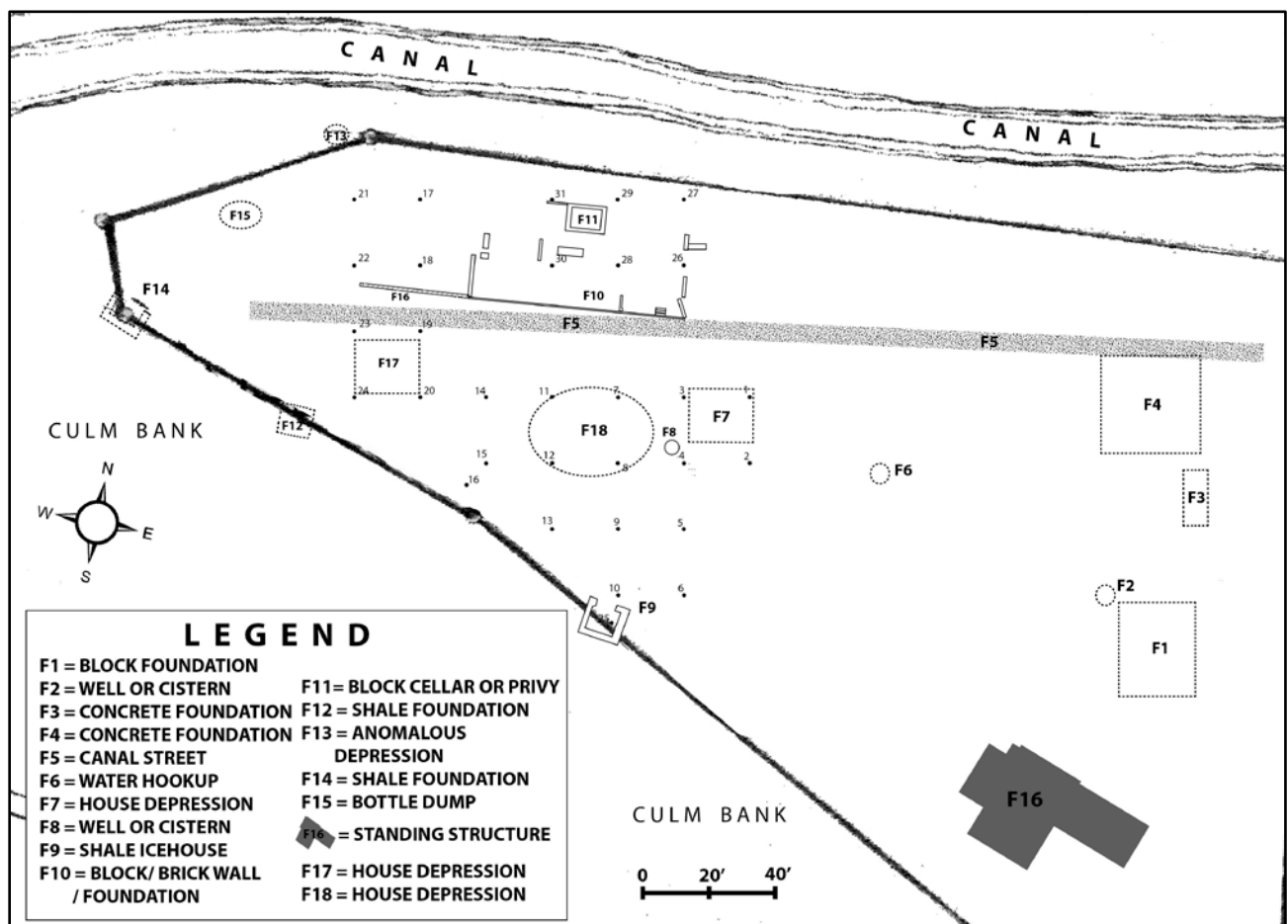


Figure 4-9. Ground features visible at the time of the 2012 archaeological survey. Dark outline reflect company property lines surveyed during the 1940 sale of the property.

Feature 9 is a dry-laid stone icehouse built into the culm bank at what was the rear of the house lot behind Feature 18. It was built of shale abundantly available in the culm bank. The rear of the icehouse was partially excavated into the sloping hillside, with mining timbers used to hold up this portion. A shovel test pit (STP25) revealed that the fill materials extended to a depth of 1.2 feet below the contemporary ground surface. This fill layer included artifacts dating to between the 1930s and the late 1950s. Indicating this date are bottles exhibiting machine-made characteristics (1920s+ [Barrett 1926, SHA 2014]), ACL (Applied Color Label) decorations (1930-1950+ [SHA 2014]), Owen's suction scars (1905-1940s+ [SHA 2014]), stipled bases (1940s+ [SHA 2014]) and other maker's marks. Below this fill layer, cultural soils extended to a depth of 2.5 feet total, though no artifacts were recovered in these soils. **Features 12** and **14** were

similar constructions; however they exhibit considerably less structural integrity than **Feature 9**.

Feature 16, a long retaining wall, was used to terrace the landscape of the Canal Street lot. It is likely an important landscape feature given the long history of flooding

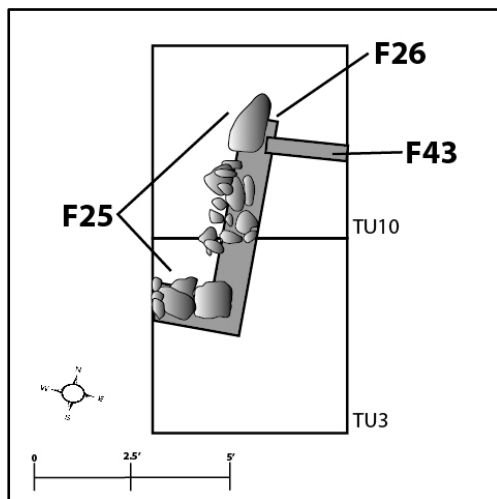


Figure 4-10. Features 26 and 25, architectural pillar, foundation wall and Feature 43, slot fence, identified in Test Units 10 and 3

reported in Anthracite Inspectors reports from the period. An approximately 60-foot length of this wall (designated **Feature 10**)

shows signs of architectural adaptation featuring the remnants of steps and

facades along its road face. Three separate segmented treatments suggested that a long barracks-like structure split into units occupied the terrace. On the lower elevation, a variety of poured concrete and brick foundation elements and brick chimney bases constructed of

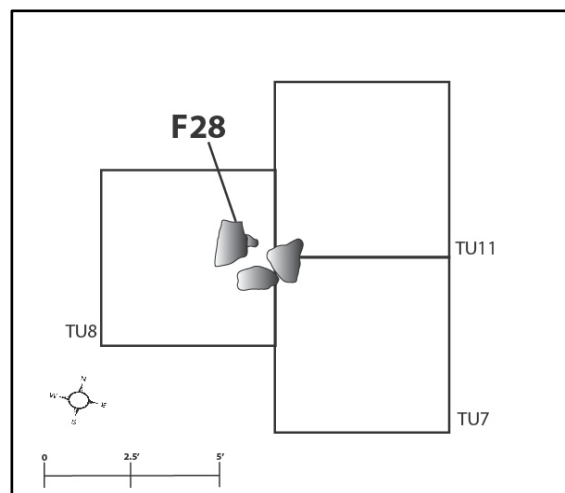


Figure 4-11. Feature 28, architectural pillar, identified in Test Units 7, 8 and 11.

assorted materials and construction methods demonstrated the presence of

significant architectural development in this location. **Feature 11**, located between **Feature 10** and the edge of the canal 35-40 feet north, is a cinder block foundation with a current depth of approximately four feet. Humus deposition and modern refuse including broken glass collected from across the property has obscured the bottom of the feature. One interpretation of the function of this feature is that it served as a communal double privy serving the occupants of the nearby structures. **Feature 15** is an anomalous depression, possibly a filled-in architectural feature such as a cellar. **Feature 13** is a bottle dump estimated to date to the mid-twentieth century.

A total of twenty-five shovel test pits were excavated across a portion of the area, recovering a variety of artifacts from a mixture of stratigraphic contexts. Portions of **Feature 18** suggested subsurface deposits were present, with deeply-buried, artifact-laden strata. Field school students excavated a total of 12

test units and one trench across the estimated boundaries of the house lot. In pursuit of the excavation goals, traces of ephemeral shanty architecture were sought, as well as other architectural or activity-based uses of the landscape. A total of forty-six features were recorded including architectural posts or pillars, foundations, and remnants and traces of landscaping elements such as pens, a roof dripline and post holes. Garden features such as shovel scrapes were also identified in subsoils. Artifacts numbered 10,027 and were recovered from a variety of stratigraphic contexts. A few features significant to this chapter's discussion are outlined below.

Architectural features were identified and delineated in units 10/3, 8/7/11, and 4/5/9 (Figures 10, 11 and 12). In Test Units 10 and 3 an architectural pillar and a fieldstone foundation wall (**Feature 25**) were uncovered. The pillar, of dry laid fieldstone, was uncovered at about 2 ft below surface. A builder's trench around the pillar (**Feature 26**) included coal-ash-mixed soils and artifacts from the late nineteenth century including ironstone and aqua glass fragments suggest the house was built above a previous living surface. A feature representing a builder's trench for a slot fence (**Features 23+43**) extends eastwards from the low wall of **Feature 25**. The slot fence may represent the border of a walkway or the boundaries around an animal pen.

A second architectural pillar was identified and delineated in Test Units 7, 8 and 11. The pillar was made up of three large stones uncovered approximately 0.9 ft below surface. There was likely a flat rock providing a platform for a frame structure to rest on. The pillar was placed in a shallow pit excavated into subsoil.

Unfortunately rodent activity altered stratigraphy in this feature, blurring clear diagnostic dates. Some diagnostic artifacts suggest rough terminus post quem dates for the construction of the pillar. The base of **Feature 28** included a few older artifacts including a blob top soda bottle with a tooled finish, Albany-slipped stoneware and ironstone ceramics (n=5), each of which have their peak usage in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. However, terminal usage for each extends their usage into the first two decades of the twentieth century (Miller 1991; SHA 2014; Zimler 1987). Upper levels of the pit included artifacts ranging in date from the mid-nineteenth to the late twentieth century including undecorated whitewares (N=2), items of bakelite, plastic, a porcelain insulator

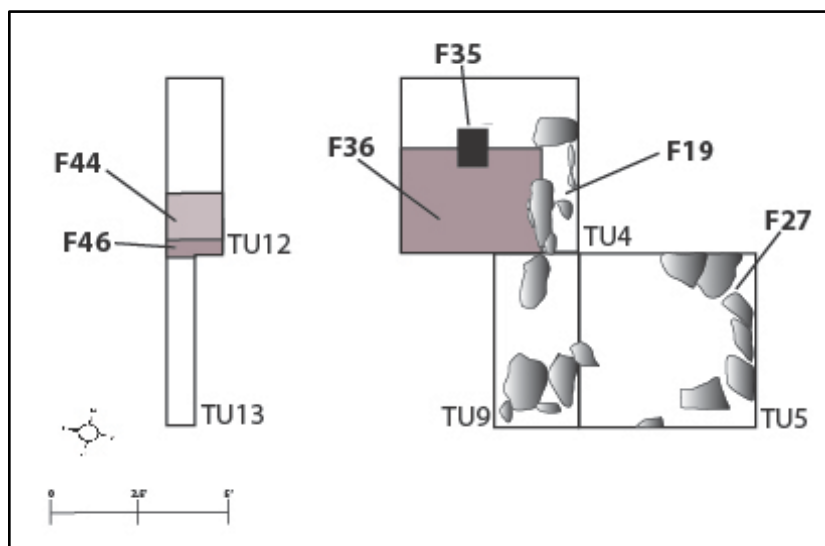


Figure 4-12. Features 19, 27, 35, 36, 44, 46 identified in Units 4, 5, 9, 12, and 13

and embossed and undecorated glass. Soils from the top of the feature included a number of cut and wire nails, many still adhering to wood board. By and large the number of cut

nails (n=55) outnumbered wire (n=8). The absolute elevation of the architectural pillars in Test Unit 3 and 7, 8, and 11 differed by less than 0.125 ft when compared by a single datum point suggesting they would have provided a

relatively level surface for architectural framing strung between them. The tops of the features 28 and 25 measured exactly 18 ft apart.

Features 19 and 27, identified and partially delineated in Units 4, 5 and 9 comprises of a small foundation of flat shale likely collected from the abundant supply in the culm bank a mere 40 ft to the south. Measuring about 5 ft x 8 ft oriented north to south, the foundation ranged from one to three courses of stone. The center of the feature contained a concentrated layer of charcoal and charred wood overlying crushed horsehair plaster indicating that the structure burnt. Architectural materials including nails and window glass were recovered from these strata with the quantity of identifiable wire nails (n=63) surpassing cut (n=10) by more than 6 to 1. Wooden boards were clearly impressed into this layer.

Non-structural artifacts from Feature 19/27 included domestic (n=30), personal (n=4) and activities-related (n=1) items. The majority of domestic ceramics included undecorated whiteware vessels (n=4), as well as an ironstone bowl fragment and two decorative fragments of a milk-glass serving vessel. Identifiable glass vessels forms included fragments from mason jar, wine, liquor and soda water bottles, drinking glass and spice or condiment bottle fragments all demonstrated machine-made characteristics. One soda water bottle exhibited a red ACL label post-dating the deposit to after 1930 (1930-1950+ [SHA 2014]). A melted fragment of a radio vacuum tube dating to sometime between 1920 and 1950 yielded an unexpected find in this feature.

The landscape sloped downwards in a deposit to the west of the structure, designated **Feature 36**. Mottled clay and silt rich soils lined the base of **Feature 36**, suggesting it served as a shallow trench to collect waste or rainwater, directing it away from the house. A posthole (**Feature 35**) excavated into the edge of the slope, filled with rocks and coal ash, may have served to anchor a post supporting a wall or roof overhang. Upper strata indicated an effort to fill and level this trench, perhaps as architectural and landscape functions were replaced or demolished. Test Unit 12 & 13 were excavated west of TU4/5/9 to reconnoiter the landscape for signs of architecture along the line of higher elevation. No masonry features were identified though **Features 44** and **46** represent a trench in-line with the one found in **Feature 36**. Like that of **Feature 36**, fill soils were added to level the ground in this area over time.

The features found in Test Unit's 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, and 10 reflect fragments of the dynamic practices of shanty construction in the region. A variety of images from historic maps of the structure at Canal Street (Figure 13) reveals a portrait of the complex redesigning and

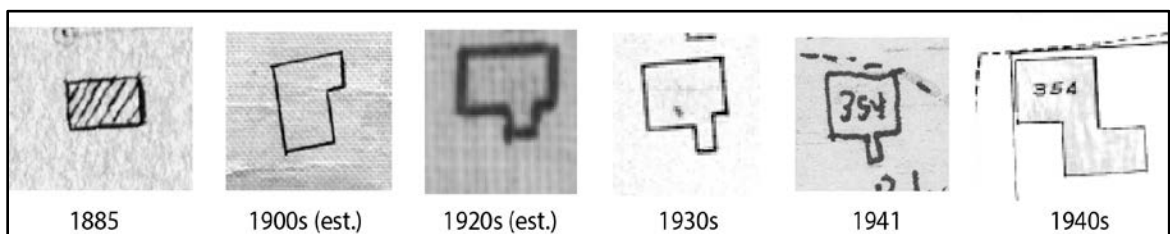


Figure 4-13 Outlines of House 354 surveyed in maps ranging from 1885 to the 1940s

adaptation of the structure throughout more than sixty years of occupancy. The following figure (Figure 25) superimposes the excavated features identified in the

2012 survey with the general outline of structures from maps dating to 1885 and the 1920s as indicated by superimposition in an ArcGIS database.

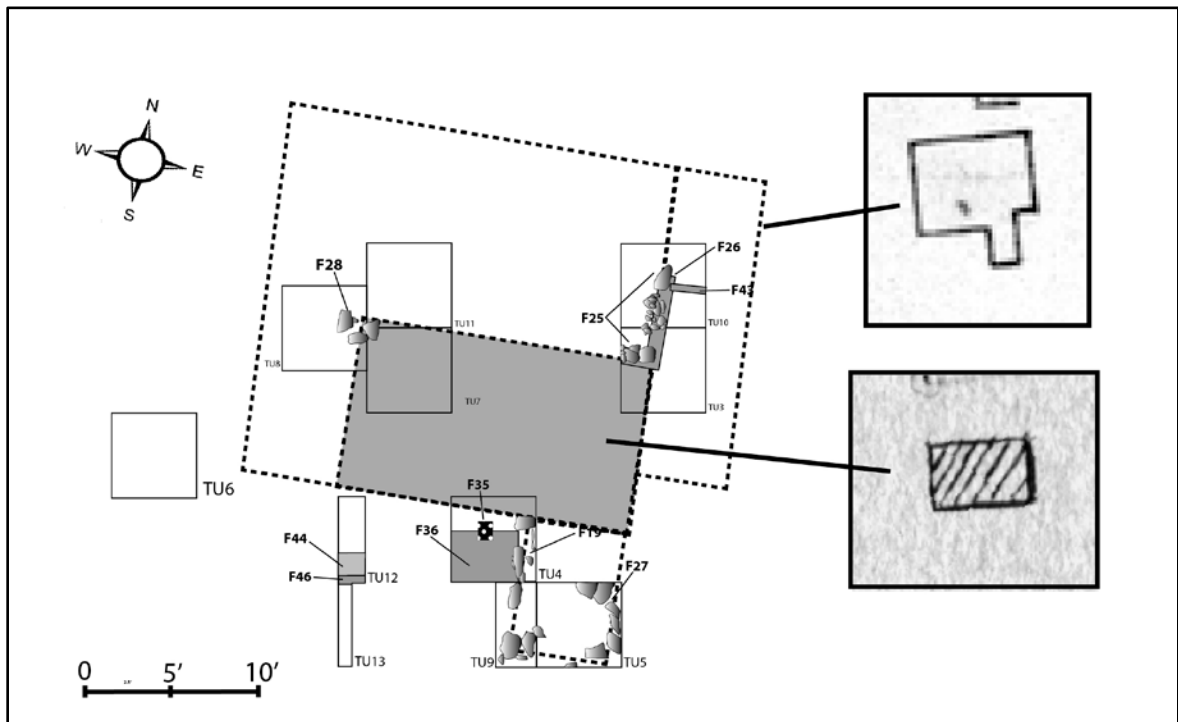


Figure 4-14. Superimposition of selected archaeological features houseplans from 1885 and 1940s

As discussed in Chapters 6 and 7, company divestment of the company houses and residential spaces of Lattimer No. 1 beginning in the late 1940s led to the destruction of the Canal Street community sometime in the second half of the twentieth century for unknown reasons. In the process, intact archaeological deposits of domestic refuse on the lot were to some extent obliterated. Nonetheless, yard soils and sheet middens yielded a varied assemblage from the house's occupants throughout more than half a century of use. The shanty settlement in Pardeesville built along Church Street, however, remains partially

intact today, its landscape and architecture adapting to meet the shifting conditions of capitalism over the course of the century.

Archaeology of Church Street, Pardeesville (Areas F & G)

In contrast to the empty lot at Canal Street, the landscape that once gathered around the St. Nazarius Catholic church in Pardeesville retains the outline of its historic setting, albeit with a significantly altered appearance in terms of aesthetics and density. The church itself, reportedly constructed of dynamite boxes and scrap from the colliery junkyard, was demolished in the 1950s and in its place is an open grassy lot. Broadly, the arrangement and aesthetics of current houses in the district do not look different from typical suburban landscapes of today. However, beneath the surface treatment of vinyl or wood siding applied to some of the standing structures, shanty architecture dating to the early part of the century is intact. It is also visible in the spatial relationships between some houses, with additions that interlock at obtuse angles to maximize the use of space. In many areas, the archaeological remains of houses are intact in subsurface deposits.

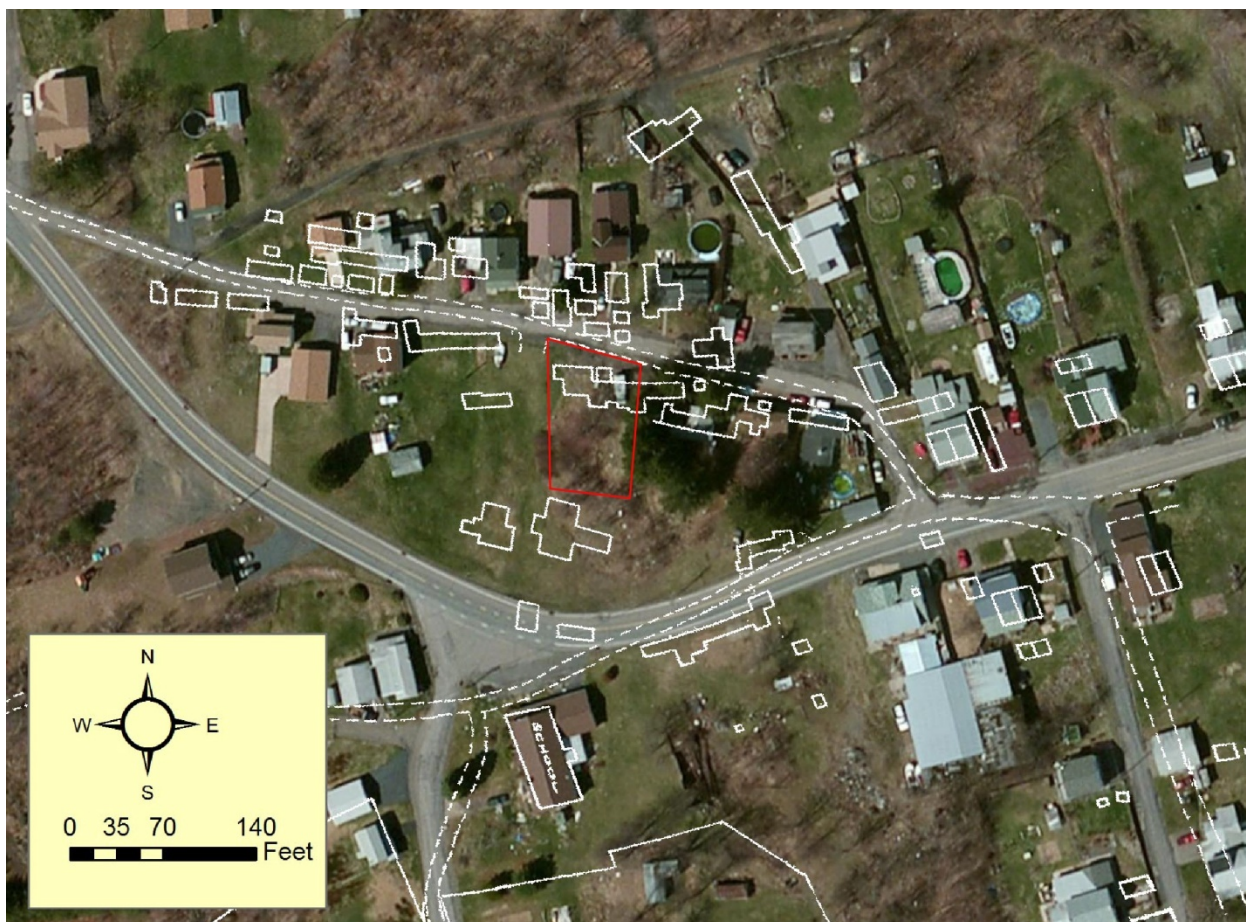


Figure 4-15. Superimposition of detail from a company map dating to the second decade of the twentieth century over present satellite image of Church Street, Pardeesville. The red outline is the study area.

In the summer of 2013 the Department of Anthropology ran a field school in two lots along Church Street in Pardeesville, designated 36LU314. The study area covered a total of 0.13 acres or about 5200 square ft. The plot is bordered by an alleyway to its west that historically separated the study area and the site of the church. In fact, this is the alleyway ascended by Jay Hambridge to enter the town in the 1898 article cited above:

We are soon at the opening of a lane much narrower and more crooked than the one we have just traversed. It leads into the patch, and up this lane we drive. Then up another lane, more tangled than the last; and this is the principal street of a settlement of the queerest structures....

A single subdivided domicile, now demolished, stretched across the front of the two lots fronting Church Street and extended into a third. Company and real estate maps from between 1885 and the late 1940s capture the rough outline of this evolving structure. Each lot had its own small backyard. At the time of the survey the lots contained open grassy areas with some areas of dense brush and small trees. No features were visible on the surface of the ground other than a few slight depressions.

Field school students conducted a shovel test survey of both lots. Data was produced from twenty-three shovel tests plotted at 10 ft increments down the center of each lot. A total of 764 artifacts were recovered in the shovel test survey and typical soil depths and textures were recorded for parts of the study area. The shovel test survey of the lot to the east, owned by W. Klatch in 1941 followed by the Delorenzo family for a period of years, yielded an unusual signature visible in the apparent topography of the backyard. Shovel Test soil profiles in the rear one-third of the yard revealed depleted yard soils. A conversation with former resident who has lived in Pardeesville for all of her 86 years solved the mystery. When the family moved to a new residency on the Upper Street into Pardeesville in the 1950s, they mechanically scraped and transported the valuable garden soils. To this day she still maintains a garden in these soils.

Given the soil depletion identified in the Delorenzo plot, the 13 test units we excavated were largely confined to the western lot, identified on a real estate map from the 1940s as occupied by “D. Simone” and family. A deed indicates

that the house was purchased by Michael and Eleanor Diblasi from the Hazle Realty Company in 1959. A total of 24 features were identified in test units including foundation walls, utility pipes, concrete pads, postholes and a privy. Figure 16 illustrates the locations of test units, shovel tests and features identified during the survey. Selected features will be discussed below and in chapters 5 and 6.

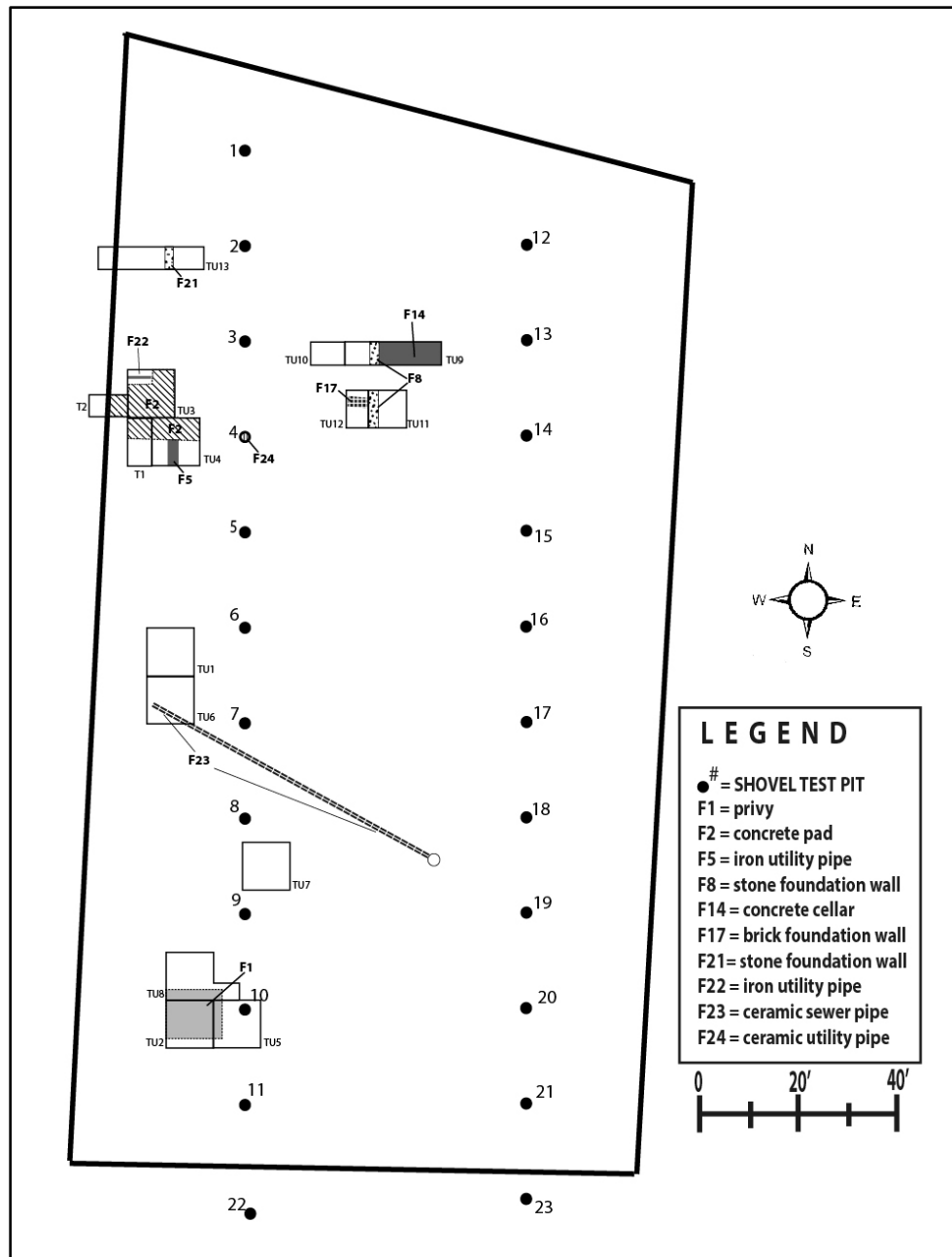


Figure 4-16. Shovel Tests, Test Units and selected features identified during the 2013 archaeological excavation at Church Street, Pardeesville.

Feature 1 is a 5 ft x 5 ft privy located in the southwestern corner of the rear yard of the building. It was identified in Test Unit 2 and delineated and fully excavated in Test Units 5 and 8. The privy was wood lined with vertical slats broken off about 3 ft below the surface. Support posts of varying widths (0.4 ft to

7 ft) were intact at the corners starting at a depth of 1.5 ft below surface. An intact horizontal support beam runs along the base of the beams. From the contents of the privy the date of construction could not be ascertained. From an analysis of the contents historical waste had been removed and for its last function it served as a receptacle to receive waste from the house at the conclusion of the Simones' tenure in 1959. The contents of the privy will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5 within an appropriate context of mass consumption and the rise of late modernity.

The obsolescence of the privy likely corresponds to a variety of infrastructural improvements uncovered at the Church Street Site. **Features 5, 22, 23, 24** all represent house improvements directed at draining wastewater and effluvia away from the house. **Features 5** and **22** were cast iron pipes leading from the house. Feature 22 led westward out of a rear addition into the alleyway; 22 led towards the back of the house, perhaps to cesspool. Artifact analysis of feature soils including pipe trenches suggests that these improvements were installed by a succession of owners of the house throughout the first three decades of the twentieth century. Similarly, **Feature 2** represents a concrete pad poured at the corner of the house to drain wash water. Ethnographic informants in town describe the daily after-work outdoor baths miners used to remove the dust and grime before entering the house (BO, MG, NG, interview 2012). The concrete pad provided an impermeable surface for household chores such as washing clothes and other household items as well as the daily ablutions.

In contrast to the enforcement of rigid homogeneity of company double houses, shanty occupants were free to alter the site plan of houses in response to changing needs or sensibilities.

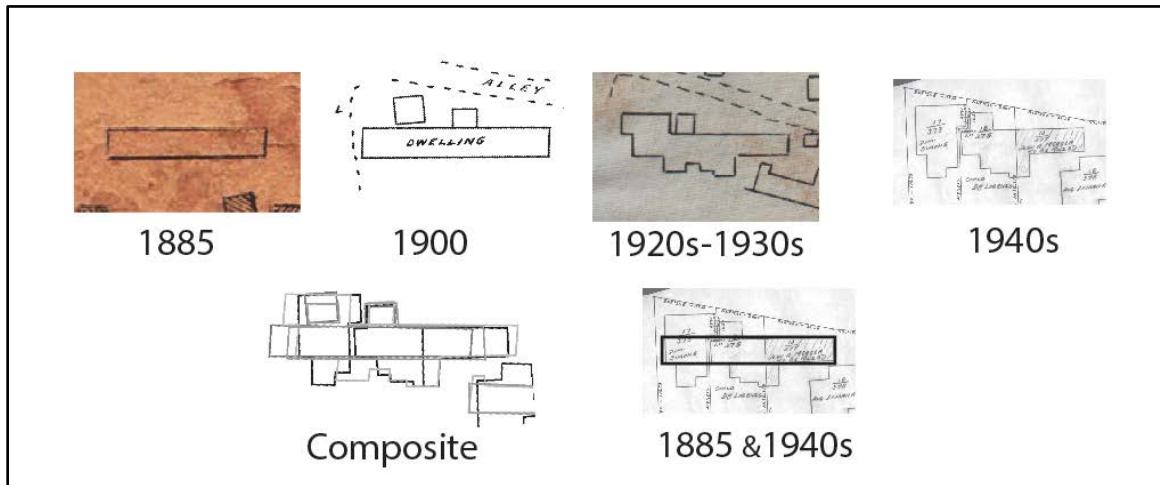


Figure 4-17. Structure floorplans from between 1885 and the 1940s; (bottom-L) A composite image of all four floor plans; (bottom-R) the oldest and most recent floorplans superimposed

Architectural features identified in Units 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13 viewed in combination with company and real estate maps from between 1885 and 1941 depict a radically organic vernacular architecture on Church Street. Moreover, superimposing the floor imprints of successive house depictions reveals that the central body of the original structure remains, to a certain extent, intact within the body of the last structure to stand on the property.

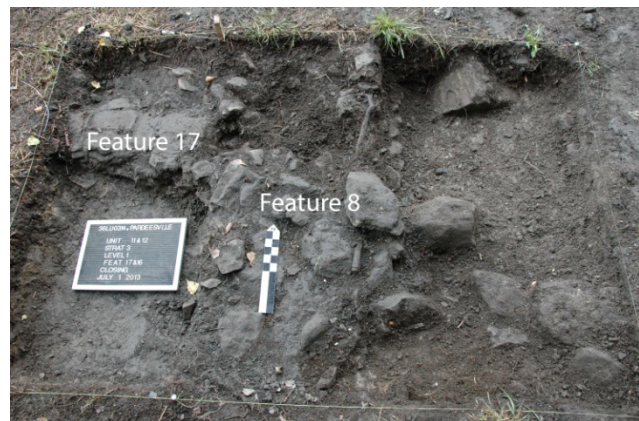


Figure 4-18. Feature 17 and Feature 18, foundations walls of brick and stone identified in Test Units 11 and 12.

The first structure in this area is a long barracks-like building present by 1885, rectangular and depicted without

any additions. **Feature 17** may represent a remnant of the walls of this structure, encased within more typical shanty architecture of broad stone walls built sometime after 1900. **Feature 17** was composed of mortared brick with a width of about 0.7 ft, angling slightly northwestwards in conformity to the direction of the main body of the building depicted on a map surveyed in the 1940s.

By 1900, occupants added two additions to the front, one of which is shown to have a narrow gap separating it from the main body of the house. In the years that followed, between 1900 and 1941, a series of cumulative additions are made to the front and back of the house. A map from the 1940s (shown in Figures 4-17 & 4-19) reveals a literal rupture in the pattern of cumulative growth in the form of a narrow ($\approx 3'$) alleyway separating the two households. The Delorenzo family, who occupied the house to the east briefly in the 1940s, recalls the narrow passage between the houses. It is theorized that the original 1885 structure was demolished or burnt sometime after 1900 and two structures rebuilt upon its footprint. This time, however, a narrow alleyway was left for privacy and differentiation between the western-most unit.

Test units investigating the alleyway (TUs' 9, 10, 11, 12) failed to turn up any subsurface indications of the passage. A (2' thick) stone foundation wall (**Feature 8**) was uncovered along the eastern wall of the Simone/Dibiasi residence. As mentioned above, to the west of **Feature 8**, remnants of the 1885 brick foundation in the form of **Feature 17** were identified, interrupted at less than a perpendicular angle where it was cut off by the construction of the stone wall (Figure 18). The angle of this masonry conforms to the outline of the 1885

building. Where the alleyway should have been, directly its east, however, a concrete cellar (**Feature 14**) packed with architectural and domestic debris ranging in date from the turn of the century to the 1970s was uncovered. This feature will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

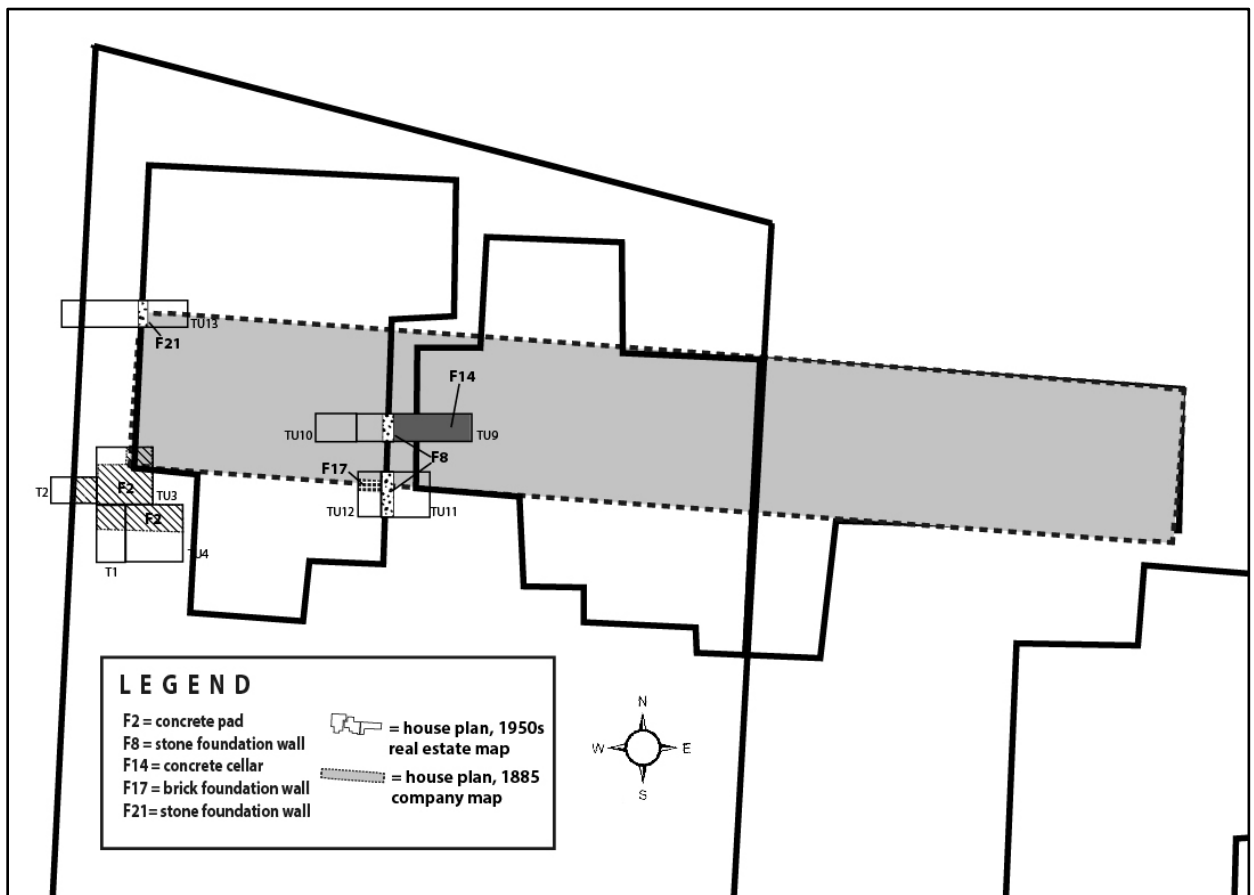


Figure 4-19. Architectural features recorded during the 2012 survey imposed over house plans from 1885 and 1941

Discussion

This chapter began with a discussion of the everyday violence that characterizes the differentiation of racialized or politicized groups. At the center is the spatial dimensions of movement and differentiation as understood from diverse sources of political economy. In consonance with the historians of transnational approaches to history and the anthropology of scholars such as

Frederick Barth, identifications are understood to be dynamically constructed in the spaces between groups or in reaction to their movement across spaces; thrust upon migrants as a form of symbolic violence. A history of migration control in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries demonstrates that sovereign bodies responded to the threat of migrant movement across spatial and political boundaries with the production of knowledge, but also through material efforts to differentiate and circumscribe otherness. Examples from the recent past and from the history of the Massacre demonstrate the rapidity with which the boundaries between the excluded and the protected can shift in history. The discussion addressed the material landscapes of company towns, centering upon findings of the archaeology of the shanties within them.

At each scale examined, contradictions abound. During the rise of industrial capitalism, the conflicting strains of national identity and demands for a supply of unskilled labor placed migrants in the contradictory positions of being appropriated and restricted. Within company towns, a monadic conception of space as sustaining totalized control is challenged by the presence of two spaces excepted from homogeneity and surveillance, the management enclave and the shanty settlements at the periphery. Archaeology conducted on Canal Street in Lattimer reveals an organic pattern of owner-constructed architecture in a small community that disappeared by the middle of the century. On Church Street in Pardeesville, the archaeology of the shanty enclave reveals evidence of spatial practices convergent with the norms of the company houses. In contrast to late nineteenth century reports of ephemeral, unsanitary conditions, residential efforts

to address sanitation are evident throughout the lot. In terms of architecture, a barracks-like structure divided into three domiciles is rebuilt sometime in the early twentieth century with a small alleyway separating two structures. This pattern will be examined in greater detail in Chapter 6, where it will be shown that the building will be consolidated into a single domicile before its abandonment and demolition. Having addressed the fine scale dynamics of everyday material life, the following discussion revisits theoretical approaches to the politics of exclusion to explain some of the contradictions in shanty town landscapes.

Parsing the Monad of the Company Town: Heterotopias and 'the Camp'

Characterizations of the materiality of company town landscapes in academic analysis and popular culture present them as a pure form of rationalized capitalism imposed upon social, spatial and economic realities (Frankavigla 1991; Mulrooney 1989; Green 2010; Dinius and Vergara 2011). In the manner in which they direct all social life towards a rational goal, uprooting, harnessing or replacing traditional organizing units with rationalized policy goals, company towns exemplify a rupturing of the past and present central to the historical developments of modernity and capitalism. Endowed with a belief in the inherent plasticity of social order, company towns exemplify the praxeological possibilities of spatially engineering social life for ideological goals (Herod 2011). In this context, company towns share a teleology with historic examples ranging from the early industrial communities of Robert Owen, the development of utopian communities such as that of French socialist Charles Fourier in the early

nineteenth century, and the Haussmann renovation of Paris in the mid-nineteenth century (Benjamin 1999:120; Herod 2011: 33).

Company towns exemplify the manner in which capitalism manipulates the dimensions of space, creating a physical landscape to facilitate the consolidation of production and the accumulation of surplus capital (Harvey 1985, 1989, 1990). The accumulation of capital requires the dynamic harnessing or redirecting of social relationships within and between labor and capital. For capital, producing a landscape such as the company town is a fixed investment, a kind of machine to aid in the production of surplus (Harvey 1985, 1989; Marx 1977:492). Engineering space serves the capitalist by concentrating production to best capture surplus accumulation and labor. It also serves the social function of differentiating and reproducing a labor force in a manner conducive to productive surplus (Harvey 1989: 111).

Examining the contradictions of company town life in detail, however, a monadic characterization may seem, at first, overdetermining. The many separate districts of Lattimer Nos. 1 and 2 present contradictory positions and conditions of exception within a simplified notion of rationalized order. For example, the homogenous ordering of the company houses is opposed by *both* the exceptional heterogeneous spaces of the management enclave *and by* the isolated peripheral shanty settlements. The low density settlements that begin just at the borders of the company double houses seem to echo their density and arrangement, while also reflecting the organic architecture and growth of the other more concentrated ethnic enclaves. The spatial arrangement of the three

shanty settlements seem to mirror the spatial organization of the larger town in miniature, facing inwards to line a central thoroughfare, materializing a community defined, by the very least, by shared communal space and access. In their isolation and the inscrutability of the communal spaces they form, however, they are also invisible to the surveillance of company eyes. This invisibility is complemented by the anarchic or organic quality of their infrastructure, their resistance to the documentary efforts of surveyors, and their operation outside of corporate infrastructure.

To explain the nature of contradictory spaces, I turn to theoretical ideas from Foucault (1984) and Agamben (1998) that assess the functions of contradiction in space in regards to power. In the essay “Of Other Spaces”, Foucault (1984) suggests that circumscribed spaces suffused with power and social division may represent a counter example to simplistic and totalized notions of space, described as utopias. These circumscribed spaces he describes as *heterotopias*, spaces that represent a reflection of real power relations in the world. He suggests (1984: 24):

There are... probably in every culture, in every civilization, real places – places that do exist and that are formed in the very founding of society – which are something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted.....The heterotopia is capable of juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible” [1984: 25].

The many districts of the company town of Lattimer incorporate such a space in which total administration is simultaneously confronted with its contradiction.

How does this function politically? Namely, how do the excluded affect the totality? Agamben imagines the material locus of biopolitics in a way that

functions as a fitting counterpart to the explanatory scale of the heterotopia. In *Homo Sacer* (1998) Agamben suggests that the concentration camp, the detention facility, and the refugee camp represent primal spatial materializations, described by him as the *nomos* or the *paradigmatic space* of political modernity in the twentieth century. According to Agamben, the spatiality of the camp at first operated as a panicked (and yet carefully engineered) response to the challenge of diversity brought on by mass immigration. However, the exceptional space of the camp also served to consolidate the national body through the intensification of governance simply by its presence just on the outside of prevailing logic. Agamben defines the camp thusly:

The camp is a piece of land placed outside the normal juridical order, but it is nevertheless not simply an external space. What is excluded in the camp is, according to the etymological sense of the term “exception”....*taken outside*, included through its own exclusion. But what is first of all taken into the juridical order is the state of exception itself.... the camp is a hybrid of law and fact in which the two terms have become indistinguishable [Agamben 1998: 169-170].

To the constellation of refugee camp, detention facility and concentration camp, we can add the shanty town, a space conscripted for migrant laborers on the outside, but also central to the tightly controlled boundaries of the engineered space of the company town. Agamben’s consideration has deeply political implications today. The paradox of his proposal is that exceptional spaces serve the key function of defining *within the order* what is distinguished as inside from outside, thereby establishing the authority of sovereignty. In turn, the formative presence of exception at the top and the bottom of hierarchy, in turn, “inaugurates a new juridico-political paradigm in which the norm becomes indistinguishable from the exception”.

Slavoj Žižek (2013) finds insufficiency, however, in Agamben and Foucault's formulations of why the excluded, *homo sacer* or the *dispositif*, are made the subjects of domination. What he perceives as missing is the implicit element of capitalist exploitation responsible for their inscription, a system that has as its foundation the production of a surplus army of labor (Žižek 2013: 1003). Referring to Marx, he reminds us that the surplus army of labor are "not simply outside the circulation of capital, they are actively produced as not-working by this circulation.... They are not simply not-working, their not-working is their positive feature...." (Žižek 2013:1003). In essence, contradictions such as that of exclusion are implicit to the functioning of capitalism itself and amplified in its more complex forms (Jameson 2009, 2011; Harvey 2013). This relationship is premised on greater and greater freedom and flexibility both for the capital and labor as the possibility of unalienated social relations become increasingly mediated: by wages, by contracts, and by ideological abstractions increasingly materialized in physical and social boundaries.

Understood thusly, the shantytowns function as an autonomous and unordered space within the margins of the company town that resists its order and visibility, while also operating within the broader system of its productive function: supplying the colliery with ephemeral surplus labor central to its operation. In this way it is not entirely equivalent to what others have described as satellite communities (Hardesty 1998, Goddard 2002, Matthews 2010: 138-141). Rather than an alternative space for those who seek to operate outside of capitalism, the shantytown models for all workers the new condition of

vulnerability, precarity and enterprise late capitalism would develop in the late twentieth century.

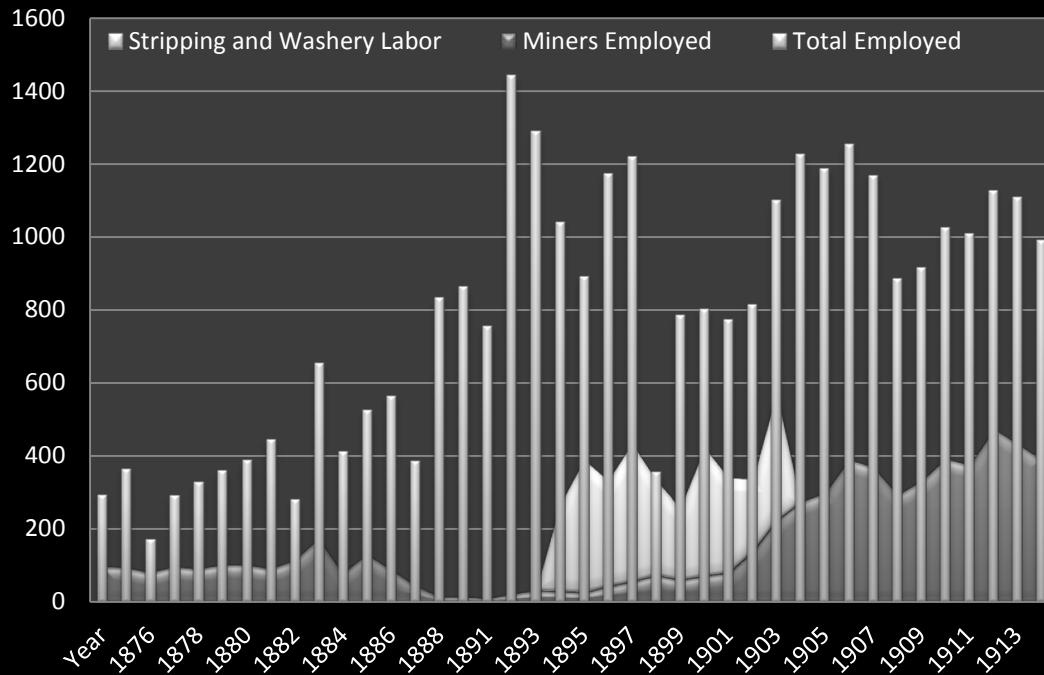
Much like other sectors of industrial capitalism in the late nineteenth century, coal operators integrated mechanized processes into the coal extraction to maintain escalating profits in the last quarter of the twentieth century (Aldrich 1997; Aurand 1985; Roberts 1901). As it functioned in other industries, deskilling and mechanization also served to destabilize established labor regimes (Paynter 1989). In the coal industry, two new laboring processes integrated unskilled labor with mechanization to capture surplus production, stripping and washery coal. Along with a substantial increase in outside operations devoted to assorted processing, washing, sorting and transporting coal, the business of coal mining in the anthracite region expanded far beyond the work of underground miners by the beginning of the twentieth century (Aldrich 1997).

Stripping involves the mechanized extraction of coal seams by stripping surface soils. Calvin Pardee introduced this method to the region in 1874 and by 1881 still operated the most extensive stripping operations in the region at Hollywood (*ICMAR* 1881: 279). By 1890, and likely earlier, it was extensively practiced at Lattimer as well (*ICMAR* 1891). This labor was worked by day laborers under a foreman. Stripping labor was largely undertaken by new immigrants such as those that struck during the massacre. In 1904, Roberts suggests that Italians have “nearly monopolized the work in stripping mining” (1901: 33). Available in the 1870s, steam shovels facilitated the work of stripping in place of the handiwork of traditional shaft mining. In essence, strip mining

bypassed the delicate constraints of craft-skill entailed in the shaft mining process. Likewise, it destabilized the workforce in operated with a shifting workforce. In 1901 Roberts suggests that depending on the thickness of overburden, stripped coal could be produced by companies at half the cost of shaft mining (Roberts 1901: 22). Washery operations used water and mechanization to recover coal mixed with other discarded by-products from the many waste piles ubiquitous in the region. For miners traditionally paid only for the useable coal extracted from cars, the exploitation of discarded washery coal by operators is a kind of theft. During the 1900 strike, one of the mottos of the strikers was "Do not handle washery coal, that is what the company stole from the miners" (Roberts 1901: 212-213).

Surplus labor force peripheralized at the edges of town grew increasingly central to the operations. The figure below (Figure 20) shows the moment of highest growth in the shanty towns coinciding with the introduction of these experimental practices into the operations of the Lattimer Colliery, specifically stripping and washery operations. The rise of labor radicalism amongst older residents in the 1880s coincides with this decrease in skilled labor (those with miners) and an explosion in other forms of unskilled and ephemeral labor.

**Table 4.1 Mining and Mechanized Labor as Percentage of Total Labor
Lattimer Colliery, 1875-1914**



This role was generally filled with new immigrant labor. In the chart, this system reached its peak in 1892, when the employment of skilled miners was at an inexplicable all time low in proportion to colliery labor. A drop in the stripping and washery labor can be seen in the years between 1897 and 1899, perhaps owing to the radicalizing of the immigrant workforce following the Massacre.

The peak of the industry in the region came during the period of the First World War, with market demand high and profit returns from technological investments providing health returns. The period during and after the War saw a decline in new immigration to the region owing to interruptions in mobility caused by the war, and by 1924, the passing of immigration restriction laws. These produced an increasingly professional and nativized work force and a community in transition from its transnational roots to take their place within hyphenated-

American pluralism. At the same time, the struggle between labor and capital continued. In the next chapter, solutions to twin problems of capital and social stability alluded to in these first chapters is answered in the development of consumer democracy. This history helps explain the presence of contradictory developments in the domestic deposits excavated in the shanty towns at Canal Street and Church Street, poverty and material abundance.

Agamben suggests that the concentration camp, the detention facility, and the refugee camp represent a sort of primal materialization of political culture in the twentieth century; as a panicked (and yet engineered) response to the challenge of diversity brought on by mass immigrations; but also by the consolidation of the national body through the intensification of governance. We add the shanty town to this index. The camp presents a state of exception and exemption just on the outside of prevailing logic, (exceptions that incidentally, mirror the exceptions at the top). In No. 1 and 2, shanty settlements are tellingly *excluded, or exempted from* entitlements such as company-constructed houses, infrastructure, maintenance, visibility, but also from surveillance. It is Agamben's suggestion that today there is a dispersal of this order, an elimination of contradiction not by the cancellation of the boundaries between the excluded and those included but by a state of exemption that has become extended to all of us.

Chapter 5

Modernity: Diabolical Consumerism, Mass Psychology and Social Production

The mighty seek to secure their position with blood (police), cunning (fashion) and with magic (pomp)

Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project* (1999:133)

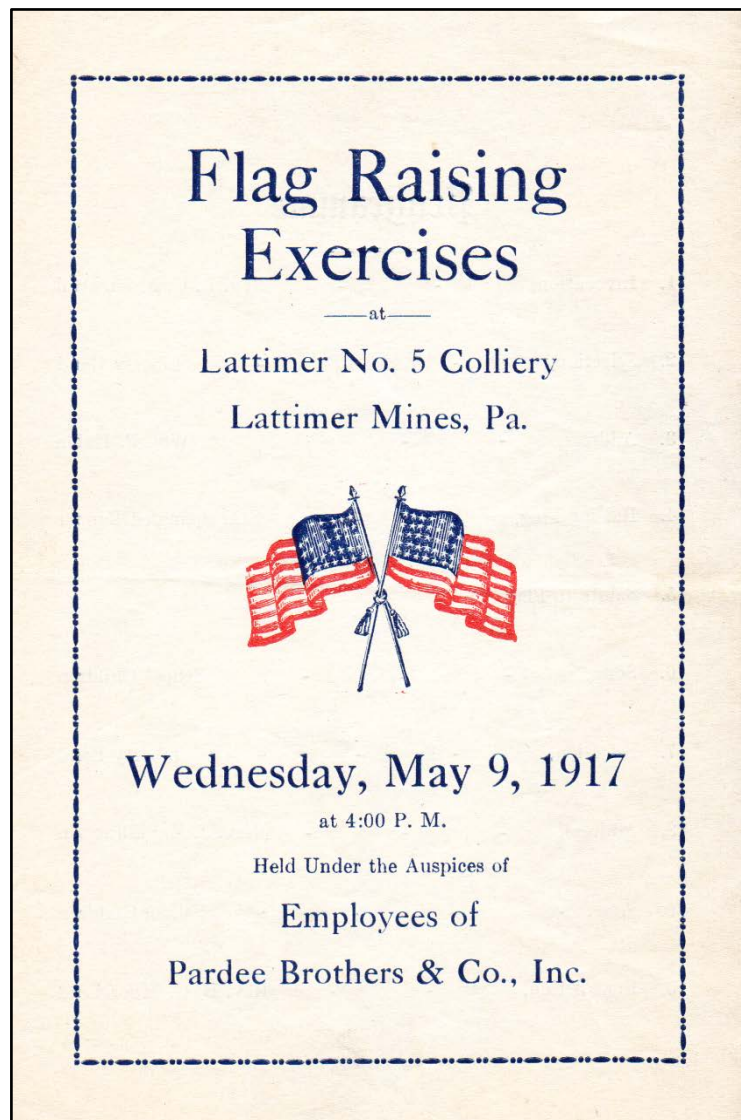
There is nothing as mysterious as a fact clearly described – Garry Winogrand

The Conspicuous Symbolism of the American Flag, Lattimer, 1897 and 1917

The American flag appears as a conspicuous symbol twice in my documentation of labor struggle in the anthracite coal region of Northeast Pennsylvania; the first time as tragedy and the second as farce. In juxtaposition, they divulge a historic irony revealing of the drastic changes that occurred in the region following the Massacre. Its first appearance, in 1897, the flag was carried by the striking laborers as they marched from Harwood to Lattimer, as described in Chapter 3. They were allegedly unarmed and their only defense was that offered by the flag. At their first confrontation with the deputies in West Hazleton one of the flags they carried was seized from them by Ario Platt, nephew of Pardee, manager of the Pardee Company stores. Platt tore the flag to pieces and threw it to the ground, insulted to see “these foreigners carrying the flag his ancestors defended” (Novak 1996: 118). In the court case that followed, the symbolism of the flag was hotly contested as a conspicuous symbol for both sides. A second flag carried by the marchers accompanied them all the way to

Lattimer, ultimately bearing witness to the tragedy (Pinkowski 1950; Novak 1996; Shackel and Roller 2012; Roller 2013).

Twenty years later the flag appears again, this time in striking contrast to the previous incident. On 6 April 1917, the United States government committed itself to full participation in the First World War. American involvement was opposed by many, and the antiwar movement that flourished in response was inextricably linked with labor radicalism of the time. In these troubled times, the war was perceived by many observers as an extension of domestic class struggle as the wealthy sent the working class to death in battle for no other reason than to protect the stability of their economic interests (Zinn 2003:359-379).



Organizations such as the International Workers of

Figure 5-1. Program from a Flag Raising exercise held in Lattimer on May 9, 1917 at the beginning of the First World War

the World (IWW) made significant gains throughout the country on an antiwar

platform (Dubofsky 1996; Ewen 1996; Zinn 2003:359-379). On 9 May 1917, barely a month after the start of the US involvement in the war, a flag-raising ceremony was planned for Lattimer at the No. 5 colliery, one of many such ceremonies coordinated at coal mines and other industrial centers across the country (Figure 1). At this event, an officially sanctioned raising of the flag was accompanied by a telling didactic exercise. Local schoolchildren sang the anthem; children who likely exhibited superior command of the national language and rituals their foreign-born parents had not yet gained. This instance of political theater, performed in an isolated industrial community, was part of the larger efforts of the official propaganda campaign of the First World War. It is not recorded if the event was well attended or received. Similar events, however, were conducted in small towns throughout the region, accounts of which were reported in the industry circular *Coal Age* throughout 1917-18. An account from the same day conducted at the Butler Colliery in the Northern coal field town of Pittston describes one such event:

Fifteen hundred persons attended the flag-raising exercises at the Butler colliery of the Hillside Coal and Iron Co. near Pittston, Penn., on May 9. Rev. S. Ezra Neikirk, of Pittston, was the speaker of the day, and Rev. Father Zimanski delivered an address in Polish [*Coal Age*, 19 May, 1917: 876].

These accounts were reported alongside parallel reports of a very different but complementary tenor. On the 12 May, *Coal Age* (1917:833) reported:

During a flag-raising at the Oneida colliery, near Pottsville, Penn., two employees of the coal company upon being asked for a contribution toward the cost of the flag made indecent and derogatory remarks concerning the national emblem. As a result they were arrested and lodged in jail on a charge of treason.

Encouraging the fear and vigilance of the collieries were reports such as the following, mentioning possible sabotage attempts in Hazleton and Lattimer:

Detectives in the employ of the coal operators and Hazleton Pa., authorities worked on clues that might lead to the arrest of miscreants are attempting to cripple the production of anthracite coal. One of the large belts in the Hazleton shaft colliery of the Lehigh Valley Coal Company was cut by unknown parties and work had to be suspended for more than an hour for repairs.... Recently the slope at the Lattimer mines of Pardee Brothers and company was set afire but the flames were discovered by a watchman before damage was done. (*Coal Age*, 19 May 1917:876)

Their recounting together illustrates the growth of the complimentary structures of a new kind of state power: coercion and persuasion in equal measure; in fact, indivisible.

These two anecdotes, from 1897 and from 1917, reveal a striking paradigmatic shift in corporate and governmental approaches to governing American pluralism. The radically different responses to the image of new immigrants rallying beneath the flag by authorities of capital, state, and law and order present another telling example of the rapidity with which the currents of immigrant treatment change in response to historical events, in this case the First World War. At the same time, coercive measures have not been dispensed with by 1917, but are held in reserve or legitimized through the juridical realm. During the propaganda campaigns of both World Wars, coal companies were granted sovereign support in their efforts to regulate workers into new regimes of productivity and discipline beyond the coercive measures of the aforementioned Espionage and Sedition Acts. A report on the war effort from 19 May 1917, in *Coal Age* reported that:

Mine operators at Hazleton Penn have let it known that such of their employees as make a habit indulging in sprees following pay days will be

marked as slackers and recommended to the Government as good material for military service.

Accelerating production and regulating consumption did more than enhance wartime efficiency. It also served to synchronize the habits of citizens through the patriotic regimentation of everyday life. In this way, consumption and production attached themselves to political consciousness by 1917.

Writing in the period between the World Wars, Walter Benjamin astutely observed that, “the mighty seek to secure their power with blood (police), cunning (fashion) and with magic (pomp)” (Benjamin 1999:133). This chapter deals with the second element in Benjamin’s trichotomy, that of cunning and fashion. For Benjamin, elite control of fashion represented more than simply administering to consumer taste. Rather, it implies a mastery of time and history; of the cycles of memory and forgetting accreted in the material world of objects and landscapes (Buck-Morss 1989:97-99). For Benjamin, the temporality of fashion embodies the measure of how the temporality of industrial modernity, exemplified by the accelerating product cycle, the assembly line and new media of communication and transportation, touched the everyday life of producers and consumers. As described by Buck-Morss, “In fashion, the phantasmagoria of commodities presses closest to the skin” (1989:97). To understand exactly what is meant by this last statement and its relationship to the kind of modernity eminent in the period between the world wars, a bit of context is needed.

Industrial Discipline in the Anthracite Region: Consumption, Work and Americanization

Cyclical economic downturns throughout the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth century culminated in the depression of 1914. Widespread inequality intensified decades of class tension. Workers protested the transformation of work routines by the introduction of deskilling, mechanization and scientific management. For the first time in history, the modest successes of Progressive reforms led to modest public and institutional support for trade unionism, emboldened by the revelations of elite corruption unleashed by muckraking journalism. All these developments led to an intensification of radical class struggle by groups such as the IWW (Dubofsky 1996; Montgomery 1979; Zinn 2003).

In social discourse of the time, labor issues were inextricable from the “vexed problem of immigration” (Addams 1909: 214). For industrial capitalism, the great flood of unskilled labor arriving in the late nineteenth century quickly became indispensable for the nation’s economic growth, filling out the ranks of factories, resource extraction sites, seasonal agricultural work and infrastructure projects. However, their presence was challenged by a coalition of Progressive reformers, craft labor unions, and government officials who blamed the foreign-born workforce for purportedly importing ideologies of anarchism, anarcho-syndicalism and communism (Zinn 2003). Writing about the paradoxes of social class in democratic America, John Commons, pioneer of labor economics, suggests that eventual class struggle on the part of Americans may come out of

the incapacity of European immigrant workers to act or think otherwise. In 1907 he wrote (1907: 12):

...Thus it is that the peasants of Catholic Europe, who constitute the bulk of our immigration of the past thirty years, have become almost a distinct race, drained of those superior qualities which are the foundation of democratic institutions. If in America our boasted freedom from the evils of social classes fails to be vindicated in the future, the reasons will be found in the immigration of races and classes incompetent to share in our democratic opportunities.

American prosperity at the turn of the century was indebted to the masses of new immigrant workers who filled the ranks of unskilled labor, working in mines, factories, farm fields, and building the country's infrastructure. But dependence on their labor and ambiguity about their place in American society introduced a crippling dissonance to their reception and treatment in social settings of work and home and of industry and politics.

Particular modes of production characterize the labor force of capitalism at its various stages. Each can be said to have an effect or relationship with the manner in which commodities are consumed. A key characteristic of the new labor regime of industrial capitalism that began in the late nineteenth century was the ideological separation of the places of work and home; that took on a gendered component in social discourse as places of production, associated with masculinity, became separated from those of reproduction or consumption encompassed by feminine domestic spaces (McGuire 2002: 159; Moore 1988).

The manner in which commodities are consumed are both subject to and determining of the characteristic of production, distribution, and exchange (Marx 1978). Consumption and production are inextricable, linking together concomitant forms of social discipline throughout the life cycle of a commodity. Archaeologists

Paul Shackel and Mark Leone (1987) observe that in the eighteenth-century Chesapeake, mass produced goods such as toothbrushes, clocks and table settings flooded the market, disciplining consumer to mirror the regimens of hierarchy and segmentation embedded in mercantile capitalism. Shackel concludes that the class segmentation arising in this era can be connected to the industrial revolution that followed to the degree to which these “new social behaviors reinforced the lower classes’ ties to their inferior social position”. These same workers, Shackel concludes, would “eventually bec[o]me the laborers of the new industrial era” (1993:30). The mass consumer revolution of the early-to-mid-twentieth century was similarly inextricable from economic ideologies of the moment. However, they must be understood as conforming to the particular temporality and discipline of the new workplaces of the twentieth century.

A discussion of workplace discipline proves interesting in the context of the anthracite industry owing to the specific nature of underground extractive work. As mentioned in preceding chapters, the mechanization and streamlining of post-processing, stripping operations and waste reclamation produced an alternative source of surplus profits in the face of skyrocketing demand leading up to the First World War. Underground work, however, proved resistant to mechanization. An examination of company improvements at the Lattimer Colliery from the period between 1880 and 1910 listed in the *Reports of the Anthracite Inspectors of Pennsylvania* reveals considerable fixed capital was reinvested into electrification, hydrodynamics, transportation networks, lighting, and other industrial infrastructure. A diagram from the Lattimer Company

to forming the interethnic bonds of class solidarity (Goodrich 1925; Montgomery 1987: 333). It is reported that in many mines, it was customary for miners to cease work when management was present (Goodrich 1925: 56). Labor historian Carter Goodrich richly documented the work patterns at risk when peripheral forms of mechanization encroached upon the bituminous coal industry in the 1920s. He writes (1925:14):

The indiscipline of the mines is far out of line with the new discipline of the modern factories; the miner's freedom from supervision is at the opposite extreme from the carefully ordered and regimented work of the modern machine-feeder.... Those who are deciding to change the industry... are incidentally voting a different sort of life to the miner.

Elsewhere in his introduction he questions the fundamental choice of “modern society”, that of a “fuller and more varied living outside of working hours” in exchange for the elimination of “a creative life on the job itself” (1925: 5). Goodrich perceptively recognizes the stakes of industrial change as falling within the broader context of inalienated aspects of labor, social life and existence are affected by the choices of industrial efficiency.

Prohibiting the Enjoyment of the Other

Outside the organizational strength of the union, the power to strike, and the tight confines of workspace and company town independence, there were still many areas in which the discipline of miners were regulated by companies and other administrative agencies. They included maximizing the time spent in the mines (combating ‘absenteeism’) and the institution of efficiency and safety standards. Industrial- literature often utilized coded racialized language blaming the thrift, recklessness, inability to communicate and lackadaisical attitudes of new immigrants for inefficiency in the industry. Meanwhile, outside of the

confines of labor discipline, social forces such as Progressive reformers and governmental agencies argued for another form of discipline through the encouragement and regulation of particular forms of consumption (Cohen 1986).

In his *Fragments of an Anarchist Anthropology*, David Graeber (2004:74) cites Slavoj Žižek's insight that, "if one wishes to inspire ethnic hatred, the easiest way to do so is to concentrate on the bizarre, perverse ways in which the other group is assumed to pursue pleasure." They posit that envy and *ressentiment* are at the center of the puritanical efforts of capitalism (Graeber 2004:74; Žižek 1992, 2008). Žižek, citing Lacan, posits that human desire is always framed, or rather blocked, by the imagination of how the Other is "able to enjoy" the object of pleasure (2008: 87-90). Envy is incited in the puritanical subject not by the possession of a prized object, but rather, "to destroy the Other's ability/capacity to enjoy the object" (Žižek 2008:90). Graeber suggests that this *ressentiment* likely plays no small part in the historic movement of capitalism to rid society of "collective, festive consumption to the promulgation of highly personal, private" forms of consumption (Graeber 2004:74).

Progressive governmental sources and popular press cited the particular character of New Immigrant enjoyment and desire as having its foundation in racial biology. This literature abounds with descriptions of how leisure time is spent by the foreign-born, often unproductively at the saloon or at festivities of a religious or celebratory nature. The many different religious holidays celebrated by different ethnic groups, that frequently interrupted work routines, are cited as particularly inefficient and uncondusive to social advancement within capitalist

society and a barrier to productivity. Peter Roberts, wrote extensively on labor-capital relations in the region in the early twentieth century (1901, 1904, 1905)

His Progressive teetotaler agenda is clear when he admonishes:

The Slav in his fatherland is predisposed to intemperance, but on new soil, where wages are high and social restraints few, where the forward meet and the baser passions are let loose...the Slav's love for intoxication passes all bounds and the ruin wrought among them is great (1905: 220).

In this passage he suggests that the combination of relative wealth and freedom encountered by Eastern Europeans in America is squandered by their basal weakness:

Of Italians, their tendency towards frivolity and excitability is cited as often as their tendency towards criminality (D'Agostino 2002; Dillingham Commission [DC] 1911a, 1911b; Gabaccia 2003; Wolensky and Hastie 2013). Drawing upon the work of Italian criminal psychologists these caricatures distinguished between regional origins, describing the northern Italians as “cool, deliberate, patient, practical” and southerners as, “excitable, impulsive, impracticable; as an individualist having little adaptability to highly organized society” (D'Agostino 2002; DC 1911: 83). Early newspaper references to Italians in Hazleton newspapers lightheartedly play upon Italian caricatures, providing didactic lessons to identify the racial behavior of new residents. In a section of the paper reserved for boosterist urban news snippets, the coarse nature of Italian amusement is caricatured as when *The Hazleton Daily Sentinel* (31 July 1879) announced that, “An Italian organ grinder ground out music along the streets last evening and drew together the usual crowd of gamins”. In another short item the paper reinforces racial hierarchy in the region, suggesting that, “the Germans

turn naturally to music'. It runs in our minds that the Italians most frequently 'turn' to music" (*The Hazleton Daily Sentinel*, 23 August 1879). These early characterizations persisted even when the Italian presence in the town amounted to more than a peripheral dimension of the local economy. During the 1900 strike in Hazleton, Italian workers were criticized for belittling the situation with their "jollification":

The idle men residing in "Little Italy" look upon the strike as a sort of jollification, and yesterday there was an unusual amount of merriment. In many houses there were liquid refreshments and a good time was had by all... [*The Hazleton Daily Sentinel*, 22 September 1900]

Hazletonians drew ideas and imagery from newspaper articles, forming racialized perceptions of New Immigrants from everyday experience (Omi and Winant 1994).

Mine Safety as Discipline

Mine safety was a pressing issue from the very beginning of the industry. The history of its regulation also took on racial overtones. Workplace accidents rose in the late-nineteenth and early twentieth century, partially due to the depths of the coal seams excavated and the introduction of hazardous new technologies such as electrification (Aldrich 1997; Aurand 1985). Nonetheless, accidents were most often blamed on the, "stupidity and carelessness of the victims themselves" (United States Immigration Commission 1911a, p. 666). In the anthracite region, Aurand (1985) suggests that safety issues were not taken seriously until its regulation was sold to legislators intertwined with anti-immigrant measures. As early as 1889, arguments proposing requirements for the certification for miners, were argued more as measures to slow or prohibit the influx of foreign miners to

the region rather than out of concerns for mine safety. Loopholes in these procedures were filled in 1897 with the addition of a spoken English test (Aurand 1985: 228). This too was grounded on beliefs of the New Immigrant's recklessness and refusal to speak English. The Dillingham Commission's report on the anthracite industry suggests that an attraction to violence and an insensibility to avoiding this line of work explains the presence of immigrants in the industry, not the insistent demands of an economy structured to limit their options. They report that,

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. [1911a: 656]

Only with the surplus profit of an anti-immigration agenda appended to the legislation could safety reform pass the legislature. By 1900, however, Pennsylvania had among the "best mine safety codes in the nation" (Aurand 1985:229). Aurand suggests, by this time companies had adopted these codes in earnest, however devoting most energy to the "relief of financial burden" accrued by accidents rather than to care of the wounded or widowed (Aurand 1985).

Within the first two decades of the twentieth century, companies shifted gears, investing in programs aimed at training and educating miners. These programs frequently mixed emphasis on a combination of aspects only loosely connected to safety including worker efficiency, language proficiency and Americanization. A widely used language proficiency program developed by Peter Roberts and the YMCA used images of mine accidents to teach rudimentary English work terms (Aurand 1985). Safety programs served

companies not only as a way of encouraging economic efficiency, but also to instill conformity and company allegiance, at risk following the 1902 strike and consolidation of interethnic solidarity in the UMWA. Safety served companies “as both a justification for and a vehicle to alter work habits, realign loyalties, and redefine cultural attributes in an effort to produce what it considered to be the ‘best men’” (Aurand 1985:237).

Consumption Habits of New Immigrants

The issue of New Immigrant consumption habits had complex implications and consequences for many different parties. It was not of immediate or explicit concern for coal operators provided employees continued to shop at the company store for certain necessities and work supplies. If anything, the extent to which employees practiced thrift and self-reliance implied the degree to which they would tolerate the meager wages they were offered. Progressive reformers, whose concern was with the wage competition or assimilation of New Immigrants, their consumption practices implied habits at odds with the economic and social stability of dawning age of industrial democracy. Economist and early labor historian Frank Julian Warne, author of *The Slav Invasion* (1904), considered consumption a labor issue to the degree to which Slavic thrift granted an unfair competitive advantage to wage earners capable on surviving on less than nativized workers. He describes an eviction scene of a Scottish family from a company town in the vicinity of Hazleton who departed their house with:

All their effects on this eviction day were piled along the highway, a bureau, "straw ticks," a stove, several chairs, a rag carpet or two, with here and there a lithograph scattered incongruously among boxes, kitchen utensils, and the separated parts of beds. These and other belongings...

of such quantity and cumbersomeness as to make necessary the employment of a wagon with horse and driver to remove them. [Warne 1905:224]

To this he compares the subsequent replacement in the house by a Slavic family who carried their meager belongings in a manner that suggested to Warne a “beast-of-burden adaptability to the most exacting physical labor” (1905:224). He describes their belongings thusly:

The cooking utensils of the newcomers were of the barest in quantity and quality. They had neither chairs nor bureaus. Their meager supply of clothing was all but limited to the garments they wore. “Straw ticks” and beds were conspicuous by their absence, the new occupants being content with rolling themselves in blankets and sleeping upon the uncarpeted floor.

Roberts, whose concern is of a social or moral character, speaks positively of the inevitability of young Slav’s adoption of American fashion, citing this as far preferable to expenditure in the saloon. Of the older generation’s thrift he suggests that, “the pressure of increased wants must be brought to bear”. He continues (1905:220):

The margin between their real wants and felt wants in clothing, rent and household furniture is very slight, and not until they are educated to place more value on an overcoat than “bock”, on comfortable homes than beer dens, on good food than poor whiskey, will there be hope of their social advancement.

Even for observers in the anthracite region where the baseline of relative poverty remained prohibitively low, consumption practices held symbolic significance beyond providing a mere index of financial circumstance. Consumption practices indicated otherness, and their guided reform was therefore a solution to the problems arising from the interactions between native populations and foreign bodies.

Of these formulations made by observers of the Anthracite region, several key concerns echoed throughout the country by administrators, capitalists, progressive reformers, newspaper commentators, and social scientists wherever the new regimes of industrial capitalism attracted large amounts of immigrant labor. These issues included the challenges of American pluralism, the inequities that lead to or inhibit interethnic or class struggle, and the dangers, moral and physical, presented to the native population by the presence of so many unassimilated foreigners.

Following the First World War a kind of consensus developed among capitalists, advertisers, propagandists, and government administrators on a solution to these issues in the form of mass consumerism informed by beliefs in the pliable behavior of mass bodies. In fact, the discourse of a cadre of elites including academics, politicians, administrators, capitalists, and advertisers from the early twentieth century reveals that the development of mass consumerism was strategized as an integral aspect of the circuit of capital accumulation in industrial manufacturing. Even more surprising is the degree to which this literature invokes the role of mass consumerism in social production. Many evoke the hope or belief that material abundance would ameliorate, conceal or divert from the material conditions that lead to struggle by radical and unassimilated elements of the working class in previous decades. Ironically, the masses of unskilled foreign workers play contradictory roles in this equation. Through their unexpected labor radicalism and resistance to assimilation and industrial discipline, they were imagined by observers as a spectral mob invading the

country, unsettling the order and integrity of the nation's boundaries. On the other hand, it was this very mass of unskilled labor that had tipped mass production over the edge in the first place, providing the source of inexpensive productive energy needed to produce surplus commodities.

Consumption and Archaeological Scholarship

There is a moment in the archaeological record, sometime within the 1920s, when the household waste uncovered at archaeological sites resembles our own trash more than that of previous eras. For many archaeologists, this uncanny partition serves as the dividing line denoting what is to be discarded and what is to be saved as data. Tellingly, it is this very recognizability (or its repressive disavowal) that dejectedly results in these materials being flung onto the back dirt pile. Rather than signaling the end of archaeological history, however, we should recognize that the materials we recover from this era articulate the inception of formative expressions of late modernity. Arguably, this is the beginning of our present political economy, wholly dependent upon mass consumerism, waste, environmental devastation and exploitation for its survival.

Consumption, or the ideological field of its practice known as consumerism, are major subjects of archaeological theory and analysis (Cook et al. 1996; Majewski and Schiffer 2001; Mullins 1999, 2004, 2011; Shackel 1993, 1998; Spencer-Wood 1987; Wall 1994; Wurst and McGuire 1999). In particularistic studies of regional, ethnic, or temporal subjects, the archaeological literature on consumption recognizes that consumer behavior reflects the attitudes, identities, aspirations, resistance or differentiation of individuals or

groups. Consumer behavior is invariably understood to be a social practice, with shared symbolic, ideological, and identifying implications.

Much of the theoretical and historical literature on consumption, most applicable to eighteenth and nineteenth century contexts, is derived from the foundational work by Thorstein Veblen propounding consumption as “imitative” and “conspicuous” (Appadurai 1996:66-67; and Campbell 1987; McKendrick et al. 1982; McCracken 1888; Veblen 1899). As a result, many scholars of the consumer revolution tend to focus on the practices of consumer behavior or household economy rather than recognizing the structural implications of production materialized in commodity exchange (for a critique of this tendency see Graeber 2011; Lodziak 2002; Wurst and McGuire 1999). Some argue that the inclination to separate the realms of production from consumption is itself an inherently ideological conceit originating first in academic writings on economy beginning during the first consumer revolution of the nineteenth century and reinforced in the 1980s. At this time neoliberal economic ideas deemphasized sectors of the productive economy in exchange for celebratory histories of the creative capacities of consumer culture, spawning a generation of scholarship on the subject (Graeber 2011). Largely missing from archaeological literature on consumption are theoretical or historical contexts suited to the analysis of material assemblages from the period following the First World War, and fewer still from mid-century (for some excellent examples of consumption during this period see Camp 2011b; Chicone 2006; Horning 2001; Mullins 1999; Purser 1999; Wood 2002). Even sparser are studies that treat the technological and

social realms of consumption and production as a system, as if there were no relation between them today.

Material culture must be understood within the particularities of its cultural context (Shackel 1993:18). The twentieth century technically began on 1 January 1899, but it is only with the interwar period that a significant rupture occurs from what came before. As described above, this change is noticeable in the material record as the uncanny reflection signifying the origins of our present material world. Developments of Machine Age mass society are formative of our present, and manifested in production regimes, consumer behavior, mass communication, subjectifying practices, and the exercise of governmental power. Echoing Palus (2010), I suggest that given the drastic transformations, archaeological models or theories used to understand past consumer behavior of the nineteenth century and earlier are not sufficient to understand materials from this moment in history. For a critical archaeology that endeavors to apprehend and respond to the material realities of the present, developing a nuanced materialist periodicity of the twentieth century is the only way to historicize the present (Rathje et al. 2001; Gonzalez-Ruibal 2008). This is perhaps the most important endeavor for critical archaeology today.

The Dual Crisis of Politics and Economy: Social Instability and Surplus Production

As it developed in the period after about 1917, mass consumerism was engineered by capitalists, government administrators and advertisers as the parsimonious but diabolical solution to two major crises confronting the nation at

the turn of the century. At the center of these efforts was the anxiety of the growing ranks of middle class professionals concerned with the instability of the American social order. Industrial capitalism produced one crisis in the form of unmet demand for excess production. By the beginning of the twentieth century, industry had managed to expand production far beyond the absorbent capacity of its market through the adoption of mechanization, the introduction of advancements in science and technology and rationalized administrative practices such as scientific management. Additionally, decades of immigration bolstered the labor force for conducting the mostly low-skilled tasks demanded by these new labor regimes. As described below, capital cannot accumulate value unless it is invested into constant circulation, transformed into value invested in goods, distributed, and finally, exchanged back into surplus capital (Harvey 1990:107). Fixed investments made in the form of machinery, productive landscapes and trained workers more than ever required ever responsive capital returns to justify their presence in the commodity cycle. Capitalists reasoned that rather than increasing the reach of market distribution, new forms of demand had to be produced within the current market. In short, this crisis required some form of social production.

The other crisis was social. Middle class observers perceived the combined threat of labor unrest, foreign immigration and mounting inequality as destabilizing the social order. At end of the nineteenth century the American public was embattled in popular debate regarding the obduracy, secrecy and indifference of the extremely wealthy to the plight of working class poverty.

Events such as the Lattimer Massacre were broadly commented upon by the national press, who cited them as examples of the overreach of monopolistic aristocracy. Increasingly, radicalized labor was emboldened by these debates, just as class solidarity rallied around the tragedies. For some observers, the greatest fear came in the possibility that radical labor might organize the unskilled immigrant workers filling industrial roles throughout the country such as those at Lattimer. The presence of these groups in increasing numbers, in turn, challenged nativist or eugenic beliefs in the threatened purity of an original American character born out of frontier values (Turner 1893; Bender 2009).

Efforts to confront these crises would find both rationale and methods from unlikely intellectual sources. Ideas about the psychology of masses, crowds and publics adapted from sociology and psychoanalysis would furnish new ways to conceive of the relationships between individuals, objects and social bodies. The application of these ideas came together as a major transformation in political economy, weaving together the threads of social science, psychology, technology, infrastructure, finance, and the pseudoscience of public relations, marketing and product design. For a professional middle class, the way forward involved scientific and rationalized approaches to intervention. In roles ranging from corporate patriarch, social scientist, product designer, advertiser, propagandist, public relations coordinator and Progressive reformer, they bestowed upon themselves the skills, ideas, and the ethical responsibility, to “manufacture the consent” of the nation (Lippman 1922).

The Crisis of Industrial Capitalism at the Advent of the twentieth Century: The Problem of Underconsumption

Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, industry greatly expanded production owing to factors of capital consolidation, the inflow of inexpensive immigrant labor, and improvements in transportation and infrastructure. By the early twentieth century, the introduction of scientific management, increasing mechanization and assembly line processes yielded even great productivity through what has been called “the Second Industrial revolution” (Dubofsky 1996: 93-95; Harvey 1982, 1989; Hickel and Khan 2012; Montgomery 1979:113-138; Trachtenberg 1982). Economists and other forecasters proposed that despite this productive acceleration a crisis of capitalism had come about arising from “underconsumption” (Allgoewer 2002; Foster & Catchings 1925; Hobson 1910; Keynes 1936). Essentially, excess production needs corresponding market demand to absorb it to recirculate capital for further accumulation (Harvey 2010).

Bernays explains:

Mass production is only profitable if its rhythm can be maintained— that is, if it can continue to sell its product in steady or increasing quantity. The result is that a century ago, demand created the supply, today supply must actively seek to create its corresponding demand. A single factory....cannot afford to wait until the public asks for its product; it must maintain constant touch, through advertising and propaganda, with the vast public in order to assure itself the continuous demand which alone will make its costly plant profitable (1928:63).

In incongruity to the immiserating economic conditions and monotonous discipline mechanized factory work brought to the working class, it was believed that the surfeit of goods produced by new industrial processes would produce a “culture of abundance”, one that would provide a bridge across social conflict

(Ewen 1976:189-190, 1988:32; Susman 1984:112). A new definition of democracy rooted in a shared market, a *consumer democracy* was formed. Mass consumer democracy held that conspicuous consumption would no longer be the province of elites or simply within the realm of aspiration but would now serve a public marketplace. Beyond simply material satisfaction, this utopian notion proposes that mass culture produces forms of democratic participation that can neutralize the anxieties of modern capitalist life (Ewen 1976:81-102; Susman 1984:xix-xxx).

The problem of underconsumption requires some form of market expansion, either as extension into new territories such as colonization can produce, or a transformation (“deepening”) of current markets (Paynter 1988: 418). The introduction of Fordism in 1910 instituted the latter effort with the expansion and stabilization of worker’s income and leisure time. However, this quantitative increase in wages and leisure time were insufficient to bring about a needed *qualitative* change in the nature of the consumer’s desires (Ewen 1976: 24). The government and business community recognized that the problem of *underconsumption* was fundamentally a social one. Starting in the period after the First World War advertisers, manufacturers and product designers would apply ideas borrowed from psychoanalysis and mass psychology to the problem of producing new relationships between consumers and commodities.

Mastering the Crowd, Mediating the Public, Engineering the Masses

Starting in the late nineteenth century scholars of social science, philosophy and group psychology began to focus on the nature of crowds.

French psychologist Gustave Le Bon's *The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind* (1895) established scientific approaches to the psychology of groups, simultaneously capturing middle class anxieties about social instability.¹¹ Stirred by the spread of populist violence during the uprisings of the Paris Commune of 1870, Le Bon's study reflects his concerns for the growing influence of urban popular opinion on the course of social, political and economic will. At the same time, he projects an inherent emptiness and suggestibility to social aggregates. Drawing from Durkheim and Spencer, Le Bon conceived of the crowd as forming a single organismic social body,

...a provisional being formed of heterogeneous elements, whichare combined, exactly as the cells which constitute a living body form by their reunion a new being which displays characteristics very different from those possessed by each of the cells singly. [1895: 15]

To this notion he combines Freud's contention that the unconscious rules motivations and actions at the scale of both individual and aggregate. The crowd, he suggests, develops a collective unconsciousness with its own properties, absorbing ideas by a process without reason and, "tolerat[ing] neither discussion nor contradiction.... the suggestions brought to bear on them invade the entire field of their understanding and tend at once to transform themselves into acts" (Le Bon 1895: 43).

The ideas of Le Bon found fertile ground on American soil in the two decades leading up to the First World War. It is possible that his notion of crowd magnetism and irrationality helped the anxious press coverage interpret the 1897 strike of immigrant laborers in Hazleton. Owing to the dynamic of crowds, a correspondent dismissed outright the possibility that the foreign mob of strikers

could make rational decisions owing to the, "great deal of misconstruction and misunderstanding *common to all mass meetings and strike movements* here just as other places when the lookout continues for any length of time...." [italics mine] (HS, 3 September 1897: 6). The same correspondent reported trembling at the sight of a "solid mass of humanity... formidable to behold" (*Hazleton Sentinel* [HS], 3 September 1897: 6). Elsewhere, correspondents inferred the actions of the mob as determined by a "current moving among [the] men" who were then... "swayed by an influence altogether beyond... comprehension" (HS, 2 September 1897:5).

In the next two decades, Le Bon's ideas would be reinterpreted in American and European hands, adjusted to apprehend the particular forms of crisis implied by twentieth century pluralism, modernity and progress. Gustave Tarde, a close associate of Le Bon, offered a solution to the problem of the fragmenting effects of collective emotion and instability. He elucidated means as to how elites might take advantage of the suggestibility of groups, rechristening this aggregated construction, the *public* (Tarde 1903, 1969). Tarde observed that as lines of communication and transportation from newspapers, the telegraph, railroads and steamships spread, the public increasingly drew opinions "no longer grounded in the immediacy of their lives" but from the abstract realm of a marketplace remote and yet essentially, "coextensive with society itself" (Ewen 1996: 68; Tarde 1969).

American social psychologist Edward Ross took up this line of thought suggesting that, "...presence is not essential to mass suggestion. Mental touch is

no longer bound up with physical proximity.... with [the telegraph and newspaper] remote people are brought, as it were, into one another's presence" (Ross 1908: 63). Ross and others believed that *the crowd*, dependent upon face to face contact for the spread of ideas, would be superseded in the next century by a *public* united and stabilized through the "space-annihilating" apparatus of the new media (Ross 1908; Williams 1961; Susman 1973; Ewen 1996:70-73). In the hands of these thinkers, the crowd's lack of stability and capacity for volatility became advantageous characteristics for social control when combined with the burgeoning promise of media (Leach 1986:102-103, 105).

Mass Psychology and the War Propaganda Campaign

These ideas would be readily applied by the propaganda campaign instituted with American involvement in the First World War. Despite running on an antiwar platform for his reelection campaign in 1916, President Wilson officially entered the war in April of 1917. For a time, the debate over the war intensified class tensions. Labor organizations perceived the war as a way to enrich the wealthy and to counteract the economic depression of 1914. As a result, wildcat strikes abounded between 1914- 1918 (Zinn 2003:370). Ralph Chaplin, a poet and member of the IWW wrote a poem entitled *Red Feast* asking workers if they were willing to:

Stand by the flag- the lie that still allures;
Lay down your lives for land you do not own,
And spill each other's guts upon the field;
.....
You see the tiny crosses on that hill?
It took all those to make one millionaire.
[Chaplin, quoted in Ewen 1996:106]

Government and industry moved quickly to neutralize threats to American industry and the war effort, focusing special attention on the support of workers in the steel, textiles, mining and other vital industries. On 13 April 1917 President Wilson created the Committee for Public Information (CPI) to influence public support for the war using newly developed techniques of propaganda, potentially merging ideas and practices culled from mass psychology with Progressive journalism, public relations and consumer advertising. These ideas were applied through every communicative form available at the time. Recognizing the need to reach a direct rapport with individuals at all walks of life, efforts were made to “bypass established social structures” to get directly at crowds (Leach 1986: 103-104). Propaganda efforts entered movie houses, schools and every article of popular and industrial literature. Great effort was made to penetrate isolated industrial communities such as Lattimer that had the power and motivation to resist support for the war effort (Dubofsky 1999: 133-146).

Following the war, the work of the propaganda campaign was revisited, refined, and to a certain degree, institutionalized by industries and intellectuals as an unexpectedly successful model of scientific and theoretical approaches to managing the public (Bernays 1928:27; Leach 1992; Ewen 1996:146-173). Edward Bernays, a veteran of the CPI, nephew of Sigmund Freud and founder of the school of public relations, writes (1928:27-28):

It was.... the astounding success of propaganda during the war that opened the eyes of the intelligent few in all departments of life to the possibilities of regimenting the public mind.... The manipulators of patriotic opinion made use of the mental clichés and emotional habits of the public to produce mass reactions against the alleged atrocities, the terror and the tyranny of the enemy. It was only natural, after the war ended, that

intelligent persons should ask themselves whether it was not possible to apply a similar technique to the problems of peace.

These ideas were disseminated through manifestos, textbooks, and instructional manuals used by universities, company offices and government agencies combining theoretical content with practical advice for application in business, politics and education.¹² The terms *public* and *masses* are used interchangeably in these texts, defining corresponding properties of abstracted interconnectedness and pliability inferred to the, “dispersed and passive crowd of uprooted individuals” making up the American population (Leach 1986:100). Read against the grain, they reveal striking assumptions about the nature and relationship of individuals and government, society and economy. Three ideas unite these texts:

1. The public is irrational, self-interested and vulnerable to fragmentation and disorder without the guidance of informed elites (Bernays 1928; Ewen 1976; Curtis 2002).
2. An American society, fragmented by cleavages of class, race and political persuasion, can be united by a shared participation in consumption and/or a regulated engagement with an “engineered” consensual public opinion (Ewen 1976: 188-189; Hickel and Khan 2012; Bernays 1928).
3. To keep up with surplus production the American economy needs to create consumer desire where there is none, and psychological techniques can be instituted to successfully accomplish this (Sheldon and Arens 1932; Filene 1930, 1934; Ewen 1989).

Capitalizing on the success of the war campaign Bernays, Lippman and others advocated for the use of propaganda techniques by elites in a series of influential books including *Public Opinion* (1922), *Crystallizing Public Opinion* (1923), and *Propaganda* (1928). As booster for the involvement of public relations professionals in every sphere of administration, Bernays writes with

the specific intent of convincing elites of more than the functionality, but the ethical responsibility to apply these new techniques as fixed costs in every political and economic venture. The evidence he commands to support this moral imperative can be traced back to Le Bon's assertion that public consensus and stability is impossible without the instruction or manipulation of elites or "invisible governors" (Bernays 1928:10; Lippman 1930). Bernays suggests, paradoxically, that the very continuance of democratic society requires the "indispensable" manipulation of the public through "the creation of circumstances, through the high-spotting of significant events, and the dramatization of important issues" (1928:114).

Social instability at the turn of the century brought to the foreground an American identity fractured by identifications of class, race, ethnicity, gender, and politics. Bernays opens *Propaganda* (1928:13) with a rhetorical device designed to stimulate its readership's anxiety with the "many and diverse....cleavages in our society" by reproducing four pages exhaustively listing diverse social groups, conventions and institutional publications culled from various national directories. This simple didactic device brings to the fore the conundrum of American pluralism in the twentieth century. The first two decades of the twentieth century saw a flurry of federal intervention aimed at stabilizing American markets, neutralizing dissent, and engineering social demographics. As mentioned in the text these included coercive measures to suppress dissenting voices in the form of the legal frameworks such as the Espionage and Sedition Acts of 1917 and

1918 (Ewen 1996 119-121) as well as immigration reform laws such as the Anarchist exclusion Act of 1901 and the comprehensive immigration reform beginning with the Dillingham commission and the passing of the Immigration Act of 1924 (Ngai 2004; Zeidel 2004). Of the traditional methods of controlling populations through physical coercion, however, Bernays' felt his alternative methods were more effective. Quoting the German biographer Emil Ludwig, he cites the "impotence of force to organize anything" (Bernays 1928: 18). Rather, through knowledge of predictable mechanistic responses, individuals can be manipulated to "create public acceptance for a particular idea or commodity" (Bernays 1928:18).

While suggesting the efforts of the propaganda campaign and its offshoots were direct and immediate successes is questionable, the widespread proliferation and application of these ideas in this period of unprecedented political and economic change has great implications for our present. At the very least, they served as a guide to the material production of our world, in the development of an enduring infrastructure of production, consumption and distribution. From an ideological standpoint, these ideas chart the future development of intimate relationships between subjects and the state aligned with a parallel relationship between consumers and goods. For a society increasingly focused on the idea of consumption, it introduced new forms and materials for individuals and collectives to imagine, dream and desire their place in society (Mullins 2014).

The Archaeology of Mass Consumerism at Church Street, Pardeesville (36LU0314)

TABLE 5.1: CONSUMPTION-RELATED ARTIFACTS FROM 36LU0314	
ACTIVITIES	
arms	4
sewing/ mending	6
tools	12
transportation	6
writing	5
Activities Total	50
DOMESTIC	
decorative	1
food	290
food prep/ consumption	406
food serving	21
food storage	132
furnishings	10
hardware	1
heating/ lighting	92
indefinite container	234
kitchen	8
material	1
sanitation	3
Domestic Total	1199
PERSONAL	
accoutrements	33
clothing	32
commerce	2
grooming/ health	59
jewelry	1
social drugs/ alcohol	555
social drugs/ tobacco	25
toys	32
Personal Total	737

A total of 1,987 artifacts representing consumption practices were recovered from the western lot at Church Street, Pardeesville excavated during the summer of 2013. The lot, occupied by the Simone Family between 1910 and 1940 was previously discussed in Chapter 4 through its history of architectural alterations and improvements represented by **Features 2, 5, 8, 17, 21, and 22**. In this section the contents of the privy found on the site (**Feature 1**) and the assemblage of artifacts collected from the assorted features, yard scatter and displaced soils will be discussed. Because the artifacts from the adjacent lot were excavated chiefly for the

purpose of reconnaissance they will not be included in this discussion. The consumption-related artifacts were sorted into functional groups including: activities-related (n=50), domestic-related (n=1200), and personal-related (n=737). In Table 5.1, each grouping is broken down into sub-categories. Where

it is relevant and determinable an MVC (minimum vessel count) is provided along with gross counts of artifact types. The assemblage of artifacts from unstratified deposits, i.e. yard soil and other displaced contexts, are briefly discussed below. This discussion is broken down into functional groups further refined into diagnostic categories. Test Unit 7 representing relatively undisturbed soil context towards the middle of the site will be discussed separately. The subsequent section provides an in-depth discussion of stratigraphy and artifacts recovered in Feature 1. The concluding portion of this section contextualizes recovered artifacts in the above discussion regarding commodities of mass consumerism developed in the preceding pages.

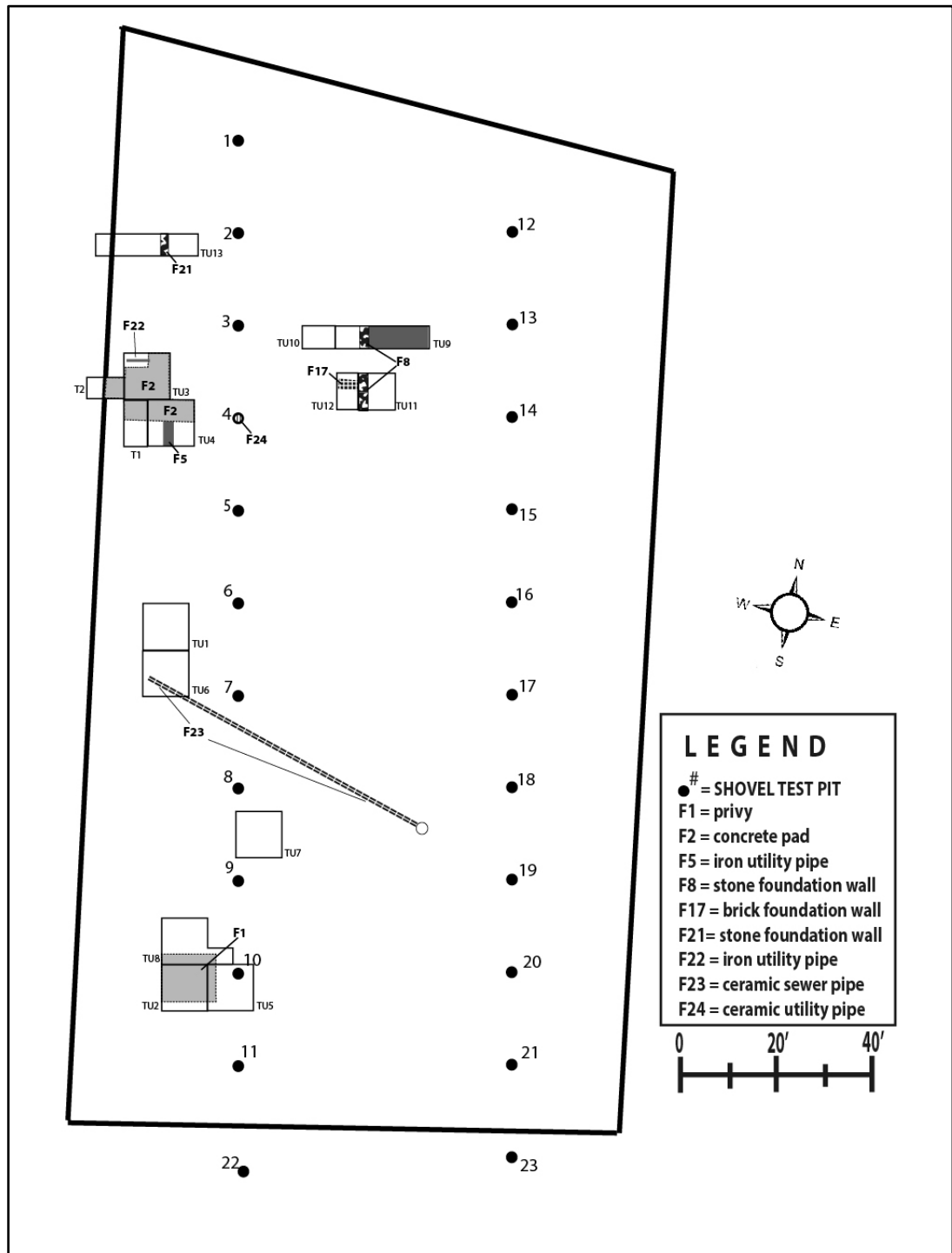


Figure 5-3. Field map from 2013 excavations at Church Street, Pardeesville (36LU314).

Simone Lot, Church Street Pardeesville (36LU0314): Displaced and Redeposited Artifacts

Artifacts recovered from unstratified or displaced contexts on the Simone Lot on Church Street in Pardeesville included total of 752 artifacts divided into the following functional groups: activities (n=13), domestic (n=286), personal (n=453). Unstratified deposits discussed here include the pipe trenches of Features 1, 5, 22 and 23 in Test Units 1, 3, 4, and 6. It also included redeposited yard soils found over top of the concrete pad (Feature 2) found in Test Units 3, 4 and T1 and T2 and the foundation walls in Test Units 13, 10, and 12. Artifacts in these contexts reflect the entire history of the site including usages of the land after the razing of structures in the 1960s.

Activities-related artifacts

A total of 13 activities-related artifacts were recovered from displaced yard soils. Seven items are hardware-related, reflecting the post-razing history of the lot when the space was used to store cars and machinery, and as a maintenance lot. Items include fragments of rubber, iron, copper, aluminum carbon and a battery core. Three items also connected to this function of the site include a chromed grill from a car grill, a plastic door liner and a tail-light fragment.

Domestic-related artifacts

Domestic artifacts include a variety of food-related items (n=60) including fragments of glass, plastic and tin. Identifiable and unidentifiable glass bottles fragments made up a large percentage of these items including a milk bottle, and fragments of mineral and soda bottles (n=30/ MVC=15). Seven of these bottles

showed clear evidence of machine-made manufacture including crown cap finishes, stipling and parison mold seams. One bottle was embossed with text identifying text of the Hazleton Bottling Company. Two bottles were embossed with Coca-Cola emblem and Patent Marks indicating they dated to between 1951-1967 (SHA 2014). He remained of glass fragments reflect unidentifiable forms (n=18). Two tin can fragments and three plastic milk jug fragments and a plastic cap completed this assemblage.

Items reflecting food prep/ consumption included a total of 137 artifacts. Ceramic items reflecting food prep/ consumption include ironstone (n=11), whiteware (n=79), C.C. or cream-colored ware (n=5), porcelain (n=9) and miscellaneous earthenwares (n=2). Identifiable whiteware vessel types included bowls (n=15; MNI=8), cup (n=3), tea or coffee cup handle (n=1), and plate fragments (n=7; MVC=4). Bowls included gilded edge decorations (n=1) and floral decal-printed (n=1) examples. Decorative patterns on whiteware plates include blue-transfer-printing (n=1), gilded annular decoration (n=2; MVC=1) and scalloped molded rims (n=3; MNI=2). Identifiable ironstone vessel types include bowls or serving dishes (n=6; MVC=3) and a plate with scalloped rim (n=1). Thick undecorated ironstones such as those found at the site are popular in the United States between 1870 and 1880, but are not replaced in American homes until a couple decades into the twentieth century by lighter wares (Majewski and O'Brien 1987: 124; Wall 1991, 1994). Nine porcelain fragments represent a teacup with green decal-printing (n=4), a dish or bowl with polychrome decal-printing (n=1) and miscellaneous container fragments (n=4). Milk glass vessels include bowl

(n=3), salt and pepper shaker (n=1) and plate fragments (n=4; MNI=2). Polychrome decal printed designs on whiteware and porcelain became popular in American after 1900, remaining popular until the 1950s and beyond (Majewski and O'Brien 1987: 147). One bowl exhibited the dark-green fired-on color decoration known as Hazel-Atlas Modern-tone Platonite that dates to between 1940 and the early 1950s (Florence 2006: 138-148). Identifiable food prep/consumption-related glass vessel fragments include drinking glass (n=5; MNI=4), dish or bowl fragments (n=3), and a single lid fragment. One of the drinking cups featured a floral ACL (Applied Color Label) decoration consistent with styles popular after 1933 and into the early 1940s (Florence 2006: 236-239; SHA 2014). Food serving vessels were rounded out with items of plastic (n=4) and aluminum (n=1) including can and bottle fragments and closures.

Food storage items included artifacts of ceramic and glass. Two ceramic crock or jug fragments of stoneware and earthenware were recovered. The stoneware fragment was of a type common in the region with a buff-body and a grey salt-glaze. The earthenware crock or jug fragment was red-bodied with a manganese-mottled glaze interior. Seven mason jar fragments made up a portion of the food storage vessel forms. One had a cap and spring closure, popular on Kerr economy storage jars between about 1903 and 1930, though their manufacture continued until 1957 (SHA 2014). One mason jar base exhibited an Owens suction scar reflecting production using the first fully automatic bottle machine patented in 1904 and popular throughout the early part of the twentieth century. The Owens machine was slowly replaced by more efficient fully

automated manufacture techniques (Barnett 1926, SHA 2014). Three mason jar rim or finish fragments exhibited continuous external screw threading, also indications of automatic bottling processes and of styles postdating 1910 (SHA 2014). Two milk glass mason jar lid liners and a metal and rubber mason jar lid were also recovered.

Three decorative items from the domestic assemblage reflect the introduction of the aesthetics of machine age mass consumption in the assemblage (see discussion below). A fragment of a Carnival glass vessel with an orange-tinted body and iridescent metallic patina and three pink-tinted fragments of Depression glass with vertical ribbed pressed glass decorations reflect the aesthetic innovations of mass production that transformed the consumer market for serving vessels from ceramics to decorated machined glass between the beginning of the twentieth century into its third decade (Florence 2006). Carnival glass was produced from the late 1890s to the 1930s (Deiss 1981:86). Other domestic items include objects related to lighting and heating including light bulb or lantern glass (n=17) and a ceramic insulator (n=1). Miscellaneous indefinite container fragments include items of glass (n=35), metal (n=1) and ceramic (n=8).

Personnel items are divided into categories of accoutrements (n=6), clothing (n=10), grooming/health (n=27), social drugs/ alcohol (n=390), social drugs/ tobacco (n=9) and toys (n=10). Accoutrements included plastic items from the most recent period of the site's history, such as sunglass lenses (n=2), a plastic clasp and a lighter. They also include a porcelain figurine fragment and a

Victorian pressed glass brooch cameo from an earlier era. Clothing related items included buttons of porcelain (n=6) and plastic (n=1), metal snaps or fasteners (n=2) and a piece of cloth (n=1). A single penny with an inscrutable date completed the assemblage related to commerce. Items related to grooming/health also spanned the site's history. From the 1920s was a Czech intaglio pressed glass perfume bottle stopper from (n=1). Lacking in distinct diagnostic morphologies other than the impressions of machine-made production were fragments of a cobalt medicine bottle glass (n=17; MVC=5), a clear homeopathic medicine vial (n=1), a clear ointment or perfume bottle with a mark from the Knox Glass Company and a screw top milk glass cold cream jar. From mid-century was a brown glass pill bottle with a stamp of the Owen's Illinois Glass company from the 1950s (Toulouse 1971) and a black plastic cap from "Dr. West's Toothpaste" reflecting a style in use in the 1930s-1940s. From the most recent era of the lot's history was a nearly complete bottle of black nail polish, its cap and brush intact.

Items connected to social drugs included beer, wine and liquor bottle fragments (n=389) and tobacco pipe fragments (n=7). Three hundred and seventy-two fragments reflected green (n=23) and brown (n=349) beer bottle glass. The top strata of Test Units 4 and 6 contained 184 and 44 fragments respectively. Many of the total recovery of beer bottle glass reflected morphology indicating machine-made processes. Specifically, they exhibited post-1940 production techniques including perimeter and base stipling or knurling and ejection marks (SHA 2014). Brown bottle glass with chamfered corners was

interpreted to originate in a liquor bottle. A single piece of olive bottle glass and an aluminum beer can fragment completed this collection. It is suspected that this empty lot in the center of town likely served as both a dump and a communal zone for socializing in the years after the houses were abandoned and then razed. Tobacco-related items included four white ball clay pipe stems and two bowls or bowl fragments. All of these items were undecorated. They were found at proveniences across the site. Two plastic pipe extensions completed the tobacco-related items found on the site.

Ten of the items in the assemblage of personal items found at the site were classified as toys. One white ball clay and two red earthenware marbles likely dated to the earlier era of the site's occupation, the end of the nineteenth or early twentieth century. A fragment of a porcelain doll also likely dated to this period but a lack of visible diagnostic markings makes an interpretation impossible. Items of plastic including a recorder mouthpiece, toy car fragments (n=2), a portion of a party snapper, and a plastic imitation nickel marked "1972" complete this collection.

Taken together the consumption-related items recovered in the unstratified or redeposited contexts from the Simone Lot at Church Street in Pardeesville form an assemblage reflecting aspects of consumption and material life. Diagnostic materials from all periods of the lot's history are reflected in this assemblage. In the following discussion consumption-related artifacts from Test Unit 7, a relatively undisturbed context from the middle of the lot will be listed with a brief discussion.

Artifact Discussion: Test Unit 7

Test Unit 7 was excavated by field technician Beverly Hendricks in the southern third of the site, towards the back of the house lot. Historically, it is likely to have been encompassed within the expansive rear-yard garden. The test unit was excavated in this location in order to determine if intact stratified yard soils existed. To a certain extent, law of superposition is preserved, but continuous tilling and small excavations mixed artifacts in these levels. It consisted of six strata excavated in seven levels. Test Unit 7 was excavated to a depth of 1.8" below ground surface. A total of 577 artifacts were recovered.

The first stratum consisted of a typical A-horizon buildup of humic soils mixed with the most recently tilled garden bed. Ceramics from this stratum included a variety of non-diagnostic items that can be generally dated to the second half of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries including whiteware (n=1), green-glazed earthenware (n=2, MVC=1) and C.C. ware (n=2; MVC=2). C.C. ware or cream-colored ware is a slightly off-white ceramic produced in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century that reintroduced the classical aesthetics of creamware, the first mass-produced fine earthenware produced in the eighteenth century (Majewski and Shiffer 2001:36). This stratum also yielded a cream-top milk bottle finish molded with an impression of a baby's head. The Baby Top milk bottle design was patented by Michael Pecora, a resident of West Hazleton in 1936 (U.S. Patent Office 1936). Glass fragments from this stratum included four pieces of a machine-made brown beer bottle as well as machine-made clear container glass (n=30; MVC=11). A single fragment of manganese-

tinted container glass was also recovered. The use of manganese in glass as a decolorant entered use in the production of medicine bottles by the 1870s, entering widespread use for all clear glass manufacturing by the end of the 1880s. End dates for the use of manganese as a decolorant begin in the 1920s, being entirely replaced by the use of selenium in the 1930s (Lockhart 2006). Other items from this stratum include chrome stripping (n=1), utility pipe fragments (n=3), and window glass (n=5).

Stratum 2 contained the vast majority of artifacts in the test unit. It was excavated in two separate arbitrary levels. For the purpose of this discussion the artifacts will be discussed as a whole. Activities-related artifacts included leather fragments, a fragment of a vinyl record, and an aluminum-bodied radio or television coil or capacitor. 78 rpm records made of vinyl premiered in the late 1890s, entering widespread popular use within the first decade of the twentieth century (Bartmansi and Woodward 2014). Leather fragments (n=3) with cut marks and stitching holes were also found in this level. Decorated ceramics found in Stratum 2 largely reflect early-to-mid twentieth century aesthetic developments. Whiteware plate rims exhibited orange iridescent edge decoration (n=1) and simple molded edge decorations with gilded annular coloration. Porcelain bowl or cup fragments (n=2; MVC=1) with polychromatic floral decalcomania decorations were also recovered. A coarse red earthenware fragment with dark-brown slipped interior likely originated from a crock or other storage container. Handle and body fragments (n=2) from a single manganese-tinted pressed-glass pitcher with diamond-pattern facets was categorized within

serving vessels. Mason jar fragments (n=8) including rim, body and lid-liners (n=2) made up a considerable portion of the storage vessels from this stratum. Six fragments reflected machine-made production techniques such as screwtop closures, beaded finishes and machine mold seams. A milk bottle with a red ACL label dates to no earlier than 1934 (SHA 2014) when the decorative method was adopted in the United States. A variety of condiment jars (n=7; MVC=3) from the mid-twentieth century were also uncovered in this stratum. All three bottles showed marks of machine manufacture and had screwtop finishes. Unidentified container glass composed of clear (n=149; MVC=46), cobalt (n=1), aqua (n=6; MVC=5), green (n=3; MVC=2) and manganese-tinted (n=1) varieties numbered a total of 166 fragments. A single bottle base exhibited an open pontil mark, providing the rare occurrence of a non-machine-made bottle recovered on the site. Pontil marks on bottle bases such as this reflect production marks from pre-automated processes in common use until about 1870s, when semi-automatic processes dominated production (Stelle 2001). Two possible medicine bottle fragments, one of light aqua with a recessed panel and a second clear with embossed graduation marks, and three mineral or soda bottle fragments were also uncovered in this stratum. Fifteen brown glass fragments reflecting four separate beer, liquor or domestic storage bottles

The third stratum contained a mixture of diagnostic eras, ranging from the last quarter of the nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century. Ceramics included whiteware (n=7), porcelain or vitreous white earthenware and a dark brown-glazed thin-bodied stoneware vessel fragment. This last item may be a ginger

beer or mineral water bottle. Bottle or container glass of clear (n=22; MVC=7), cobalt (n=2; MVC=1), aqua (n=2) and brown (n=4; MVC=4) was recovered in this stratum. Two brown glass fragments featured fine exterior stipling characteristic of bottles manufactured after 1940. One clear glass pharmaceutical bottle base exhibited a Whittall Tatum & Co. maker's mark dating it to between 1880 and 1895 (Lockhart et al. 2006). Potentially originating in this early date is a porcelain doll fragment with a pinkish tint. Nine white ball clay tobacco pipe bowl and stem fragments were also recovered in this stratum. Bowl fragments featured decorative gadrooning typical of highly decorated late nineteenth century pipes (Hume 2001). The refit stem fragment was embossed "GERMANY" with its place of manufacture. White ball clay tobacco pipes have a long history beginning as early as the 1600s. They grew slowly out of fashion in the first decades of the twentieth century, replaced by both pipes made of other ceramic materials and later by cigarettes (Hume 2001). As the United States made it mandatory for imported items to be marked with their country of origin in 1891 the pipe stem likely postdates this *terminus post quem* date (Walker 1970: 19).

The fourth stratum contained a total of 48 artifacts. Generally, they reflected an earlier median age than strata above. Three pieces (MVC=2) of undecorated whiteware were found, as was a single anomalous base fragment of a pearlware plate. Pearlware was produced until about 1830 and replaced by whiteware on American sites by about 1820 (Miller et al. 2000). A second piece of semi-vitreous white tableware was also found at this depth. Semi-vitreous whitewares of the type found were popular in the United States after about 1880

until about 1910 when they were replaced in popularity by thinner highly vitrified hotelwares (Majewski and O'Brian 1987). A single piece of blue sponge-decorated whiteware was part of the assemblage at this depth. Sponge decoration was popular between about 1830 up until about 1930 with peak national popularity on whitewares peaking between 1830 and 1840. A version of Pennsylvania Dutch sponge- or spatterware however, was popular between 1835 and 1885 and widely distributed throughout the hinterlands of Philadelphia and surrounds (Ray 1974; Majewski and O'Brien 1987:161). Two unusual fragments of polychrome hand-painted, molded red earthenware vessel were also uncovered in this stratum. Though it cannot be positively identified as such, the fragments resemble forms of Italian brightly colored redwares from the nineteenth century. Container glass in Stratum 4 was limited to a square-bodied brown liquor bottle fragment and three fragments of aqua bottle glass. Two white ball clay tobacco pipe stem fragments, a decorative element of copper sheeting and a small silver-plated fragment were also recovered. The assemblage at this depth also included a fragment of architectural daub, window glass (n=10) and nails (n=12).

Stratum 5, a transitional layer between subsoil and a plow or till zone yielded 21 artifacts. A piece of undecorated whiteware, three clear and one aqua container glass fragments and a lightening bottle closure were found at this depth. The lightning stopper was a common closure for carbonated beverages used in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The type uncovered here resembles the Hutter patent for a bottle closure featuring a rubber gasket

and porcelain stopper popular between 1890 and 1915 (SHA 2014). A single white ball clay tobacco pipe stem and a brass button, also of a type common in the late nineteenth century were also found in Stratum 5. The assemblage at this depth was rounded out with iron fragments (n=7), window glass (n=2) and nails (n=4).

The base of the unit revealed a variety of ruts interpreted to be shovel scrapes and garden features excavated into the subsoil. These areas were excavated as Stratum with the exception of a single narrow feature interpreted to be a posthole (**F15**) and excavated separately. Stratum six soils yielded a single piece of clear bottle glass, metal fragments (n=3), a brick fragment and nails including one wire and one four of indefinite morphology. The feature soils were excavated separately. Deeply buried at the base was a plastic dolls arm, buried to a depth of 2.6 ft below surface. The excavation and backfilling of this feature sometime after the 1960s most likely accounts for the mixing of artifacts in an otherwise well stratified soils of Test Unit 7.

Test Units 2, 5, and 8: Strata 1-4

Test Unit 2 was located towards the rear of the lot near the medial point between property boundaries (see Figure 4). A shovel test (STP#10) conducted at the outset of summer excavations revealed deep deposits at this location. Jim Kuzma and Teresa Robbins began excavation on the 31 May. Excavations revealed a square feature interpreted to be a privy that nearly encompassed the entire floor of the 5 ft x 5 ft unit. Test Units 5 and 8 were excavated to delineate the northern and eastern boundaries of the privy. A narrow margin of the feature

was left intact in the west wall to preserve a record of the stratigraphy. It was subsequently mapped in the West Profile at the completion of excavation (Figure 5). Four strata excavated to a depth of about 2 ft overlay the feature. It is estimated that the top 2 ft of the feature were removed during a leveling and filling episode following the razing of the structure. A quick discussion of the soils recovered from overlaying stratigraphy will be followed below by a discussion of the contents of the privy. For this discussion, notable diagnostic artifacts from corresponding strata in Test Units 2, 5 and 8 will be combined to simplify discussion. Out of a total of 2,850 artifacts recovered from Units 2, 5, and 8, 1,275 were recovered from Strata 1 through 4.

Soils in Stratum 1 were composed of a 10YR 4/2 silty loam humic layer mixed with redeposited yard soils. A total of 195 artifacts were recovered from Stratum 1 including items related to the contexts of Activities (n=6), Domestic (n=40), Infrastructure (n=1), Personal items (n=31), Architecture (n=35) and items of Indeterminate function (n=81). A few diagnostic ceramics found in this stratum included whiteware or hotelware tableware fragments (n=5; MVC=4) one with an orange-tinted edge decoration; green-glazed earthenware plate rim with a scalloped molded edge decoration (n=1) and a porcelain or hotelware mug with polychrome floral decal. Solid-colored plain tableware was popular in the 1930s to 1950s (Lehner 1988). Hotelware refers to a innovation of vitrified white-bodied ceramic that began as early as the 1850, but only really took hold in the American consumer market in the 1910s. It is still produced today (Majewski and O'Brien 1987: 124). Glass from this stratum included machine-made mineral or

soda bottle fragments (n=8; MVC=6), some with ACL, and a clear glass candy dish. Fragments of plastic (n=8) and the ubiquitous machine-made brown beer bottle glass (n=29) reflected deposition from the recent past at this location. A single white porcelain penny frozen charlotte of late nineteenth century design, nearly complete but for its missing arms, was also contained in Stratum 1 (n=1).

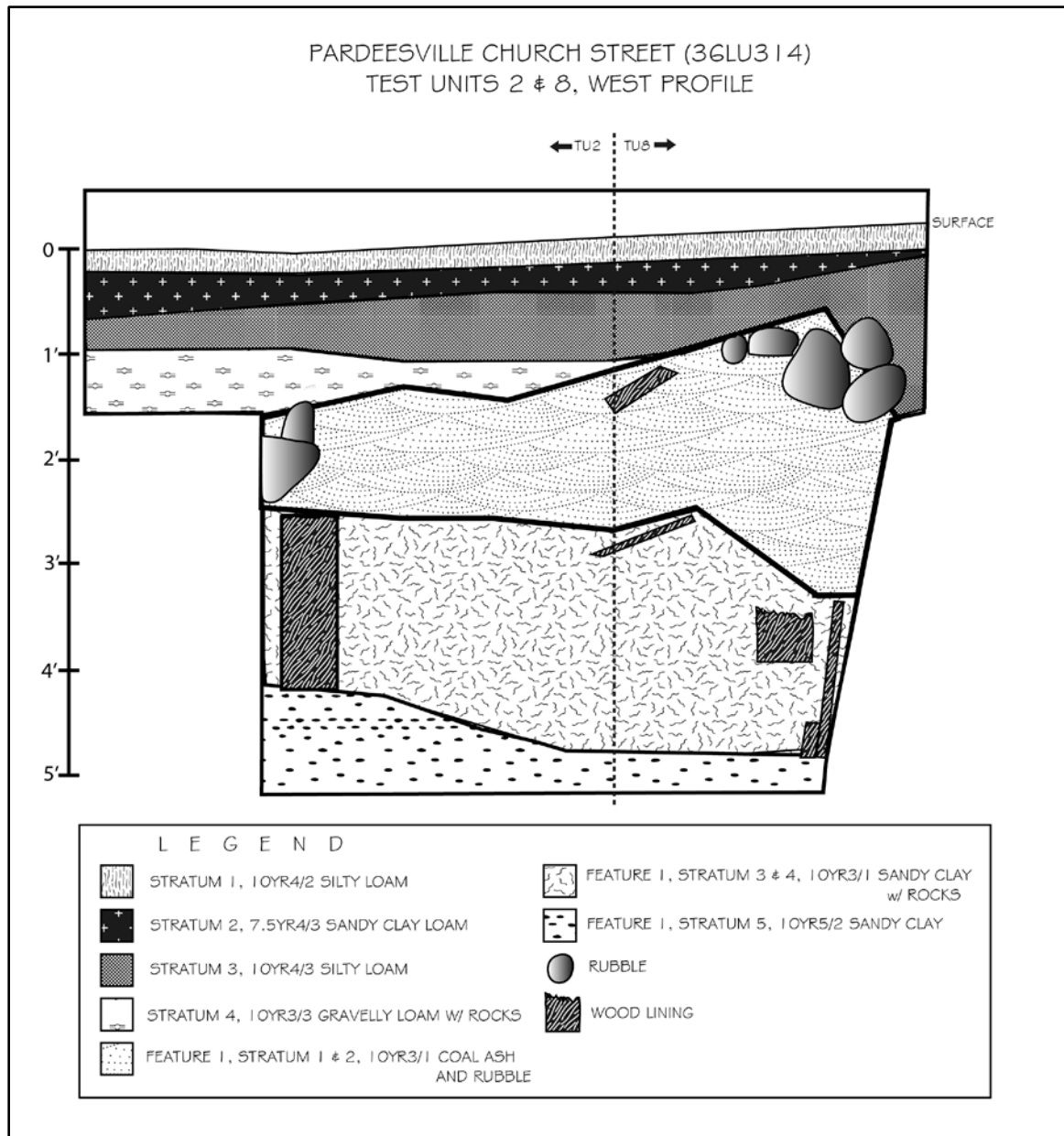


Figure 5-4. West Profile of Test Unit's 2, 5, and 8 from Church Street, Pardeesville.

Table 5.2: TU 2, 5, 8 (36LU314) – Diagnostic Artifacts Strata 1 - 4

Stratum/ Artifact Type	Count (MVC)	Date Range	Reference
STRATUM 1			
whiteware, undecorated	3	1830 – Present	(Stelle 2001)
plain-colored earthenware	1	1930-1950	(Lehner 1988)
hotel ware	2	1910- Present	(Majewski and O'Brien 1987: 124)
mineral/ soda bottle, ACL label	2	1934+	(SHA 2014)
mineral/ soda bottle, Owen's suction	1	1903- ≈1920	(SHA 2014)
porcelain frozen charlotte penny doll	1	1850-1930	(Meissner 1987; St George 1948)
STRATUM 2			
whiteware, undecorated	14	1830-present	(Stelle 2001)
whiteware, blue-transfer printed	6	1820-Present	(Stelle 2001)
whiteware, decal printed	2	1900-1950s	(Majewski and O'Brien 1987)
ironstone	1	1840s- ≈1900	(Brown 1982)
Yellowware, annular	2	1840-1900	(Brown 1982)
bottle, machined, base stipling	15	1940+	(SHA 2014)
bottle, manganese- tinted,	1	1880s-1920s	(Lockhart 2006)
nail, wire	3	1890-present	(Wells 1998)
nail, cut	4	1830-1890+	(Wells 1998)
STRATUM 3			
whiteware, undecorated	23 (18)	1830-present	(Stelle 2001)
plain-colored earthenware	2	1930-1950	(Lehner 1988)
porcelain, decal printed	5 (2)	1890-1950s	(Stelle 2001)
ironstone, molded	1	1840s ≈1900	(Brown 1982)
pearlware, possible	1	1779-1830	(Stelle 2001)
bottle, ACL label	25 (3)	1934+	(SHA 2014)
Depression glass, pressed	1	1930-1950	(Florence 2006)
bottle, machined, base stipling	12 (7)	1940+	(SHA 2014)
nail, wire	6	1890-present	(Wells 1998)
nail, cut	8	1830-1890+	(Wells 1998)
STRATUM 4			
whiteware, undecorated	6	1830-present	(Stelle 2001)
porcelain, decal-printed	1	1890-1950s	(Stelle 2001)
bottle, machined, base stipling	8	1940s	(SHA 2014)
Depression glass, pressed	1	1930-1950	(Florence 2006)

Stratum 2 consisted of a silty loam (7.5YR 4/3) mottled with a thick reddish clay (7.5YR 3/1 and 5YR 5/4, sandy clay loam) used to cap and level the feature. A total of 284 artifacts were recovered from this stratum including the following artifact groups: Domestic (n=61); Indefinite (n=120), Infrastructure (n=5), Personal (n=12), Architectural (n=84). Because it is likely that artifacts were transported along with the red clay and other soils in Strata 2, 3, and 4, the assemblages from these strata will only briefly be discussed here. Table 5.2 provides a list of diagnostic and notable artifacts recovered in each strata.

Test Units 2, 5, and 8: Feature 1

While diagnostic artifacts and provenience of soils overlying Feature 1 mix artifacts from

across the temporal

occupations of

the site,

feature soils

reflect a

distinct

archaeological

event (Figure

5-5). A distinct

pattern of



Figure 5-5. Photograph showing Feature 1 exposed in the floor of Test Unit's 2, 5 and 8.

discard organized the contents of the privy. Coal ash and charcoal was found in

a distinct zone at the top of the feature. Within and around this was a matrix of domestic artifacts and rubble (Strata 1 & 2). Below these strata were distinct layers of architectural rubble marking a demolition from elsewhere on the lot and presumably dumped into the open privy. Below the architectural strata was an assemblage of domestic and personal artifacts. **Feature 1** was excavated in five strata. Upon removing the soil overlying the feature a number of voids opened up in the floor of the unit. Marking the edges of the square pit were visible ends of boards lining the edge of the feature, broken off at the elevation at which it was leveled.

Stratum 1 was excavated in three distinct zones. Zone A was composed of a sandy loam (10YR 3/1) mixed with charcoal, coal ash and rubble. Pockets of ashy deposits (10YR 6/1) reflected distinct dumping episodes. A layer of charcoal found at the top of this zone may reflect the final burning of the privy structure before it was filled and leveled. Zone B was composed of large-fraction rubble in a matrix of 10YR 5/6 sandy loam. Zone C contained portion of overlying soils composed of 10YR5/6 sandy loam. The excavation strategy separated artifacts from each zone, removing Zones B and C first. When examined in the lab, multiple vessel refits between artifacts in Zones A, B, and C suggest that for the most part, the soils originated in the same episode with the discrete addition of ash dumping in Zone A and slumping or overburden in Zone C affecting soil coloration and texture. A total of 709 artifacts were recovered from Stratum 1, the majority of which were recovered in Zone A (n=549).

Diagnostic artifacts in Zones B and C included undecorated whiteware (n=2), red transfer-printed whiteware (n=1), blue willow pattern transfer-printed whiteware (n=6; MVC=1), a milk bottle finish with a capseat closure, machine made bottle glass (n=18; MVC=1), a porcelain doll leg, and a fragment of a hard rubber comb. Red transfer-printed whiteware was produced between 1829-1850 (Stelle 2001). Its presence here is anomalous, though it may represent the trace remnants of an earlier occupation, a curated vessel, or transport via soils. Blue Willow pattern transfer-print has a long history beginning in about 1790, and is still produced today. Based upon refit with sherds found elsewhere in the unit, the Willow pattern fragments in Zone C date to after 1941 when Japanese made import ceramics were required to be marked "MADE IN JAPAN" (Nilsson 2014). The capseat finish was patented as a closure for milk bottles in 1891, entering widespread use with the advent of standardized sizing that came with fully automatic bottle production in 1903. It was used until the 1950s (SHA 2014). Stratum 1, Zone A contained a variety of diagnostic artifacts, many of which matched those found in Zones B and C. Ceramics recovered from Zone A included red transfer-printed whiteware (n=1), Blue Willow pattern transfer-printed whiteware (n=5; MVC=1), C.C. ware with polychrome decal printing (n=1), undecorated ironstone (n=3; MVC=3), annular-decorated hotelware (n=4; MVC= 2), decal-print whiteware (n=3; MVC=2), undecorated whiteware (n=4; MVC=3). Diagnostic glass recovered from Stratum 1, Zone A included Depression glass plate with an iridized rim decoration (n=1), milk bottle finish with a capseat closure, machine made bottle glass with a valve or ejection mark (n=3;

MVC=3). Two medicine bottles, one of cobalt glass with a screw top closure, the other fluted, with an Owen's suction scar and a maker's mark dating it to between 1919 and 1929. A mason jar fragment was embossed with a "Ball Perfect Mason" mark dating to between 1933-1960. A number of clothing fragments including leather shoe parts with lacing eyelets (n=4), leather decorative fringes (n=3), and red vinyl stripping (n=1) were also recovered in Stratum 1. A radio vacuum tube from the National Union Company was found in Stratum 1 soils. National Union was incorporated in 1929 as a merger of three other tube-producing companies, themselves the products of mergers. In the decade of the 1930s, radio sets proliferated, each of them requiring three to twelve tubes. In response, the industries entered into a rapid state of consolidation and standardization. The National Union Company operated under this name until 1954 when it became the National Union Electric Corporation (Harvard Business School 2014). Architectural fragments, both dumped and from the privy housing were also found in this level including cut (n=11), wire (n=47) and unidentifiable (n=56) nails, window glass (n=35) and corrugated sheet iron with wood, nails and tar paper attached (n=11, sampled).

Soils in Stratum 2 of **Feature 1** resembled that of Stratum 1 but with a reduction in coal ash and charcoal. Soil was a mottled sandy loam (10YR4/3) with an increase in large fraction rubble including concrete block and stone. As compared to Stratum 1, a major reduction in artifact density characterized soils at this depth (n=199). Vessel refits between Stratum 1 and 2 also indicate a single deposit spanned these two soil depths. Diagnostic ceramics recovered from the

second stratum of **Feature 1** include C.C. ware (n=1), a green-glazed earthenware bowl fragment (n=1), vitreous ironstone (n=1), ironstone with molded scalloped edge (n=1), Blue Willow pattern transfer-printed whiteware (n=6; MVC=1) and purple decal-printed porcelain (n=2, MVC=1). Glass in the second stratum of **Feature 1** includes Carnival glass with an orange iridized surface (n=5; MVC=1). Condiment bottles (n=2) included one with a Hazel-Atlas maker's mark dating it to between 1920 and 1964 (Toulouse 1971). Machine-made beer (n=1) and liquor (n=1) bottle fragments featured machine made features including crown cap and screw top finishes. A black hard rubber comb was marked "GENUINE LORRAINE HARD RUBBER". These combs were sold at Woolworths Drug Store and can be seen advertised in numerous newspapers from 1951 published in El Paso, Texas; Pittsburgh, PA; and Van Nuys, California.

Stratum 3 of **Feature 1** marked a soil change including a reduction in rubble and a soil matrix with less charcoal and coal ash (10YR5/3 sandy clay). The stratum contained a total of 346 artifacts including a variety of activities-related (n=6), domestic (n=26), personal (n=17), and indefinite container fragments (n=94). Activities related artifacts included two Bakelite-handled straight razors, a Bakelite mechanical pencil, a .32 caliber pistol bullet, a line level, and numerous strips of a sheer red fabric. Ceramics included undecorated whiteware (n=1), ironstone (n=1), and fragments of the same Blue Willow pattern transfer-printed whiteware vessel found at upper levels of the feature (n=12). Glass items included a glass baby bottle nipple cover, mason jar finish with threaded closure and beaded seal style (n=2; MVC=2), a glass candy dish rim

with a scalloped decorative edge. A few complete or diagnostic bottles included an ointment or perfume bottle with a patent date of 1935 (Fuerst 1935). Machine-made screw top medicine bottles (n=2) included one with a Knox Glass Company makers mark dating its' manufacture to between 1924 and 1968. A pharmaceutical vial was among the glassware associated with health and grooming. Artifacts related to heating, lighting and electric included a 30 AMP porcelain fuse, light bulb fragments (n=3) and a Bakelite appliance plug marked "Metropolitan, 660W, 250V". Personal items included fragments of a cupric Victorian-era daguerreotype case or locket, its photo image degraded beyond recognition (Figure 5-6). Trace



Figure 5-6. Daguerreotype case recovered in Feature 1, 36LU3014.

evidence of hair, either as physical reminders of the pictured, a common Victorian practice, or horsehair stuffing for a cushioned cover are visible on locket fragments.

Feature 1, Stratum 4 soils were marked by an increase in clay and a further reduction in architectural materials. In color and texture they were, by and large, close to that of Stratum 3 (10YR5/3 sandy clay). Stratum 4 was excavated in two arbitrary levels. These levels will be discussed together in the following description. A total of 288 artifacts divided into the categories of activities (n=5), domestic (n=82), faunal (n=3), indefinite (n=106), infrastructure (n=3), personal (n=25) and architecture (n=65). Activities related artifacts include a .45 caliber pistol round, a brass odometer or other automobile gauge, red cloth fragments cut into strips, and a yellow pencil marked "MADE IN USA". Ceramics in Stratum 4 of Feature 1 include blue-green glazed earthenware (n=1), C.C. ware with decal-printed edge decorations and a makers mark for Mount Clemens Pottery dating it to the 1930s-1940s (n=3; MVC=1), ironstone (n=1), undecorated whiteware (n=4; MVC=3), and Blue Willow pattern transfer-printed whiteware (n=5; MVC=1). Domestic-related glass recovered at this depth includes green-tinted Depression glass (n=1), a sauce bottle with Owens suction scar and a Hazel-Atlas maker's mark dating it to between 1920 and 1964, a mason jar embossed "HAZEL ATLAS STRONG SHOULDER MASON" and a maker's mark dating it to 1931, a rim fragment of a pressed glass pitcher or drinking glass, and a milk bottle with ACL decoration. A stainless steel metal knife printed "DELUXE DIAMOND TESTED" was also recovered at this depth. This knife can be seen in



Figure 5-7. Detail of dog tags found in Feature 1, 36LU314.

a mail order advertisement from Niresk Industries on the back of a comic book from June of 1950 (Gleason Publications 1950).

A number of artifacts related to grooming and health (n=6)

were also found in Stratum 4 including a machine-made clear glass pill bottle marked with the Brockway glass maker's mark, a machine-made medicine bottle with a threaded closure and a Hazel-Atlas Co. maker's mark dating it from 1920 to 1964, a screw-top perfume bottle with a floral-embossed decoration, a clear glass pharmaceutical vial. Fragments of a tin squeeze tube of topical analgesic with a Bakelite cap marked "Dr. Bengue" was among the health-related items. Artifacts related to grooming include a black hard-rubber comb marked "DUPONT LIDO", machine-made milk glass Pond's cold cream bottle lipstick case made of copper and plastic, a Bakelite straight razor fused to another lipstick case and a nail polish brush. Two beer bottles and a liquor flask made up the alcohol-related assemblage. An intimate and personal artifacts recovered at this depth were a pair of military dog tags belonging to "Anthony F. Simone". Military records indicate that Anthony Simone was in the service between

February 21, 1942 and December 18, 1945. He passed away in 1997. Found at this depth were also six keys, each to different locks. Thrown into the bottom of the privy before piling it full of architectural rubble, the last owners of the keys presumed they unlocked doors that need never be opened again.

The Archaeology of Machine-Age Political Economy: the impression of machines

Capitalism ensures the continuance of its vast apparatus by the constant adjustment of its constituent processes. No less than any of the other portion of the organic whole, commodities and the manner in which they are consumed are both subject to and determining of production, distribution, and exchange. All four processes are levers adjusted by capitalists to transcend the limitations of capital. Marx (1978:227) suggests that it is at the moment of consumption that capital reaches its “terminal point”; but in so far as it then “reacts in turn upon the point of departure and initiates the whole process anew”, there is a constant causal back and forth throughout the entire process. “Consumption” he suggests, “produces... production in a double way”, furnishing it with a teleology, a justification for its continuance, but also a physical context for the objects it produces which, “only becom[e]...real by being consumed” (1978:229). On the other hand, production, “gives consumption its specificity, its character, its finish....” (1978: 230).

The twentieth century artifact assemblage recovered from the privy and yard soils at Church Street in Pardeesville reflect changes in personal and household choices in consumption in the manner of individual commodities and

aesthetic choices. But when seen within the *longue duree* of twentieth century capitalism and modernity the context of these choices reflect the engineered trajectory of political economy. Recognizing this requires troubling the distinctions between moments in the life cycle of the commodity: production, distribution, exchange, and consumption. The following analysis answers the question of whether we should be surprised to find evidence of mass consumerism in what remains, in some form or another, still a shanty town inhabited by the excluded. In fact, the anecdote given at the beginning of this chapter suggests that for the countries captains of consciousness, the businessmen, advertisers, middle-class commentators, social engineers and politicians, the mandate for instilling mass consumerism in the first place originated in the proposal that mass consumerism could control or at the very least neutralize those very segments of society that threatened social stability.

Mass consumerism in the Interwar period entailed a wholesale realignment of production, consumption, distribution and exchange within capitalism along the lines of a new society, a *consumer democracy*. The architects of this process including businessmen, designers, advertisers, producers and others, produced commodities attuned to the particular assumptions they held about the nature of their market. Commodity consumption, adopted in piecemeal in the assemblage recovered from the Simone Lot at Church Street, Pardeesville is marked by significant transformations in 1) Mechanization, 2) Advertisement, 3) Product Design and the Fashion Cycle, 4) Obsolescence and Waste and 5) Mass Media as Double

Production. These aspects of commodity cycle not only interject themselves into a preexisting material world, but rather systematically materialize a novel reality unifying labor, object and consumer in this time.

1) *Mechanization: Mass Consumption as Production*

When we encounter labor struggle in history it attains to a monadic quality. What I mean by this is that though labor history reads as a variety of particularist struggles: by shopfloor, by region, by interest group, by union, by industry, there is a cohesiveness across each narrative; as Benjamin might say, each struggle is a crystallization of struggle itself (an instance of Divine Violence). In the consumption practices and commodities of the 1930s and 1940s excavated from the shanties of ethnic laborers and their families we recognize the interpenetration of multiple sites of struggle within a broader system of capitalism in constant transformation. In the Arcades Project Benjamin suggests that the crystallization of utopian dreaming, as well as its obverse, is invested in the aesthetics of each commodity. Making a related claim, Bob Paynter in "Steps to an Archaeology of Capitalism" (1988) suggests that the morphology of items such as glassware, ceramics used by archaeologists as indicators of diagnostic time or socioeconomic factors, are rarely recognized as reflecting the introduction of social ideologies that defined the roles and positions of labor and class in society. The economic rationality behind mass consumerism dictates that objects produced through mass production processes imply distribution, exchange and consumption in corresponding forms. Machine Age mass production operated upon the reversal of the central principle of previous models. As Filene (1930: 8)

explains, whereas previous models depended upon the selling of “a few things to the richest people” it now offered to sell “great quantities of things to great masses of people”. For this reason, commodities marked by these processes at archaeological sites imply, to some degree, the ontologization of concomitant social structures.

Mechanization implies not only the introduction of machines into the processes of assembly and extraction, but a reorganizing, disciplining, and deskilling of human labor. Mechanized processes reorder the relationship of laborers to products by extracting the accumulated skill and knowledge of workers and placing it into machines, rendering skilled craft processes obsolete. Labor takes on the character of the tending of machines, circumscribed to a rationalized fragment along a *chaîne opératoire* of assembly line production. In such a context, enduring the slow-motion shock of repetition, monotony and time discipline took on the character of the worker's emotional and physical exchange for wages (Ewen 1976:27; Buck-Morss 1992).

Starting in the interwar period the majority of the objects from the Pardeesville assemblage shows signs of machine-made processes. Glass bottles demonstrate characteristics from semi-automatic processes such as Owens suction scars from the first few decades of the twentieth century (SHA 2014). These are followed by fully automatic examples from the 1940s with base knurling and stipling that not only provided traction for conveyor belt production, but also served to conceal the signs of production on the finished product (SHA 2014). In short, the aesthetics of machine-made bottles served to alienate

consumers from producers. In the *Arcades Project*, Benjamin astutely observes, “At the moment when the production process closes itself off to people, the stock in trade becomes accessible to them – in the form of the department store” (1999:367).

Systems of mass production require workers not only to sell their labor but to hire the labor of others at going rates to produce the everyday items they need. In a sense, this system makes all laborers complicit with each and every new production regime. The assemblage at Pardeesville reflects the participation of workers in producing new conditions for all industrial labor through their consumption. Within the broader scales of political economy described above, this had implications for defining their own class positions within mass society. Paynter suggests that the introduction of machining processes into bottle-making is connected to efforts by management to replace or otherwise disempower labor resistance by replacing skilled workers with the fixed capital of machines (1988: 420-421). Commodity fetishism was designed to obscure these efforts, separating production from consumption, while drawing “new relations between goods and people” (Trachtenberg 1982:133).

2) *Advertisement: Consumption as Social Production*

Williams suggests that forms of advertisement developed in the interwar period can be described as a *magic system*; “a highly organized and professional system of magical inducements and satisfactions... strangely coexistent with a highly developed scientific technology” (1961:422). As manufacturers recognized that the social production of new markets were essential to corporate survival in

the age of mass production, knowledge of customer attitudes and techniques for their manipulation became equivalent in value to technological innovations or scientific applications (Trachtenberg 1982: 135-137; Ewen 1976: 26). The growth of independent professional agencies devoted to these services resulted in extra costs assumed as part of the production process. From the side of labor, advertising joined other aspects of fixed capital such as the maintenance and operation of machinery. These value-producing activities are also labor production costs, and so profits must be shared with laborers in exchange for their work. In exchange, capital enjoyed predictable and regular mechanized labor and expanded markets.

Advertising, in the context of mass consumerism is, first and foremost, a form of social production (Ewen 1976: 23-41), depending upon the decoupling or obscuring of the relationship between commodities and the specificities of the productive process. Whereas in previous centuries, advertising more or less applied the powers of persuasion directly to the prospective customers, by the interwar period it appealed indirectly to, “basic personal relationships and anxieties” (Williams 1961:418). Bernays, in *Propaganda* (1928: 52-53), is explicit in his application of the lessons of psychoanalysis to a sophisticated advertising methodology that owes as much to his uncle Freud as to Marx’s notion of commodity fetishism:

It is chiefly the psychologists of the school of Freud who have pointed out that many of man's thoughts and actions are compensatory substitutes for desires which he has been obliged to suppress. A thing may be desired not for its intrinsic worth or usefulness, but because he has unconsciously come to see in it a symbol of something else, the desire for which he is ashamed to admit to himself... This general principle, that men are very

largely actuated by motives which they conceal from themselves, is as true of mass as of individual psychology....Human desires are the steam which makes the social machine work. Only by understanding them can the propagandist control that vast, loose-jointed mechanism which is modern society.

For instance, Lucky Strikes cigarettes spent \$19 million in advertising in 1931 to expand their consumer market to women. Bernays famously employed a Freud-Marxist manipulation of values, desires and insecurities in this campaign. To accomplish the popular acceptance of women smoking in public he used indirect means, organizing events and publicity that associated cigarettes with the feminist movement, rechristening them “freedom torches” (Susman 1973:132-141).

The effects of advertisement are noticeable in the Pardeesville assemblage in the presence of many name-brand items related to grooming and health, the fastest growing sector of mass consumer industry (Williams 1961; Ewen 1976). They include vitamin and pill bottles, anesthetic cream, toothpaste tubes, toiletries, makeup and other accoutrements (Figure 5-8).

Stuart Ewen (1976) suggests that interwar consumerism cultivated youth as a cultural symbol of renewal, beauty and progress. This ideology served a double role as social production. First, it served to establish “the period of childhood and adolescence into a period of consumption” as a new market for products (1976: 139). Concealed in this ideological construct, however, is a strategic intervention in the nature of authority and tradition as it is connected to productive labor. Mechanizing labor processes replaced demand for developed knowledge and skills held by elder craftsman with the unskilled tending of machines. For these processes strength, endurance and malleability were prized in the workplace.

Product marketing celebrated youth, or the product-aided return to a youthful condition of vitality, energy and beauty. Cosmetics, creams, soaps promised

The image displays two vintage advertisements side-by-side, with two product tube caps and a ruler below them.

Left Advertisement: Dr. West's Double-Quick Toothpaste (1935)

The ad features a comic strip with the following dialogue:

- SHAME ON YOU DICK! YOU'RE SIMPLY STARING AT BETH.
- WELL-I DO LIKE THE WAY SHE SMILES.
- SO THIS TIME IT'S HER SMILE YOU ADMIRE!
- WHY NOT? SHE HAS THE WHITEST TEETH I EVER SAW.
- LISTEN! DR. BARD EXPLAINED IT. YOU'RE STILL USING THAT OLD-FASHIONED SLOW-CLEANSING TOOTH PASTE.
- YES, AND I KNOW THE RESE YOU'VE STARTED USING DR. WEST'S DOUBLE-QUICK PASTE!
- DR. BARD!
- DARLING, YOU'RE THE LOVELIEST WHITEST TEETH IN THE WORLD. AND I'VE JUST BOUGHT MYSELF A TUBE OF DR. WEST'S.

Below the comic, text reads: "Dull-white teeth often caused by slow-cleansing tooth pastes. How often you meet anyone with really brilliant-white, good looking teeth? How often you see people whose teeth are dull-white and unattractive? Few of these men and women know where the trouble really lies. Actually, dentists find serious deposits in 8 out of 10 mouths - deposits that rob teeth of natural beauty. Most people brush their teeth regularly. But all too often they only use old-fashioned, slow-cleansing tooth pastes. For sparkling white teeth, free from serious deposits, use Dr. West's new Double-Quick Tooth Paste. Perfected by the makers of Dr. West's famous Toothbrush, it cleans far more quickly, more effectively - yet causes no harm to your enamel. Conditions it away with rubbing action for softer than tooth enamel. Thousands of people have found the secret of brilliant-white teeth in Dr. West's Double-Quick Tooth Paste. Try it today! Large size tube, 50c. To make doubly sure of really white teeth, use the famous Dr. West's Four-Pronged Toothbrush, 50c."

A tube of Dr. West's Double-Quick Toothpaste is shown, labeled "LARGE-SIZE TUBE 25¢".

Right Advertisement: Ben-Gay (1931)

The ad features a man in pain and a cartoon character. Text reads: "IF PETER PAIN PUMMELS YOU WITH MEAN MUSCLE ACHE... ..RUB IN Ben-Gay QUICK".

Below the main text, it states: "Ben-Gay acts fast to relieve muscular ache and pain - because it contains two famous pain-relieving ingredients known to every doctor. Yes, Ben-Gay contains up to 2½ times more of these tested ingredients - methyl salicylate and menthol - than five other widely offered rub-ins. No wonder it's so fast, so soothing! Get genuine Ben-Gay."

At the bottom, it says: "BEN-GAY - THE ORIGINAL ANALGÉSIQUE BAUME Also For PAIN { RHEUMATISM { THERE'S ALSO MILD BEN-GAY DUE TO { NEURALGIA { FOR CHILDREN AND COLDS }

Below the advertisements are two hexagonal tube caps. The left one is for Dr. West's and the right one is for Dr. Bengue. A ruler below them shows inches from 0 to 2.

Figure 5-8. Dr. West's Toothpaste tube cap (L) and ad (1935); Dr. Bengue analgesic balm tube cap (R) and ad from 1931. (Top) (Attribution: inset artifact image (author photo); advertisements (Duke University Libraries Medicine and Madison Avenue and Digital Collection)

this in advertisements featuring youth while targeting the insecurities of all ages. The same can be said for the great variety of mass produced pain-numbing medicines sold at the time that functioned as anesthesia to maintain the

productivity of laborers despite the inevitable pain accompanying repetitive motion (Buck-Morss 1992).

3) *Product Design and the Fashion Cycle*

Roland Barthes (1988: 92) said of plastic: “[it] is the very idea of its infinite transformation; it is ubiquity made visible. Plastic remains impregnated throughout with this wonder: it is less a thing than the trace of a movement.” Product design has come to serve as a prominent aspect of the everyday relationship between individuals and the social and material world (Stevenson 2001). The Pardeesville assemblage contains not only artifacts notable for their variety of designs and materials, but also detached ornamentation of chrome and plastic. Recovered objects such as appliance knobs, pens, combs, jewelry and other personal accoutrements demonstrate an engagement with the fashions of late modernity and the temporality of its commodity cycle (Figure 5-9). Beginning with industrial production, the separation of form from substance as a manipulable variable in the design of an object was recognized as a principle of manufacturing (Ewen 1988:33). Early industrial-age design focused mostly on goods secured for a growing middle-class market, reflecting their values and aspirations (Ewen 1988:32-40; Wall 1994). Recognizing the necessity of securing consumer patronage for mass produced goods, manufacturers increasingly focused on product design as the key to stimulating mass consumption.

Psychoanalytic insights contributed to the development of wish-fulfilling aesthetics as an enticement for customers to purchase machine-age products (Ewen 1988). Roy Sheldon and Egmont Aren’s 1932 design manual, *Consumer*

Engineering, instructed generations of designers in “the exploitation of the ‘sublimated sense’ in the field of product design” (1932, quoted in Ewen 1988:49-50). They argue that the sense of touch and other haptic connections to material objects often serve as the deciding factor in decisions to consume. Recognizing its effect over quality, style emerged as a way to heighten the fetishistic qualities of cheaply produced goods, further obfuscating their physical relationship to mass production.

New technologies and scientific knowledge provided freedom for manufacturers to manipulate surfaces, materials and forms in ways that confounded the senses but still referenced the aesthetic history. Pressed forms, and iridized, baked-on colors on glass vessels could be produced cheaply, mixing modern surfaces with historical forms. Technological processes and materials that imitated natural or handcrafted materials and forms including patent leather, poured concrete, chromed metal, wood-grained Bakelite, plastic costume jewelry, electroplated silver and gold, and stamped, decaled and pressed forms all challenged a class-based hierarchy of aesthetics and materials with a democracy of consumer forms (Barthes 1988; Mrozowski 2006: 135; Schwartz 1996: 192-196). By the late 1930s, plastics had yielded such a diversity of qualities that few functional forms escaped its embodiment. In 1943, J.H. Dubois of General Electric proclaimed amazement at, “the drama of raw materials such as petroleum, coal, water and air, or waste products like oat hulls, peanut shells, corn-cobs, insect secretions and bits of cloth, being transformed into... combs, buckles, buttons, brushes, jewelry, radio cabinets...” (1943: iii).



Figure 5-9. Artifacts representing new decorative technologies including (top left) baked-on-colors, iridized surfaces, (bottom left) tinted and pressed forms, (top and middle right)wood-grained Bakelite straight razor handles, (bottom right) chrome stripping, Bakelite decorative ornamentation, Bakelite comb, Bakelite appliance knob.

4) Obsolescence and Waste

Diagnostic materials from between about 1920 and 1940 make up the majority of the identifiable assemblage at Pardeesville. This assemblage is striking both in the quantity and diversity of materials and forms. Disposable glass containers, appliance fragments, toys, and personal items such as pens, perfume bottles, combs, light bulbs, and glassware make up much of this bulk. From earlier eras, item types are limited to tobacco pipes, ceramic fragments, nails and container glass. Deposition, disposal practices and general poverty account for some of this incongruity, but the sheer quantity and diversity of the post 1920 assemblage can also be understood in the context of the condition of

materials: discarded complete, *en masse*, or partly consumed. These attributes point towards emergent discard practices connected to new relationships between mass produced objects and consumers.

While waste and obsolescence exemplify production, consumption and discard practices of the recent past, the engineering of habitual discard and waste began in the early part of the twentieth century (Gonzalez-Ruibal 2008; Rathje 1989, 2001). Aestheticizing the formal aspects of utilitarian objects opened them up to increased capitalist control over the temporality of the fashion cycle (Ewen 1988:233-258). Designers and advertisers, applying psychological techniques, focused their attention not on successive improvements but rather engineering persistent *dissatisfaction*. Earnest Elmo Calkins (1930, quoted in Ewen 1988:243) described the goals of *obsoletism* as an effort, "...to make the customer discontented with his old type of fountain pen, kitchen utensil, bathroom or motor car, because it is old fashioned, out of date.... We no longer wait for things to wear out. We displace them with others that are not more effective but more attractive." Product designers strategically eliminated anachronistic styles to pursue new "forward-looking" aesthetics, combining new forms with modern materials such as the great variety of plastics developed in the 1930s. Consolidated control of advertisement, product design, and sensorium of retail spaces gave manufactures further control over the temporality of consumption and waste on a level never before encountered.

5) *Media as Double Consumption/ Production*

Sometime between 1934 and 1935 expatriate writer Henry Miller wrote these lines from his newfound home in France in an essay entitled “Megalopolitan Maniac”:

What is it that keeps our feet in unison as we move toward the shining mountain top? A man without legs, his eyes blown out, was playing it on the piccolo as he rolled through the street of the holy city on his little sledge. It is this Song of Love which now pours out of millions of little black boxes at the precise chronological moment, so that even our little brown brothers in the Philippines can hear it. It is this beautiful Song of Love which gives us the strength to build the tallest buildings, to launch the biggest battleships, to span the widest rivers. It is this song which gives us the courage to kill millions of men at once by just pressing a button. This Song which gives us the energy to plunder the earth and lay everything bare [Miller 1934:241-242].

Miller fearsomely describes the ideologies of class dominance, cultural homogenization, and militaristic imperialism in America in the early twentieth century using the image of a single song broadcast from many different radios. More than simply a metaphor, Miller recognized what many social scientists, capitalists and politicians perceived as a new and powerful agency of mass impression, one which demanded or invited harnessing.



Figure 5-10. Cartoon from *Radio Broadcast* (1922) entitled, "When Uncle Sam Wants to Talk to All His People"

Radio vacuum tubes, fragments of 78 RPM records, and appliance dials recovered from the assemblage at Pardeesville demonstrate occupant's involvement in new mass media formats emergent in this period. Vacuum tubes were central components of all radios and televisions starting in the 1920s until their phase-out by

solid-state electronics beginning in the 1950s (Schiffer 1993; Tyne 1977). The proliferation of radio sets serves as a double form of consumption; first through the acquisition of the physical components, but more importantly as a vector for the entanglement of consumers in a world of advertisements and other programming. By early in the twentieth century, media operated in capitalist society in ways that Marx could never have predicted without the imagination of science fiction.

In its infancy at the time of Tarde and Ross, the development of radio broadcasting in the 1920s demonstrated that masses could be reached instantaneously by a central nervous system, bypassing the dangers of crowd dynamics feared by early mass psychologists. Radio had its beginnings as a two-way wireless technology in the hands of local ham-radio operators and small non-profit broadcasters. By 1922, radio broadcasts containing news, entertainment and advertising could be found in 3 million homes, serving as the chief source of the “modern pipeline of persuasion” (Ewen 1996). In recognizing the potential power of this new medium for both commercial advertising and political dissemination, radio wave usage was brought under government regulation and then corporate control within the decade.

The passage of the Radio Act of 1927 and the formation of the Federal Radio Commission, radio programming was brought under state regulation, granting them the power to allocate or deny licenses and to assign frequencies and power levels. This act, passed as an emergency measure to “bring order to” the chaos of crowded unregulated frequency usage paved the way for the allocation of radio frequencies to corporate monopolies by the power of the state. With the creation of the Federal Communications Commission in 1934, the beginnings of today’s network-dominated, advertising-supported broadcasting system came into existence (McChesney 1993). In their study of radio usage collected in the 1930s census, Willey and Rice note a striking downward trend in the economic and political structure in charge of producing radio programming between 1920 and 1930 when the electronic medium became a popular tool of

hobbyists and regional institutions. This trend reversed dramatically by the governmentalizing role of the state in 1927 (1933b: 195-196). The development of an advertising monopoly can be seen in a downward trend in broadcast service providers. From a total of 126 discreet providers of radio programming content in 1922, Willey and Rice report only 37 existing in 1930 (1933b:195-196). Willey and Rice note that this change correlates to a period in which the "basis of economic support" for radio was changing from the sale of radio sets to becoming "primarily an advertising industry" (1933b:195). Of the physical sets themselves, sales of radios amounted to a profit of \$852 million by 1929 (Mowry and Brownell 1981:1-4). Beginning in the late 1920s, as industry came to recognize the potential for massive profits from the production of radio sets and programming. A massive consolidation of companies ensued, resulting in the standardization of products into interchangeable components such as vacuum tubes and capacitors (Harvard Business Library 2014).

The private ownership of radios in American homes was considered a matter of homeland security by the government by the 1930s, producing a major new avenue of governmentality that was quickly reaching into all citizen's homes with the power of ubiquity. Following the Great Depression, President Hoover coordinated a massive study of the habits, customs and trends of the population, with an "emphasis on elements of instability". Reporting on radio ownership collected in the 1930 census, the *Report of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends* (Willey and Rice 1933a:214) proposed that with an average of

3.1 listeners per radio set, radio could reach a total of 37,442,869 listeners by 1933. They warn that

It is as agencies of control that the newspaper, the motion picture and the radio raise problems of social importance. The brief survey of their development in each instance shows increased utilization coupled with concentration of facilities. ...Mass impression on so vast a scale has never before been possible. The individual... increasingly utilizes these media and they inevitably modify his attitudes and behavior. What these modifications are to be depends entirely upon those who control the agencies. Greater possibilities for social manipulation, for ends that are selfish or socially desirable, have never existed [Willey and Rice 1933a:215].

Approaching the issue systematically in 1935, social psychologists Cantrill and Allport mapped the depth and reach of radio messaging, contrasting its effects with the rousing face-to-face stimulation of crowd phenomenon. They suggest that radio has, “a slightly dulling effect upon higher mental processes” but cheerily announced it also attained a “standardizing influence” that can serve to “counteract fragmentation” (1935:13, 140). Beginning in the period around the Second World War, critical theorists of the Frankfurt School targeted media and mass entertainment as major producers of a culture of consumption that neutralized political dissent (Adorno and Horkheimer 1944; Benjamin 1970;).

Federal census records from 1930 indicate that the household at the Simone lot did not have a radio, though the archaeology reveals that they likely purchased one in the decade that followed. Of a total of 233 households in Pardeesville and Lattimer, 74 or 31% owned a radio. Nationally, the percentages of households owning radio sets varied regionally and across the urban – rural divide. The highest percentage occurred in urbanized Mid-Atlantic states with New Jersey scoring the highest at 63.3 percent and the lowest Mississippi with

5.4 percent. The reported average for Pennsylvania in 1930 was 48.1 percent (1933b: 188).

A map of radio sets in Lattimer No. 1 and 2 (Figure 5-11) reveals that the vast majority of sets belonged to households along Main Street in Lattimer No. 1. Not a single set was owned by the households surrounding Church Street in No. 2. Undoubtedly the economics of radio sets played some role in the limited consumption of radio. Furthermore, the immigrant resident's experience of alienation from national mass media and available radio programming may have also accounted for their refusal to consume the media. Another explanation may reflect the political ritual of collective gathering around a community radio set. Lizbeth Cohen (1990), in her study of ethnic labor in urban Chicago during the New Deal found that before the federal takeover, radio programming thrived in urban neighborhoods providing a discursive electronic space to broadcast ethnic entertainment, labor news, church services. Even by 1930, radio listening was "far from isolating" in working class neighborhoods, where radios were found in every second or third household as well as in local shops, parlors where programming was consumed collectively (Cohen 1990:133). Likely this was conducted with the mediating commentary of local interpretation. In contrast, the fact that nearly every household on Main Street in Lattimer No. 1 had its own radio, suggests residents may have preferred an isolated and individualized listening experience, one that was shielded from communal commentary.

As objects recovered from archaeological sites from the early part of the century, electronic media do not simply represent a terminal point for physical

commodities. Rather they can be historicized as tracing the beginnings of a communicative network facilitating the consumption, negotiation or appropriation of ideologies, imagined identities and shared experiences. From these objects we can write the beginnings of an archaeology of electronic social media clearly articulated from its beginnings in mass consumerism and industrial democracy.

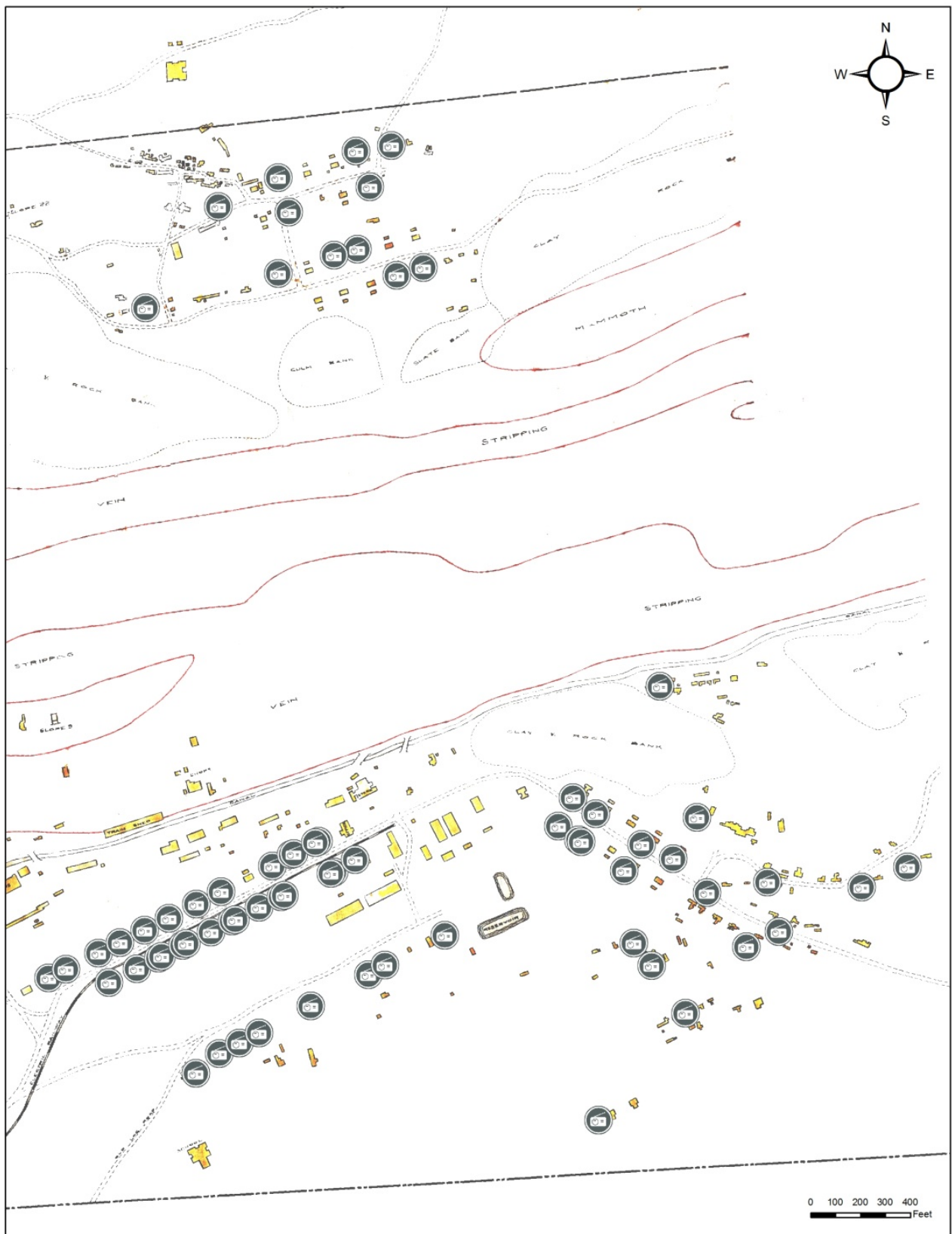


Figure 5-11. Mid-twentieth century map of Lattimer and Pardeesville shown with houses owning radio sets in 1930 overlaid. Data of radio set ownership was collected from the 1930 census. [graphic by Adrienne Allegretti]

Discussion

Efforts at social engineering in this period are *diabolical*, commandeering a moral mandate to control a public characterized as inherently selfish, irrational and manipulable.¹³ Slavoj Žižek, adapting Kantian notions of evil, defines the *diabolical* as evil conducted for no pathological reasons, but only out of a duty freely adopted on purely rational grounds (Žižek 1999). In adopting the formal structure of moral law, diabolical actions threaten to elevate the satisfaction of drives to organizing principles. The consequence of this confusion of pure law and morality is that the “quotidian traces of evil rooted in the acts of mankind threaten to metamorphosize into a monstrous, sublime diabolical evil” (Schroeder and Carlson 2000: 656).

Consumerism, as it is expounded at the time, is embedded among a variety of other principles of *negative freedom*. Negative freedom, in this context, can be defined as an individual’s right to follow one’s impulses, enunciated only as freedom from the constraints of the other (Schroder and Carlson 2000:660-661). Consequently, it serves only to affirm and legitimate the selfish inclinations of human subjects, denying the fact that subjectivities are not simply contingent but rather are socially, politically and even unconsciously co-constituted. The use of psychoanalytic principles to structure the operating variables of a consumer democracy was more than simply a matter of discipline and control (Curtis 2002; Ewen 1988, 1996). In contrast to the disciplining of consuming subjects in previous eras, mass consumerism of this era consists of a controlled *undisciplining* of subjects, a channeling, sublimating or unleashing of desires operationalized by giving them social form. These ideas implied conflicting

propositions, obliging subjects to freely choose among social variables while also the necessitating elite guidance to inform these choices. An example from the period comes from Edward Bernays, the founder of public relations, who paradoxically suggests that for democracy to survive it must be “administered by the intelligent minority who know how to regiment and guide the masses” through, “the instrument of propaganda to mold and form the will of the people” (Bernays 1928: 92-114).

In 1929 businessman Edward Filene proposed that, “Mass production holds possibilities of accomplishing for mankind all of the good that theoretical reformers or irrational radicals hope to secure by revolutionary means” (Filene 1929:9, quoted in Ewen 1976:87). This was accomplished by ameliorating, concealing or distracting labor from the material conditions that precipitated class tensions earlier in the century. As suggested by Žižek, retrospective reckoning suggests that this was accomplished less by the satisfaction of actual needs but rather the expansion, channeling and sublimation of consumer greed, selfishness and other drives.¹⁴ Importantly, it isolated individual choice from ethical, moral or collectively-negotiated principles. Using psychoanalytic techniques, individuals would be encouraged to be free to exercise their selfish drives, provided they operated within the confines of a safely stabilized social structure. For capital and the state, this diabolical solution to the crisis of modernity in the early twentieth century aligned mass consumption to support their own selfish needs, the possibility of a stable social structured geared towards an endless expansions in capital accumulation.

Scholars propose that the development of mass consumerism in different times and places opens up new avenues for identification, imagination, agency and social equity for publics deeply divided by class, race, gender and other identifications (Breen 2005; Campbell 1987; Cohen 1990; Cook et al. 1996; Lipsitz 1990; Miller 1987, 1995; Mullins 1999, 2011). Paul Mullins advises, however, that the everyday realities experienced by individual groups operate in contradiction to the idealism offered by capitalist frameworks, taking the form of an abysmal gap (Mullins 1999: 188). From the standpoint of workers, mass consumerism does not serve to bridge this gap in reality; in fact, it produces the gap. Capitalism depends on a relentlessly coordinated intensification in the pace and character of production, consumption and disposal. Far from promulgating a harmonious uniformity or congruence of social and productive orders, the goal of this coordination is to render the disorder necessary to produce surplus value. This is the paradox central to capitalism: “....it ‘putrifies’, it is branded.... by an imminent want of balance.” (Žižek 1989:53) Only by the constant aggravation of the conditions of its existence can it satisfy the very conditions of its continuance.

Much like the definition for ideology defined by Žižek, the phantasmic objects produced through machine age processes do not provide us with an alternative “dreamlike illusion” yielding an escape from our reality. Rather, they serve as a “support for our ‘reality’ itself: an ‘illusion’ that structures our effective, real social relations” (Žižek 1989:45). The illusion is materialized in the affective realities of artifact morphology: in the acceleration of the fashion and waste cycle, the implications of deskilling from machine-aided manufacturing processes and

the entanglement of electronic mass ideas. Perhaps the real implication of the notion that at present we live in a mass consumer society is not that consumption is, or will someday, cure material inequities but merely that it is now the only visible portion of a broader political and economic reality we struggle simply to imagine, much less control.

Chapter 6

Migration, Part 2: Emancipation and Catastrophe

Time accomplishes for the poor what money does for the rich [Cesar Chavez]

In the preface of this dissertation I suggested that *Novecento*, Bernardo Bertolucci's 1976 film about political consciousness and peasant revolt in Northern Italy provides a model for understanding the manner in which the spirit of the Lattimer Massacre reappears in the region's memory and history. This historical drama, made in Bertolucci's characteristically political style of filmmaking, depicts moments of political consciousness and emancipatory action in twentieth century not as linear processes but within a temporality that is cyclical, gestative, and self-reflexive. Film critic Robert Burgoyne suggests that this is a prototypically Marxist approach to historicity and to filmmaking in its recognition that history is not merely a recounting of that which is complete, but is "a particular set of possibilities that can be fulfilled in the future" (Burgoyne 1989: 57). For Antonio Gramsci, a major influence on Bertolucci's film, such a perspective is one in which such historicity is in fact at its most concrete:

If one applies one's will to the creation of a new equilibrium among the forces which really existone still moves on the plane of effective reality... What 'ought to be' is therefore concrete; indeed, it is the only realistic and historicist interpretation of reality, it alone is history in the making and philosophy in the making, it alone is politics [1971: 82].

I propose that a critical archaeology can also create such a vision of the future out of the complex realities of everyday life it excavates. These ineluctably include not only the surpluses, waste and ruins, but also the remains of futures imagined, and perhaps abandoned, in the past. With its componential articulation

of temporal horizons, community memory, microhistorical stages and the intersection of ideational, and material lifeworlds, it intrinsically concretizes the multiple and often contradictory temporalities of effective reality. Equilibrium can begin at the exact point where excavation ends.

The day spoken about in Bertolucci's film is actually depicted twice, first at the outset of the film as a flashback, and then repeated at the end on the Italian day of liberation from fascism in 1945 when the peasants overthrow the *padrone* of a farm operating within the order of feudal relationships. The day opens up the possibility of a peasant utopia, but only when seen in the retrospective perspective of moments of revolution seen earlier in the film: a peasant strike in 1908, resistance of agricultural mechanization after the First World War, the funeral of labor radicals murdered by fascists in 1922. Each event reflects the future event and the possibility of its persistence and eventual realization.

The households of Lattimer No. 1 and 2 had just such a moment of emancipation with the divestment of the company homes and property by the company in about 1938. Like the farm in *Novecento*, the (company) town is the material stage on which this momentous political event took shape. Like Bertolucci's film, this chapter uses this moment, looking backward and forward to place it in context. Like much of the histories recounted here it is, ironically, a mixed blessing, borne as much of catastrophe as great potential. Unlike Bertolucci's film, which ends on a moment of emancipation that leaves the future open, we are privy to the more than half a century that spans this moment until the present. Through the rich documentary record of archaeology, individual

memory, company and governmental documents and newspapers, a “symbolic repatterning of the chronological continuum” can be established (Burgoyne 1989). The chapter begins with the period of decline that led to the collapse of the industry in the 1940s and 50s. The middle part of the chapter examines the short period at mid-century when the Italian community developed a rich life of communal support outside of the failing boundaries of capital control to provide for the material and social life of the community. In the process, they enacted new forms of labor, but also constructed a social world out of the ruins of the previous. As a crepuscular twilight between the generation of first migrants and their children’s children, those whom we have spoken to in the town, this era produces a moment of historical imagining for the community, as it precipitates new kinds of imagining, nostalgia and emotion. Chapter 7 will continue this discussion, examining the material traces of fragmentation and dissolution of this community, structured by the rise of new forms of political economies insinuated upon the social and material landscape following the collapse of capitalist structures.

Decline

Throughout its history, the financial sustainability of anthracite coal production attained only a precarious economic equilibrium that seemed destined to fail and to affect a great many when this eventuality occurred. In the years leading up to its peak of production during the First World War, production soared, boosted by elevated demand and increased colliery efficiency due to various technological improvements to aboveground processing (Aldrich

1997:368-369; Dublin and Licht 2005:50). Employment in the Anthracite industry peaked in 1914 at 180,899 (Aurand 1977:362). In 1917 the production of coal peaked at 100,445, 299 tons (Aurand 1970:54). Matching decreasing demand following the First World War, production spiraled downward. Reflecting the increased per-worker-productivity in this period, this meant employment in the coal industry shrunk at an even faster rate. Not incidentally, fatal accidents in the Anthracite industry peaked in 1907 with 708 deaths that year, partially attributable to the expanded workforce and the depth of coal being excavated at the time, but also due to new workplace hazards produced by mechanization such as mangling, electrification and boiler explosions (Aldrich 1997:369).

Since the formation of the first Anthracite Combination in the late 1870s, the market prices of coal were controlled by a monopoly of operators and railroad magnates who used the levers of transportation costs and colliery shutdowns to place limits on production (Figure 6-1) (Aurand 1970:57; Nearing 1915). By 1896 banker J.P. Morgan owned or was in financial control of 96.2 percent of the railroads needed to transport anthracite (Rose 1981: 76). Though it had success in breaking monopolies in other sectors of the national economy, federal intervention had no purchase over the Anthracite Combine, which only grew in the interconnectedness of its capital throughout the first half of the twentieth century. A federal investigation of the industry in 1921, and again in 1938, found even then that the finances of the industry could be traced to two principle groups connected to either Morgan or National City Bank interests (Rose 1981:75-76; U.S. Congress 1921). Throughout this period, even during times of highest

production work days were limited to control prices. The profits issuing out of increased productivity would not be passed off to the miners and laborers.

Broadly, anthracite's decline can be traced in part to a global technological change in energy use as the foundations of the Industrial Revolution, coal, steel and rails, gave way to petroleum-based infrastructure (Rose 1981). Decline in the

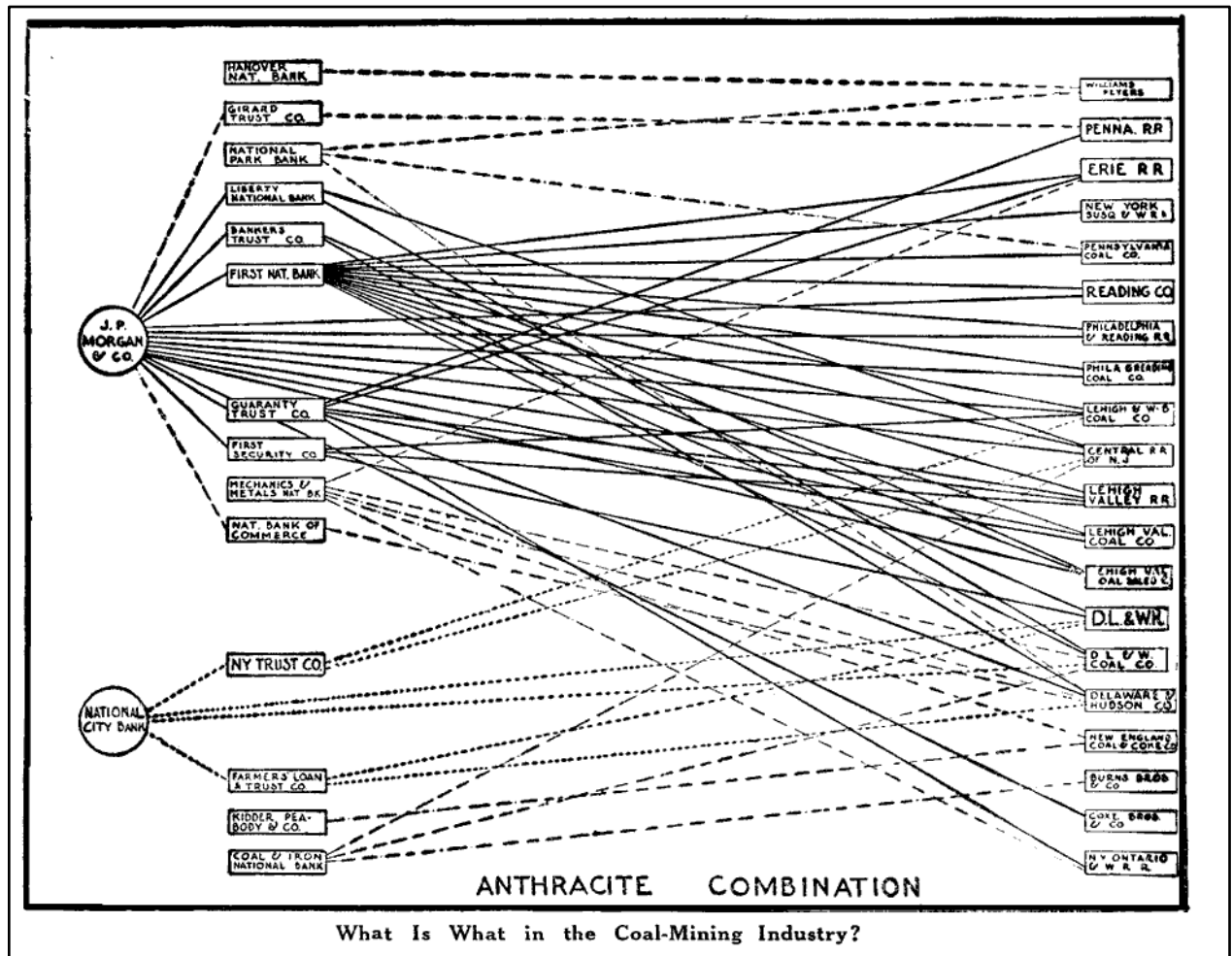


Figure 6-1. Graphic of the Anthracite Combination from the *Report of the U.S. Congress Hearing Before the Committee on Manufacture* (1921) connecting every railroad transporting coal to either J.P. Morgan or National City Bank.

anthracite industry arrived after the First World War with the first drop in demand. For a number of reasons, the consumer market turned to other energy sources such as coke, bituminous coal and petroleum that were cheaper and provided a steadier supply. Price fixing behavior of the Anthracite combine only exacerbated this unpalatable market condition. First, it insisted on maintaining a high product price by double dipping on transport costs. Profits were garnered from both labor and consumer. Perhaps more importantly, it consistently rejected the demands of the Union Mine Workers, clashing with employees. Strikes and labor disputes disrupted market supply again and again between 1902 and 1925.

The 1897 strike resulted in the growth of solidarity amongst diverse working populations. In the decades that followed the coal industry developed what would become the most influential industrial union in American organizing history. David Montgomery (1987:333) attributes this success to three attributes of the industry: the bonds among men working independently underground, the mutual support of families in the coal camps, and "the impact of a vast and complex union structure with which those personal loyalties interacted". The prominent role the New Immigrants played in the 1897 strike, followed by that of 1900, 1901, 1902, 1903, 1912 and 1916 cemented their relationship to the union. Furthermore it made uncontestable their loyalty to class struggle (Dublin and Licht 2005:40; Greene 1968; Roberts 1904). This was the case despite the fact that residential ethnic differentiation remained largely unchanged and job distribution only gradually improved throughout the century.

Despite the institutionalization of the union's power, strikes continued well into the mid-twentieth century reflecting the strong sense of solidarity and resistance miners embodied through work solidarity. An article from the *Philadelphia Inquirer* from 23 July, 1922

STARVING MINE RATS TERRORIZING LATTIMER

**Driven Above Ground by Hunger They
Raid Town for Food**

Special to The Inquirer.

LATTIMER, Pa., July 22.—A plague of rats has descended upon this community and chickens, ducks, geese, rabbits, white mice and garden produce are being eaten by the rodents.

The rats come from the mines under Lattimer. For some time after the miners quit work April 1, there was enough debris left in the stables of the mules to furnish food for the animals, but this is exhausted now and the rats are driven by starvation to the surface. Most of them are unusually large and fierce, and will attack a small dog or cat.

illustrates the hazard of one such 163-day strike in the region brought

Figure 6-2. Newspaper article from the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (23 July 1922) reporting on striking behavior during the 1922 strike

on by the depression that followed the shrinking of the wartime economy (Figure 6-2). The UMWA-organized strike had as its priority a raise in wages. At the time, the union estimated that the average worker earned between \$1,400 and \$1,600 annually. The union estimated this to be about \$200 to \$400 short of the funds required to maintain a family of five (Kanarek 1975:207). The article describes a plague of starving rats descending upon Lattimer from out of the mines. Having consumed the remaining debris left in the mule stables, they turned to the town. The gardens and livestock were all the miner's and their families depended upon to endure the siege-like strike conditions. The pressure was heavy on wives and other family members to stretch household resources to feed their families.

A subtle analogy between the starving miners families and the rats is suggested in the article. The biblical plague of the starving rats is attributed to the

strike, suggesting that even nature is not on the side of the miners. In the end, the strike had mixed outcomes. The victory was lauded by the unions and industry as an intended cut in wages for laborers was avoided. However, the long interruption in production prompted the consumer market further along the path towards adopting alternative fuel sources. The strike of 1922, followed by a stoppage in 1923 and then a long strike throughout the winter of 1925-1926 contributed to the long slow decline of the industry (Kanarek 1975:222-223). The Great Depression of 1929 served to greatly exacerbate this decline.

The Pardee Brothers Coal Company suffered greatly throughout the decade of the 1930s, particularly following the Great Depression. Coal Company records suggest that a variety of factors left the company in near bankruptcy including mismanagement, deteriorating equipment and infrastructure and, by the opinion of some, the continuous drawing of dividends by Pardee family trustees even in the face of failing business prospects (Lattimer Company Records LCC, 1935, 17-19). A letter from 1940 lists coal dealers in city markets refusing to sell Lattimer coal due to the failing quality of the product (LCC 6-24). In a desperate move to avoid total bankruptcy in 1933 the company management was entrusted into the hands of the general manager of the collieries by the name of Bob Osler and a banker by the name of John H. Wettstine (Folke and Folke 1979:226-238). The financial situation proved to be unyielding and in 1935 the Pardee Family, who maintained ownership *in absentia*, demanded the colliery operations be liquidated (LCC, 1935, 17-19). In letters and memos local management blamed the ownership, deferring threats from unemployed labor who suffered greatly

from the lack of work. One letter dated to December 24, 1934 and signed simply "Committee" reads:

The Men at Lattimer are sick and tired of being idle and half starved. We heard what Aria Pardee told the committee about the coal business is no good and how his people say shut down the breaker and they want half the money. They got lots of money but what the hell are we going to do. No money no work and cant get nothing from the store.... We will give you three days to nail a notice on outside your office with names and addresses of these pardee people that say lickerdote Lattimer and we will find a way to fix things..... [LCC, 1934, Notebooks 2-4]

A company history of the Pardee Companies written by descendents completely omits an account of Pardee's decision to liquidate the company in the 1935, but goes into detail of the threat to the company posed by the manipulations of Wettstine and others. Other documents reveal mounting political struggles arising between local management and the will of residents to take control of local politics. A letter written by Wettstine in 1936 to a Mr. Hildun reveals the involvement of the company in affecting local elections, opposing the political successes of a group of unnamed residents of the Lattimer Villages who serve as the, "ring leaders of the radical element among our employees". He writes cryptically of their efforts "to strengthen their position as the dominant labor leaders by endeavoring to swing the Township elections to candidates of their choosing." Of the companies perspective he proposes that:

[the Lattimer Company is] of the opinion that economies can be affected in the management of the township, Schools, etc., but we also believe that more can be accomplished by co-operation with the present officials than opposing them politically. [LCC, 1936, 10-2]

According to Pardee family historians, in 1936 the family determined that Wettstine had been misusing company funds all along, receiving kickbacks and other payments from employees of local business interests (Foulke and Foulke

1979:237-238). Wettstine promptly disappeared in late 1936. A passenger manifest finds him on a ship from Los Angeles Harbor to Honolulu by March of 1937.

Shortly after, company management is turned over to Osler and associates. By 1938 the company, now officially entitled the Lattimer Coal Company, declares bankruptcy. After a remarkable period of employee ownership, the company resumed business as usual in the period during the Second World War when the region enters a short period of growth. Ultimately the Lattimer Coal Company shut down in 1945 (Foulke and Foulke 1979:238).

Interlude: Surplus Enjoyment as the *Place* of Space

It is ironic, though not surprising, that the social history of Pardeesville is most immediately real to present residents in the things that are not attributes of its essential genesis as a Fordist space, but rather reflect values arising in excess, or in redress, of this traumatic origin: self-organizing community, social intimacy, collective rituals and traditions and material assemblages. How can we theorize this? Marx's notion of commodity fetishism is primarily used to explain the formation of contradictory values in propelling the commodity cycle of capitalism. Žižek, adopting the Lacanian concept of surplus enjoyment, elaborates upon the concept of commodity fetishism, making it a kind of allegory to understand the very nature of all relationships within capitalism including those between people and materials, nonhuman entities, histories, and built environments. Žižek suggests that "...the dialectics of the commodity-form presents us with a pure – distilled, so to speak – version of a mechanism offering

us a key to the theoretical understanding of phenomena". He further proposes, perhaps idealistically, that "in the structure of the commodity form it is possible to find the transcendental subject" (1989:9-10).

In such a reading, historical realities emerge only in the dissonance between values: exchange, use and surplus. Following psychoanalytic precepts, it is paradoxically only with loss and trauma that the "indispensable condition[s] for autonomy" are conjured: castration, separation, weaning, etc. (Kristeva, quoted in Leach 2005:183). Using Lacanian notions of subject-definition, Žižek suggests that surplus value is that value that exists in excess of an object, a loss or trauma of identity, which then comes to define that object as an externality that in essence is already "in us more than ourselves" (Žižek 1992:200).

Coal mining company towns originate in the beginning of the Industrial Age, specifically in an era in the mid-nineteenth century high market prices allowed surplus value to be reinvested back into the production process. Nonetheless, company towns seamlessly become models of Fordist machines par excellence. In a monadic sense, their construction as totalized built environments integrate the completion of the circuits of capital, commodity production, labor reproduction, consumption and capital return, confusing them into a single constructed entity. Binding the spaces of social reproduction with those of production and exchange in the form of the trucking and cottage system completes this circuit, capturing profit. In their ostensible confusion of the dualities of life/work, production/consumption, they embody what Maurizio Lazzarato (2014) has termed *machinic enslavement*. Lazzarato describes such a

condition in which individuals are contiguous with machines, constituting an “apparatus in which humans and machines are but recurrent and interchangeable parts of a production, communications, consumption etc, process [that] well exceeds them” (2014:26). Spatial reproduction in such an environment acts not by harnessing the discipline of individual subjects but by deterritorializing them, producing labor as immaterial flows that can be constituted and reconstituted at will (2014:27).

All fixed capital, especially the built environment, require of capital a careful management of productivity for which they measure their return investment in the form of increased productive efficiency or a reliable means to reproduce labor regimes (Harvey 2001). When they no longer serve these purposes or fail to return investments, capital requires their destruction, recycling, or dormancy:

Capitalist development has to negotiate a knife-edge path between preserving the values of past capital investments in the built environment and destroying these investments in order to open up fresh room for accumulation.... As a consequence we can expect to witness a perpetual struggle in which capitalism builds a physical landscape appropriate to its own condition at a particular moment in time, only to have to destroy it, usually in the course of a crisis, at a subsequent point in time. [Harvey 2001:247]

In the case of an immobile investment like the company town, this crisis can precipitate a transfer of its role from a machine directly responsible for production enacted through totalized social and economic control of labor to a more passive mode of capitalist operation. Harvey, via Marx, describes the secondary circuit of capital circulation as an investment in infrastructure to cultivate the social

conditions for production and consumption and the logistical demands of transportation, refuse disposal, and other needs (Harvey 1978:106-107).

While recognizing that the cycles of capitalist progress affect formative ruptures in historical process, an attention to other temporal modes can trouble the causality of this cycle. Materiality such as the built environment maintains its own temporalities and memories that often endure beyond the intentions of their creators (Hodder 2012:100; Olsen 2010). Individuals and communities remain entangled with commodities, landscapes and the habits associated with their use long after their exit from the commodity cycle. Places are assemblages, accumulations of materials, ideological intentions, and human actions. Ian Hodder cites postcolonial theorist Achille Mbembe in suggesting that the postcolonial landscape, "encloses multiple *durées* made up of discontinuities, reversals, inertias, and swings that overlay one another, interpenetrate one another: multiple entanglements" (2001:14).

The danger of fixating upon such an approach is that it risks denying materialist history of a critical attentiveness to the epochal cycles of capitalism, the epochal return of the repressed. On the other hand, to overdetermine the semiotic limitations of such historicizing is to deny the importance of the sometimes invisible gaps, failures and endurances in history. This can sometimes appear as the choice between determinism and repression.

In fact the solution may come not from a refusal of this opposition, but more precisely, an articulation of the creative nature of this very opposition. An archaeological approach that binds the *longue duree* of materialist history with a

nuanced stratigraphic approach to community history reveals the dialectical tensions of continuity and rupture that create a place. The products of archaeology are not simply a continuation of narrative historicity but rather its remainder, which is then subsumed. Historicity is essentially a semiotic operation for which the limit is rendered by the limits of semiotics itself. In contrast, archaeology is a pursuit of the Real not simply below the surface, but for the surfaces below the Real. For Lacan, the Real coincides with the surplus enjoyment that erupts in excess of symbolization:

....the Real is at the same time the product, remainder, leftover, scraps of this process of symbolization, the remnants, the excess which escapes symbolization and is as such produced by symbolization itself. [Žižek 1989: 191]

Enjoyment in Lacanian terms has nothing to do with pleasure, it is in fact *beyond the pleasure principle* (Žižek 1992: 206). Rather, enjoyment is better understood as the negation of pain, the positive condition outside of pain and trauma.

The history of the company town as told by residents and archaeology is a story of surplus enjoyment: a litany of collective and individual efforts to negate the pain of a landscape of domination and neglect. Rather than a separable history of working class or ethnic life as told by social history, surplus enjoyments fulfill the traumatic deprivations of company town life and in the process define its Real. When the company divested in the space of the towns, the traumatic gap of structure was filled, for a period, with communal relationships and material accommodations not simply developed at the periphery, but rather already integral to the functioning of the community throughout the lean times of the century.

Company Town Life, Pardeesville: 1938-1965

Business records do not directly reference the reasons behind the company's divestment of the towns of Lattimer No. 1 and 2 sometime after 1938 but it likely came about as a restructuring demand from debt holding parties following the bankruptcy of the company. What is found among the records are a collection of maps, memos, and letters documenting the complexities of this emancipatory disentanglement. From archaeology, oral history and comparative sources comes a complementary history of rich communal life developing at the time. Accounts of gardening, religious processions, food sharing and junk picking are complemented by a history of communal governance and infrastructure development. An independent identity arrived for the town at this time in the form of a new name, Pardeesville, and a post office in 1938. Simultaneously, a contradictory material dimension of community change in this period comes in the enunciation of new regimes of spatial differentiation amongst residential domestic spaces. In this period the once confined spaces of the shantytown are both thinned and emptied out in conformity with contemporary standards of privacy and ownership.

A Brief Worker's Utopia: Employee Ownership

The spirited revolt that led to the massacre was, to a certain degree, a utopic one. The migrant laborers that struck during the summer of 1897 imagined a better world for themselves, one that offered them the baseline of equal living and working conditions to the longer-established nativized miners. They sought the same kinds of protections as nativized Americans, and in this sense their utopia was not all that different from what was offered within the principles laid

down within American democracy itself. They also sought reforms that would help all employees and families living under the control of the collieries as well: the abolishment of the company store and housing system and the enforced use of company doctors. Far from these modest goals (arguably, for which they were shot...) was the hope for an upending of the vertical relationship between employees and employers. Amazingly, for a short period of time in 1938 this change did occur. What some newspapers described as a “unique experiment” occurred at Lattimer and four other collieries owned by the Pardee Brothers and leased to the Lattimer Coal Company: the workers took control of the company.

In February of 1938 the Lattimer Coal Company went bankrupt, filing papers for a loan with the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC) in Washington D.C. Immediately, negotiations between the workers, the company and the United Mine Workers took place regarding the future of the company. In the front of everyone’s minds were the nearly 1000 jobs provided by the work and the matter of whether the \$65,000 in back wages owed to miners and laborers would be paid (Shamokin New Dispatch (SND) 17 February 1938: 15). Boyd Osler, now in charge, pursued a loan and a company restructuring effort to negotiate the sale of the company. In early March, however, the RFC rejected the application suggesting that the efforts of the ownership and management were insufficient to save the company. In March, bypassing the company ownership, employees of the company along with the UMWA appealed this ruling. As a result the RFC agreed to reconsider the loan (SND, 14 March 1938).

Negotiations lasted until the end of May with a variety of bids rejected by the committee.

By the end of the month a meeting between the employees of the company and the Hazleton Chamber of Commerce hashed out the beginnings of what newspapers described as a “Unique Experiment” (SND 18 July 1938: 1; Pittston Gazette 18 July 1938). By the beginning of June, with company ownership admitting failure and an inability to affect a plan, a coalition of officials from the UMWA and the workers presented their own plan to bankruptcy referee William K. Goldstein. In early June it was announced that the 1,000 employees of the company would run the company for a time, using profits to repay themselves the back wages (Harrisburg Telegraph 1 June 1938: 5). On the June 1, 1938 The Harrisburg Telegraph ran the victorious banner at the top of their paper, “Workmen to Operate Closed Mine Near Hazleton.” The plan required that the workers would work for thirty days without pay, and after an additional ninety days would begin repayment of their back wages in ten percent increments. In a show of support the Hazleton business community contributed investment money to get the operation underway (SND 4 June 1938: 12). By October the Shamokin News Dispatch (1938: 7) reported that \$250,000 in wages including a 10 percent payment on back wages had been paid and \$100,000 in debts had been met.

Newspapers report that in the period of employee ownership, the company rapidly paid their debts, both from wages accrued by the employees and to the many creditors seeking returns on credit. The experiment was reported in the news as a great success and miners in similar situations

throughout the region studied the operating plans the miner's at Lattimer adopted (SND 26 July 1938: 10; 3 December 1938: 2). Representatives from Lattimer reportedly visited mines in Gilberton and elsewhere to consult and share tactics for adoption in similar conditions of company liquidation.

Presumably, when the debts to worker's wages were paid, the operations of the colliery were to return to the oversight of the board. Newspapers and company documents provide little in the way of illuminating how this transition transpired. Undoubtedly the short period of community ownership, through which the company resolved itself of significant debts to creditors and to the workers themselves, was a point of great pride.

A New Identity and Spatial Reorientation

Ironically, just as it was emancipated from the founding family of the mines at Lattimer, the town of Lattimer No. 2 was renamed Pardeesville in 1938. At this time the town also received its own post office. Previously residents reported having to walk across the strippings to the post office in Lattimer No. 1. In the earliest spatial arrangement, between 1869 and about 1908, the only access to Pardeesville was through Lattimer and across a narrow road through the strippings (Figure 6-3). In 1908 as the coal workings expanded, a new road was built, this one extending further eastwards before curling back to Lattimer just to the east of Canal Street. By 1938 a rough road accessing Route 309 was paved and the roads between the two towns were removed. At present there is no direct way to travel between the towns.

A longtime resident recalled the transfer of lots in an interview:

MR: There was a change in company ownership to private ownership?

DM: What happened at that time, now, when the old miners came they built their own houses. There wasn't enough housing, there were people living in the company homes, and then they came and there was no housing and so the companies allowed them to build on their property. And so they put these houses on their property. And then, in the forties, there was [a man named] Wettstine. I remember the name Wettstine, and I think that he owned the property. He was selling everything off where the houses were. Maybe he was selling off all the coal mines too, I don't know. And they sent letters to the people, "Either buy the piece of property that you are on or remove your home off it", because their home was theirs....

MR: Move your home?

DM: Yeah because it was theirs. So, whatever, wherever they were occupying, wherever their fences went, they surveyed it and they wrote up a deed and that's what they sold to them. They were cheap. It wasn't much money...but in those days nobody had money either...That's why some of them, the lots were irregular, different kinds of shapes in them.

MR: So some people chose to buy those lots and some people...

DM: Most of them bought them. You know Lattimer too, they had their homes on them and they bought them. They bought the property. They didn't have a title. They had a house on it but they didn't have the title...
[DM, Interview, 14 November 2013]



Figure 6-3. Development of access roads to Pardeesville, 1869 to Present.

An important question remains regarding the negotiations conducted between the RFC, the UMWA and the workers of the Lattimer Colliery during the early summer of 1938. This was a significant year for the villages of Lattimer No. 1 and 2 as the companies divested themselves of the housing in each town, selling it off to renters. Was this settlement negotiated by the employees of the company as part of the restructuring deal? If so, the short period of worker control at Lattimer had broad reaching implications. Future investigations of the Reconstruction Finance Corporations archives may reveal further details of this transfer.

Community Infrastructure: Sewage, Water, and Electricity

During the excavation of the Simone Lot in Church Street in Pardeesville we uncovered evidence of one collective effort to maintain the sanitation of the town by citizens following the divestment of the company. **Feature 23** was first identified as a mottled area in the base of Test Unit 2 and delineated by Test Unit 6. Upon excavation of feature soils it was identified as a pipe trench with



Figure 6-4. Excavation of Feature 23, "Wildcat" communally installed sewage pipe on Church Street in Pardeesville. Foreground, Myles Schaller. Background, Camille Westmont.

soil laden with artifacts dating from most of the twentieth century (Figure 6-4). The pipe trench was buried 3.14 ft below surface, and was not leveled or lined with sand or gravel as is standard with municipal utility practices from a similar time period. Made of red terra-cotta, the pipe measured .6 ft in diameter, large enough to serve as a sewer main. **Feature 23** led across the site from the midpoint of the alley, at variance with the known location of the Hazle Township sewers installed along Church Street in about 1985. **Feature 24**, a red terra-cotta ceramic pipe with a width of about .5 ft was identified in Shovel Test #4 at a depth of 0.65 ft. It was excavated into ashy soil, indicating it was likely added after the initial construction of the house. It is suspected to lead to the main line of the wildcat sewer (Feature 23).

Local informants provided an explanation and context for the feature. The pipe is part of a communally installed sewage system connecting house drainage to an unused portion of the mines, described in regional parlance as a “wildcat sewer”. Reportedly it was installed in about 1943 following company disinvestment. One resident, born in 1931, recalls excavating the pipe trench with the men of the town at the age of twelve (interview, DM, JS 2013):

DM: When we put the sewer line in I was about 12 years old ...I was digging. We were kids.... we were digging with a pick and shovel. We had to go to a certain depth, you know..... The sewer line... went down the hill, and down at the bottom of the hill there was a shaft. And there was a big fan in there and that fan used to blow that air down into the mines. And they ran that sewer line (it was abandoned, all the mines were abandoned)into that big shaft, all the way down to this end.

MR: It wasn't the township that paid for it?

DM: These people paid for it... we were getting a quarter a foot, Mike. But you know what, you were digging. There were two of us together, there was another boy with me, and we were digging to about this depth [gesture to about waist level] to put the sewer down there. We were only

this tall, I was about twelve years old, and we had the picks..... [DM, Interview, 14 November 2013]

Company records, oral history and archaeology reveal a history of community-organized infrastructure formed at this time to take on the paternal role the company had assumed for almost a century. A similar effort was made almost immediately after the divestment to take care of providing water to the town. interviews conducted with residents reveals that a similar communal effort was made to excavate trenches for water utility pipes throughout the town in the 1940s. A letter found amongst the Lattimer Coal Company records reveals that sometime in April of 1940 a committee from Pardeesville came to the company

asking for help in setting up a community water company (LCC, 1940, 6-13). The letter, written from the company to the Coxe Brothers & Company, requests permission to purchase a wooden storage tank located on a coal property in nearby Drifton for 25 dollars. They report that a borehole and well have been dug in town but there is no facility to store the water at this time. The letter is written a

few months after the initial meeting and it reports that the men are “pressing for help” to acquire the tank and move it to the location. Two letters written in September of 1940 and February of 1941 indicate that, on the other hand, the company petitioned the Hazleton Water Company to supply water to the towns of Lattimer No. 1 and

Milnesville after divestment (LCC 1940, 6-23; 1941, 12-

Sept 21-1942
Lattimer Coal Corp.
Lattimer Mines Co.

Dear Sirs:

We are very grateful for your kindness in allowing us to use your power for the community of Pardeesville Water Ass. while the p.p.h. was making transition to this power. Thanking you again for the past favors and assuring you of our fullest co-operation in the future we are always at your service.

Gratefully yours
Carmilo Dalezandro Pres.
Walter Clatch Sec.

Figure 6-5. Letter from the Pardeesville Water Association thanking the Lattimer Coal Company for the use of electricity between divestment and PP&L hookup

24). A second letter is a request to Hazle Township that they supervise the

maintenance of water hydrants in Lattimer No. 1 and Milnesville by the Water Company. A letter from 1942 reveals that the Community of Pardeesville Water Association secured electrical supply from Pennsylvania Power and Light sometime after 1942 (Figure 5). In the meantime, they were serviced by the company. The polite letter thanks the company for use of the power in the interim period while the electricity was hooked up. The letter closes with the salutation, "Thanking you for the past favors and assuring you of our fullest co-operation in the future. We are always at your service" (LCC 1942, 17-2). Evidence for self-organized and communal efforts to improve sanitation in the enclave stand in striking contrast to the conditions emphasized by the authors of the 1898 exposé who described a town lacking in sanitation, with "the winding, reeking" passages the "dumping ground for all offal". All this they suggest somehow expressed deep-biological tendencies in the character of the inhabitants (Hambridge 1898: 824).

Community Self-Reliance: Work diversification

In the Anthracite region the crucial factor preventing the area from becoming a landscape of ghost towns during and after the period of decline was the diversified work opportunities in the region during and after the collapse of the mining industry. Even during periods of high productivity, low wages in the coal industry demanded that children find work through legal or illegal means. Nearly every community member born before 1950 recalls collecting huckleberries and coal for household economy.

Textile and garment industries employed women and children in the region beginning in the late nineteenth century. Northeast Pennsylvania provided what would be only the first stop for an industry systematically fleeing the high wage demands of New England organized labor markets (Aurand 1970, Rose 1981, Westmont 2015, Wolensky 2003). This move was only made possible when the industry was suitably mechanized to accommodate the labor of relatively unskilled populations (Miller 1955: 341). The first mill was secured by the town in an effort to diversify the local economy by middle class businessmen, who found early on that during strikes business completely died as their mining clientele cut back on their purchases (Aurand 1970: 57). An editorial in the Hazleton Plain Speaker lamented in 1887, "If the strike in this region teaches Hazleton one lesson more than another it is that we should have more home industries." (*The Plain Speaker*, 1 December, 1887: 2). To encourage companies to relocate into the isolated mountain town, the Chamber of Commerce often provided large sums of capital investment as an inducement (Aurand 1970).

A 1911 government study of female and child labor determined that a single child working in the garment industry contributed on average 12.5 percent of family income, with children's labor often totaling almost 38% of total household income (Dublin and Licht 2005:40). The post- (Second) war period saw the expansion of the textile and apparel industry in the region (Miller 1955). Nonetheless this industry depended upon a business model of maintaining small, flexible mobile labor pools responsive to the constraints of an industry bound to the accelerated temporalities of fashion. As a result, companies often appeared

and disappeared overnight, quickly replaced in aging facilities (Miller 1955). By the 1980s, this industry had fully decamped, first for Sunbelt communities in the United States, then overseas, recapitulating the cycles of labor mobility.

The Great Depression affected the region heavily. Government response in Luzerne County, where Pardeesville is located, was substantial. For villagers though, responses to Depression poverty represented perhaps merely an amplification of practices already deeply ingrained in the region's economy. The 1940 census for Pardeesville illustrates the diversification of economy and also, to some degree, the lasting effects of government welfare assistance. The census reports that 31% of the total documented workforce remained in the coal industry. An equal amount is listed as "New Worker" meaning they are seeking work for the first time. Thirteen percent of workers labored in the textile or garment industry. Nine percent of workers gained employment through one of three New Deal worker-assistance programs (N.Y.A., W.P.A. and C.C.C.). Rose (1981:85) reports that outmigration slowed or altogether stopped during the Depression as "all places appear[ed] to offer the same opportunities (or lack of opportunities)". The high percentage of workforce support from New Deal programs suggests that government support played a significant role.

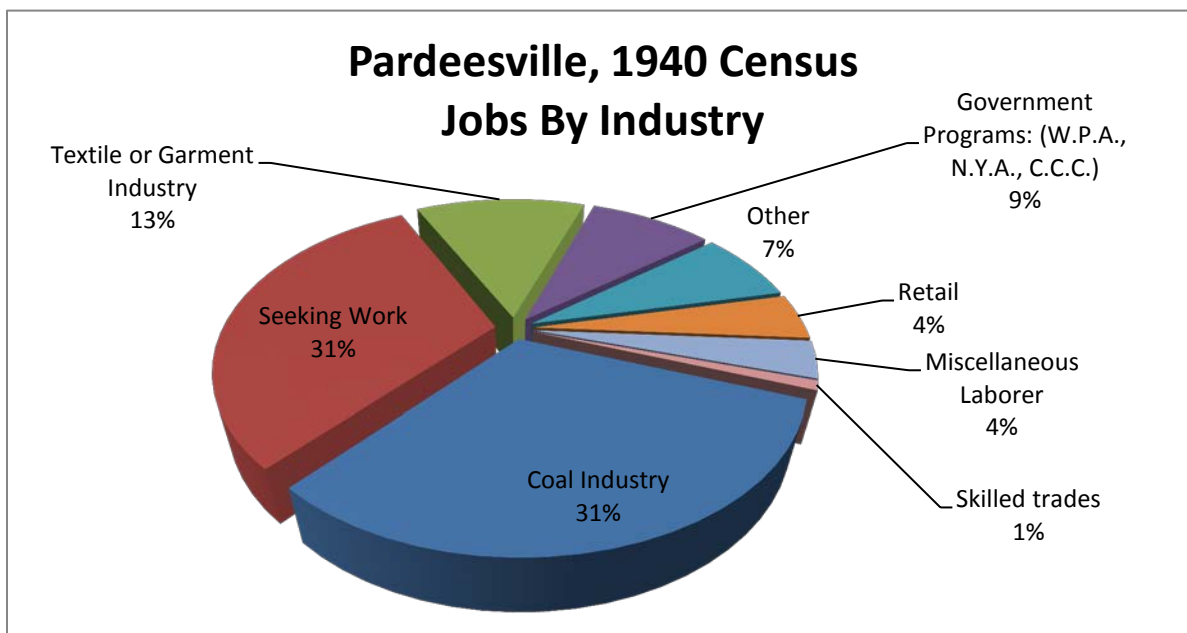


Figure 6-6. Pardeesville, 1940 Census; Jobs by Industry.

In 1947 the business community of Hazleton, in partnership with the chamber of commerce and local media, organized a civic association intended to court new industries to come to Hazleton. After a few false starts, in 1956 the CAN DO (Community Area New Development Organization) was formed to fund infrastructure development to encourage new industries (CAN DO 1974; Rose 1981: 110-115). As had been done a century earlier with the textile industry, concession fees and tax breaks were offered to businesses willing to locate in the area. A community drive urged every citizen to contribute a dime a week for a full year and in time the organization raised enough money to purchase land for a business park. In time other projects followed, bringing a variety of light and heavy industry to the region, providing employment for the generation growing up in the 1940s. For them, the coal industry was an economic structure largely confined to their parents and grandparents generation, though the landscape and

heritage inescapably surrounded them. CAN DO was largely a success in turning around the economic atmosphere of the 1950s. Perhaps its largest success was in securing the alignment of Interstate Highways I-81 and I-80 to pass just on the edge of town.

Though there is some indication that the workforce in the Hazleton region retained the strong tendencies towards organization resistance as earlier generations, an institutional labor history of the period between the 1940s and the 1970s is yet to be written. In 1972, just at the close of a long period of collectivized labor in the United States, leaders representing organized labor from all over the country met with local unions to commemorate a monument to the Lattimer Massacre near the site of the tragic event. The granite monument was erected by the United Labor Council of Lower Luzerne and Carbon Counties along with the UMWA and the AFL-CIO. Scholars, activists, politicians and working men and women were all present at the event. Among them, Cesar Chavez, historians Edward Pinkowski and Harold Aurand and popular Pennsylvania congressman Dan Flood were all present. The Lattimer Band, composed mostly of Pardeesville residents and directed by Reverend Ferrara, played the national anthem. In a speech given at the time of the commemoration, George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, stated that "The things [the fallen miners] died for have not yet been achieved." Can-Do is still active in the region, but as models of flexible accumulation took hold of American industry in the 1970s, Fordist models of industrial community could no longer compete in a globalized market.

Communal Self Reliance: Gardening, Food-Sharing and Collecting

Interviews with former and present residents of coal patch towns born in the 1930s and 40s report on the variety of typical survival behaviors aiding the self-reliance of communities during their childhood. All interviewees report widespread poverty and nearly universal practices used to mediate lean times.



Figure 6-7. Garden-related features found at Canal Street Lattimer, Test Unit 6, Feature 24.

Residents of the ethnic enclaves such as the intimate clusters of Italian dwellings in Lattimer and Pardeesville particularly connected these experiences to the shared experiences of poverty and survival. A

resident of Pardeesville suggested: “They all

had to work. Who worked in the mines? Who worked down in the farm? ...If you look close, that’s all. So, one wasn’t any better than the other. They were all in the same pot with boiling water....getting boiled slowly...” (MD, Interview, 21 March 2013).

Descriptions of the domestic landscapes of company towns and other neighborhoods of the region always include references to copious backyard gardens planted, “property line to property line” (AM, Interview, 14 November

2014). Features found in the base of test units throughout backyards attest to the varied activities of planting gardens such as posthole setting, shovel scrapes and production of shallow depressions from the planting, tilling, and the supporting and fencing of plants. **Feature 24** in Test Unit 6 on Canal Street, Lattimer comprised of seven such depressions interpreted as shovel scrapes, planting supports and post holes. Test Unit 7 on Church Street in Pardeesville had four such features (**Features 6, 12, 13, & 16**) interpreted as narrow postholes for animal pens or for supporting beanpoles or other vine-like plants (Figure 6-7).

In interviews we have conducted in the region, residents suggest that this tradition of home vegetable growing helped miner's wives stretch the limited resources and scant wages to feed their families. It would have also lessened a family's dependence on the company store. By all accounts, gardens served as a bank to survive unemployment caused by all manner of reasons: economic fluctuations, natural disasters and to survive strikes. An interview with a former resident from the nearby patch town of Eckley described his experience of household economy (JM, Interview, 20 March 2011):

JM: Oh everybody planted large yards 'ya know... maybe they were like thirty feet wide and a hundred feet long. And they canned, they canned all the vegetables and stuff. And a quick story, my parents, like most people, would buy cabbage in fall and make sauerkraut. They would shred the cabbage, they would put it in the barrel, and here's how they stamped it Mike. My father would wash his feet, he'd put on his Sunday "go to church clothes", and he'd jump in the barrel to crush the cabbage with his feet... his bare feet. Then we would eat it later. So you would make the sauerkraut, and then mostly everybody had cow or pigs or goats.... And I remember Mom a couple times we'd go shopping and she's counting and she'd have five dollars maybe, and she's counting. Ok now this is nineteen cents, this is eighteen cents... I'm up to a dollar twenty, I could do this and do this. ...

MR: Was there a company store near you?

JM: There was a company store in Eckley. Now my father made it a policy not to buy anything there except gasoline for his car and kerosene, for the kerosene lamps. 'Cause their prices were out of range, 'ya know. That was his policy.

This resident, of Slovak parentage, grew up in a small satellite community comprising of only two double homes and a coal breaker.

During lean times the "securing of food often became a collective project" (Miller and Sharpless 1998:314). In the socially intimate settings of "the Hill" in Lattimer and "the Village" on Church Street in Pardeesville, the sharing of food between residents served to tie together the bonds of solidarity. A former resident of "the Hill" in Lattimer, the cluster of Italian residences describes growing up in this neighborhood in the 1940s and 50s (AM, Interview, 14 November 2014):

...."the Hill" was like a commune. "the Hill" was self-sustaining. Everybody had animals. Nobody cut grass, they planted it from property line to property line. There was big wooden fences. When I was a little boy those fences looked real big....We had rabbits. We always had like eighty rabbits. Cereese had chickens, Bagnatas had goats, and when the Gerhardts moved and [the] Yanacs ... he had a farm up here... he had pigs over here, he had chickens and ducks...

Food was traded between families, with each family specializing in something.

Talk of food turns naturally to the topic of communal upbringing and sociability:

...When we were young, somebody was always related to somebody somehow. I don't know how, but there was a lot of relations in the area here. We would visit each other and it was like family that visited family. Nobody visits like that anymore. Nobody even knows their neighbors anymore. Before I used to eat on every house on "the Hill", every day....

This informant was married to a woman that grew up in an Irish household in the double houses on the western entrance into town. When asked if the houses here had similar gardens she suggests, though families were no better or worse

off, they did not maintain gardens as the Italians did (KM, Interview, 14 November 2014).

Scavenging and banking architectural materials, fuel, and other supplies from waste dumps provided families with materials for construction, renovation, and repair. Architectural items recovered from deposits at Canal and Church Street suggested materials came from a great variety of sources. Scraps of items such as sheet metal, leather, rubber, and brass with cut marks and alterations also suggested use as patches for repair. A resident of Pardeesville who still maintains a large collection of assorted items described the tendency of residents to collect as a form of survival (MD, Interview, 21 March 2013):

Well I mentioned that people were poor. Why throw it away because tomorrow you may need it? My family, we were very poor, and so were a lot of other people. So whatever we had, well just put it on the side for the time being, stick it in the shanty, or down in the basement. And people like me, which you saw earlier in my cellar.....and this is only a part that you are seeing there, there is more. ...Why do you think people hoard that stuff? Because there is a fear. a fear develops in a person that, 'well what if tomorrow comes or somewhere down in the future I need this item, I don't have it. What am I gonna do? But if you store it away somewhere... Yeah yeah...I remember having, somewhere, something, a couple of boards or whatever... in the garage or in the shanty. Maybe I could use them. Sure. I remember as a kid going around these dumps; looking for old bicycles. We used to patch the tire with tar. 'Cause things weren't around, whatever we could. Go around the dumps, see if we could find an old tire....

Picking coal from refuse banks was reported by nearly all interviewees as a major contribution by women and children to household economy.

An intensification of this form of self reliance can be seen in the practice of bootlegging coal, prevalent in the anthracite region during the Great Depression (Dublin and Licht 2005:76-82; Miller and Sharpless 1998:319). Bootleg or independent operations were composed of groups of 3 to 5 miners, often families

or close associates, excavating coal from outcrops, banks and even excavated small shafts and slopes. Coal excavated in this way by independent miners illegally on public or private land throughout the anthracite region made up for low or nonexistent wages during times of unemployment. It was often picked up by a network of independent truckers who drove the product directly to city markets, sometimes selling it house to house. In the process they bypassed the regulating hand of the railroad monopoly (Dublin and Licht 2005:76-82). Writing about worker's responses to unemployment for *Living Marxism*, Paul Mattick wrote of the practice of bootleg coal mining (1938:90-91):

The problems of all workers are here, so to speak presented in a nutshell. All that is really necessary for the workers to do in order to end their miseries is to perform such simple things as to take where there is, without regard to established property principles or social philosophies, and to start to produce for themselves... The bootleg miners have shown in a rather clear and impressive way, that so much bewailed absence of a socialist ideology on the part of the workers, really does not prevent workers from acting quite anticapitalistically, quite in accordance with their own needs. Breaking through the confines of private property in order to live up to their own necessities, the miner's action is, at the same time a manifestation of the most important part of class consciousness, -- namely, that the problems of the workers can be solved only by themselves.

Bootleg coal made up 5% of the coal brought to market in 1936-37, expanding to almost 10% by 1940 (Dublin and Licht 2005:81, Mattick 1938:86). There is some evidence for bootlegging on land owned by the Pardee Bros. in company records. A letter from the Coxe Brothers Coal Company dated to 16 July 1936 bring to attention the fact that "considerable bootlegging" was "being done in the Old Mammoth Stripping east of Drifton #9". The letter suggests that under the terms of the lease the Pardee Bros. are responsible to see that "the property is protected", and the company, "must take whatever steps are necessary to see

that this bootlegging is stopped at once” (LCC, 1936, 14-33). A letter dated between the general manager of the Lattimer Coal Company and the General Manager of the company store dated to 27 April 1936 may suggestively suspect bootlegging or coal picking as the cause of several local individuals having “not bought any coal for some time”. The writer directs the manager to “please speak to them in that connection” (LCC, 1936, 14-36).

As a result of the sympathies of the public, law enforcement and many politicians to the plight of miners in the region, industry was unable to curb the practice until 1941. At this time, an semi-public organization known as the Anthracite Emergency Committee made up of operators, union officials and public representatives was created to set rules requiring coal operators to meet production quotas, hire unemployed miners and purchase coal from independent or bootleg operations. In effect, bootleg operations were absorbed into the preexisting capitalist structure. When the Second World War increased demand for coal once again briefly, bootlegging declined as miners were again employed under traditional structures of the operating economy (Dublin and Licht 2005:81-82).

Religious Community at Pardeesville

A review of newspaper articles in the Hazleton newspapers between 1938 and 1970s mentioning the town of Pardeesville reveals a striking pattern. By far the great majority of mentions hail from either the death notices of the first generations and the wedding notices of the second and third. Following these subjects are the vast numbers of announcements connected to the St. Nazarius church, announcing festivals, masses and other events or to events connected to the variety of religious social groups connected to the church.

This landscape reflects perfectly the Southern Italian spirit of regionalism known as *campanilismo*, literally the “sound of the bell”, tied identity to the space within earshot of the church (Cohen 1990:87; Williams 1969 [1938]:9, 34). Southern Italian religious practices often included some amount of anticlericalism owing to the fact that the priesthood in Southern Italy frequently sided with the gentry (Cohen 1990:87; Gan 1962:110-115). In this context, religious social life was as much an aspect of civic identity as religious experience. Such identity formations often contradicted other forms of identity such as that of national or ethnic identity in an American context in which all migrants from Italy were associated with monolithic groups.

Cohen reports of anticlericalism in the urban population arriving in Chicago in the first few decades of the twentieth century, particularly when they were confronted with a well established American Catholicism structured along the lines of a very different Irish Catholicism. It did not help that Italian Catholicism was perceived by Irish Catholicism as an “idolatrous, saint oriented folk religion” (Cohen 1990:87). In this context, urban Italian migrants frequently refused to attend the church rather than attend one of other groups. Herbert Gans, reporting on a Southern Italian community in Boston in 1962 found at this time little attachment between the community and the church. He suggests this reflected the anticlericalist sentiment inherited from Italian context and the dominance of Irish church leadership in Boston at mid-century (Gans 1962:110-115).

There were no such restrictions for the Italian community that developed in Lattimer No. 2 in the late nineteenth century. The earliest maps of the town suggest that a church building appeared nearly simultaneous with a settlement of shanties in the northwest corner of Lattimer No. 2. Local lore suggests that the first masses were celebrated in 1879 in a tent made from resident's sheets (*Plain Speaker*, 31 July 1954:3). In 1884 a wooden church built of collected scrap wood was constructed by residents. It served as a mission church with masses delivered by a priest who travelled from St. Gabriel's Church in Hazleton. In 1904 the church was expanded and a stationary pastor was established in town. An elder resident recalled the communal construction of the old church:

... this church was made by the town's people. Wherever they got the lumber, wherever they got the wood. There were, in those days I remember the "dooly" boxes, they called them "dooly"....dynamite. When they took the dynamite out of them the men took them and they used it for sheeting on the church. And [it was] made from all different kinds of wood. They built that themselves.... [DM, interview, 14 November 2013]

In 1947 residents constructed a new church on the hill above town, moving the social center outside of the tight confines of the shanty enclave. This paralleled the movement of residences as will be discussed in Chapter 7.

By far the most visible of events is the yearly festival that drew thousands of visitors from out-of-state to partake in entertainment, food and to observe the traditional Italian practice of processing the statue of the saint throughout the town. A resident of Pardeesville, born in 1943, recalls the communal effort required to put on these events (MD, interview, 21 March 2013):

I remember we used to have these festivals here. People got together. They worked hard to prepare for them. And it was a happy thing. We had the band and the procession in honor of the saint. Wherever it was,

wherever the community you were in. And it was a wonderful time. ...all this stuff started over there in the old country and it exists today.

The traditional practice of the patron saint's procession has as its origin in Southern Italy as a celebration uniting the religious and secular aspects. In a study of Southern Italian folk customs in America, Williams (1938:149) describes the tradition:

The feast-day celebrations of the patron saints, therefore, are conducted in much the same fashion as they were in Italy, with church services followed by processions through the streets of the district. The devotees still make offerings during the march, ask or recognize favors in the traditional way, and then end the affair with fireworks, music, singing, and feasting.

The feast-day was celebrated in a similar way in Pardeesville throughout the century, and even as recently as the turn of the last century before the church closed in 2009. The following image taken in the 1930s depicts the procession of St. Nazarius around the town of Pardeesville (Figure 6-8). To the right and left of the statue of St. Nazarius are ornate candle houses or *chinti* carried by community members. Strings of dollars bills are visible tied to the statue, an American adaptation of the tradition of offering fruit common in Italy (Cohen 1990:92).



Figure 6-8. Procession of St. Nazarius in Pardeesville, 1930s.



Figure 6-9. Announcement for the St. Nazarius Festival from 1960 in *The Plain Speaker* (30 Jul 1960: 20).

Elizabeth Cohen suggests that the religious procession amounted to a ritual uniting secular and religious identity. As the procession leaves the church, it brought the saint “out of the church and into people’s everyday world. As

villagers paraded behind the saint and joined in the celebrations afterward, they not only sought penance or favor, but also declared loyalty to this unified religious and secular community (Cohen 1990:88). In an American context, however, the implications of the ritual changed, particularly in the context of urban settings in which neighborhoods were far less spatially bounded than the villages. Cohen contends that Italians “used the symbolic power of their traditional feasts to express their neighborhoods rival claim on religious ritual and independence from the church hierarchy” (Cohen 1990:89). As communities grew increasingly distant from the bounded spatiality of Old World neighborhood or village the feasts days were reoriented as public expressions of festivity open to a broader Italian-American identity. At the same time, a new focus on monetary donations suggested an increasingly monetary, materialistic and ultimately political aspect to the proceedings (Cohen 1990:92).

As the local economy improved for many in the decades following the successes of CAN DO, the St. Nazarius festival grew in visibility and scope. In

the 1960s and 1970s it expanded from a one-day celebration to a three-day festival featuring a talent show, prizes and a massive merchandising bazaar. Feasts grew to include the regions eastern European cuisine as well as traditional Italian-American classics. Planning, financing and supporting these events was a variety of mutual aid and religious societies that grew around the church including the festival planning committee, but also organizations such as the Blessed Virgin Mary Sodality, the Assunta Society of Pardeesville, and the St. Nazarius Holy Name Society. The festival always maintained its primary feature however, the traditional procession around the town.

Conclusion

The community more than survived a crisis in the form of an emancipation in the 1940s when the company divested in the spaces of the company town. Elizabeth Cohen suggests that the way that Italian immigrants adapted their Old World feasts to American environments reveals, "how extensively they were redefining their relationship between community and church." (1991:88) Viewed through an ethnographic lens such as that of Victor Turner, festivals are traditionally interpreted as opening up liminal

the Annual Festival of
Saint Nazarius
Pardeesville
 on the top of the Mountain
 OFF ROUTE 309

Schedule Of Events

SATURDAY: JULY 26

6:00 GROUND ACTIVITIES OPEN:
 Food Stands, Pizza Frito, Plush Stands, Novelities, Games Las Vegas
 Type Atmosphere, Awards, Household Goods, Italian, Slovak, Polish
 Foods.

6:30 Tommy Roamer and News Boys — BIG WESTERN SHOW.

7:30 The Fabulous BOBBY BREEN — Movie Star and Recording Artist.

9:00 "TOP OF THE MOUNTAIN SUMMER BAND CONCERT" by the Pardeesville Band Directed by Joe Marolo.

10:00 The Village Outcasts

SUNDAY: JULY 27

MASS SCHEDULE: 8:00 A.M. MASS — 9:30 A.M. MASS.

11:00 Solemn High Mass.

12:00 Procession of St. Nazarius Statue on Richly Decorated Float Surrounded by Adorned Candle Houses — Procession By Pardeesville Band Directed by Joe Marolo.

1:00 GROUND ACTIVITIES:
 Household Goods, Parcel Post, Games, Kiddie Rides, Special Awards, Prizes, Novelities, Plush Stands, Merchandise Parties, Las Vegas Type Atmosphere, Italian, Slovak, Polish and American Foods, Pizza Frito, Refreshments.

3:00 "THE WHEATSTONE BRIDGE" — DANCING.

4:30 "INVOLVEMENT."

6:00 JANIE SMITH DANCERS.

7:00 BAND CONCERT — Pardeesville Band.

8:00 DAVID BLIGHT DANCERS — Directed by Nancy DiBlesi.

8:30 WESTERN SHOW featuring Tommy Roamer and the News Boys.

9:00 SPECIAL ATTRACTION!!! TOM and BROOKE Currently Appearing at the Holiday Inns.

9:30 Gene Tirpak and His Tips Imperials Orchestra — Polka Dancing.

10:00 SANTO AND THE KINGSMEN — "The Boss of Saul."

11:00 HUGH DISPLAY OF

FIREWORKS!!!
11:30 BIG SPECIAL AWARDS!! AND

POLKA DANCING with Gene Tirpak and His Tips Imperials.
 ORGAN MUSIC by Tony Saullo at Lowrey Organ.

Figure 6-10. St. Nazarius Festival announcement, *the Plain Speaker* 26 July, 1969

zones of inversions. In contrast, Cohen suggests that the feasts of Italian Americans beginning in the early-to mid century, "...clarified the way the community was evolving" (1991:92). The political and economic visibility of the festival and the integration of its organizing apparatuses into the fabric of a post-Coal world paralleled the development of many of the town's members into prominent members that would shape the region in the coming decades. The town changed immeasurably in this era, a spatial movement akin to a migration: of identity, of function, and of power.

As mentioned earlier in the chapter, J.H. Wettstine's letter to a fellow coal company operator avowed the company's opposition to the political prowess of the radicals of the village served to upset them from their aspirations to "strengthen their position as the dominant labor leaders". In this assessment Wettstine misses the point. Because he viewed power in the region from an anachronistic industrialist perspective he could only perceive of the opposing forces in the region being that of capital and labor. In truth, the village radicals' political aspirations went far further. If it was not clear before, by mid-century the Italian community on the periphery of the former company town had claimed this space as coextensive with the very center of their community. The yearly procession of their patron saint had circumambulated the formerly-Fordist space perhaps for half a century already, dollar bills pinned to his robe, marking it as its spiritual, but more importantly, political kingdom.

By mid-century King Coal had abandoned the region leaving behind a landscape left in tatters. When these outsiders picked up and left the land, they

“abandoned their collieries and leased or sold their lands to the industry’s scavengers: surface strippers and small time operators” (Miller and Sharpless 1998:321). The company town is a Fordist factory without a roof, but a misuse of dialectical history yields only the misunderstanding that coal is the primary product produced here. The dwellings of miners line the coal pits like the batteries of a machine, but it is humans that are produced first here, not factory products. In effect, the capacity of miners to return each day to the mines despite the traumatic lack of investment in their welfare is the primary source of profit for capitalists in such an environment. In fact, the survival of miners is not only the requisite to the production of surplus value in coal extraction, but it is the main product of the social reproduction engendered by the spatial configurations of the company town. Emptied of the productive mandate of its Fordist spatiality, however, the town suddenly embodied nothing other than its surplus value: *enjoyment or at least the means to freedom from pain.*

Slavoj Žižek suggests that the fundamental difference between a Marxist and a Lacanian/ Hegelian dialectics parallels the distinction between Marxian and Freudian notions of fetishism: “...in Marxism a fetish conceals the positive network of social relations, whereas in Freud a fetish conceals the lack (‘castration’) around which the symbolic network is articulated” (Žižek 1989: 50). In the latter mode, surplus value is understood as more than simply a value captured at the end of the process but fundamental to defining the process. We can always define the Real as that which “always returns to the same place” when all is said and done (Žižek 1989:50). When the company town is no longer

a company town, what reality is left, and what reality is returned to again and again? The next chapter seeks to answer these questions.

Chapter 7

The Destructive Character: Renewal and Memory

The destructive character knows only one watchword: make room. And only one activity: clearing away. His need for fresh air and open space is stronger than any hatred.

The destructive character is young and cheerful. For destroying rejuvenates, because it clears away the traces of our own age; it cheers, because everything cleared away means to the destroyer a complete reduction, indeed a rooting out, out of his own condition.

...

The destructive character sees no image hovering before him. He has few needs, and the least of them is to know what will replace what has been destroyed. First of all, for a moment at least, empty space – the place where the thing stood or the victim lived. Someone is sure to be found who needs this space without occupying it.

...

Because he sees ways everywhere, he always stands at a crossroads. No moment can know what the next will bring. What exists he reduces to rubble – not for the sake of rubble, but for that of the way leading through it.

Walter Benjamin, "The Destructive Character" (1978 [1931]:301-303)

"No municipality can ever be more effective than its utility system"
[Kendree and Shepherd 1967a: 4-5].

The Destructive Character

The textual fragment from Walter Benjamin selectively quoted above deals with the contradictory character of destruction. Destruction is demonstrated here as capable of making ruinous but also for "mak[ing] room". Destruction has a "need for fresh air and open space...stronger than any hatred". Benjamin is classically ambiguous here. In fact, there is dispute as to whether Benjamin intended the piece to be ironically autobiographical or as a reflection upon a

banker friend by the name of Gustav Gluck (Benjamin 2003:441; Demetz 1978:xv). In any case the difference between the spirit of literal and literary deconstruction are irrelevant to this textual fragment that engages insightfully with spatial metaphors: open space, fresh air, the place where the thing stood or the victim lived, rubble, the crossroads. Destruction here does not have a creative, but a revolutionary character: as that which pushes things into a new direction. There can be no better description for the direction urban renewal took in the city of Hazleton beginning in the late 1960s. In the name of “fresh space” and “open space”, almost 200 buildings from the city’s past were demolished with little put up in their stead. A perhaps more controlled redevelopment took place in the township surrounding the city where patch towns such as Lattimer and Pardeesville were recapitalized into suburban spaces, residential areas drawing commerce, energy, and focus away from the urban core.

This chapter begins with a description of archaeological evidence for the spatial atomization of the shanty community at Pardeesville in the years after the 1930s. The middle portion of the chapter examines two planning documents that charted the broad economic and political direction of the landscape of the town in consonance with broader redevelopment plans. Reflecting the directions and mandates of the Housing Act of 1954, the direction of the town’s redevelopment is situated amongst similar developments occurring in cities throughout the country. In the particular case of Pardeesville, the destruction of downtown Hazleton by the Redevelopment Authority serves as a backdrop to these changes. These telling documents reflect the penetration of financial logic into

the most intimate of places. The section that follows reflects upon the refraction and redirection of new ideologies of spatial, political and social economy as they are mapped onto the material world of residents in Pardeesville in the years after the divestment. Throughout these developments a remarkable consonance is struck between actors at various scales of government, academia, business and community, each of whom operate within the principles of entrepreneurial spirit. Together they rework the landscape of the town. As we are warned by Benjamin, the “destructive character” operates in many forms: “Not always by brute force; *sometimes by the most refined*” (Benjamin 1978: 303).

The last chapter presented the strategies of community survival as the positive condition of its existence; positive in the sense that it filled a gap that would remain forever open. Residents occupied a marginal existence that could only be filled with a moving center. This short-lived worker’s utopia provides an example, to a certain extent, of unalienated collective action flourishing in the lacunae between divestment and inevitable recapitalization. As suggested by David Graeber (2004) and James Scott (2013), the principles of anarchistic collective self-organization exist within the realm of everyday action. When the structuring agents of central planning are absent, principles of radical democracy can be the natural direction of self-government at local levels.

However, an intellectual mistake would be made to assume that the exit of the coal industry meant the eternal withdrawal of capital accumulation from the spatiality of the town. In fact, the ferment of a brief hiatus is the very foundation

necessary to “reestablish the basis for renewed accumulation” (Harvey 1985: 116). Žižek (1989: 53-54) suggests that:

The ‘normal’ state of capitalism is the permanent revolutionizing of its own conditions of existence: from the very beginning capitalism ‘putrefies’, it is branded by a crippling contradiction, discord, by an imminent want of balance: this is exactly why it changes, develops incessantly... Herein lies the paradox proper to capitalism, its last resort: ...the more its immanent contradiction is aggravated, the more it must revolutionize itself to survive.

In fact, as the normal state of capitalism is that of crisis, the withdrawal of Fordist spatial regimes in the town paved the way for new forms of recapitalization. These changes came along with the dawning of a new national economic order variously described as flexible accumulation, post-Fordism or neoliberalism (Binkley 2009; Harvey 1990, 2005, Read 2009, Rose 1998, Rose and Miller 1992).

The Archaeology of Community Change

The shifting archaeological signatures of the houses in Pardeesville, reflecting both razing and preservation reveal the process of community atomization throughout the twentieth century. Spatial alterations such as differentiation, renovation, expansion, reconstruction, and razing, as well as patterned population migration materialize these changes. Along Church Street in Pardeesville, where much of the microscale information contributing to this dissertation originates, archaeological research was only made possible with the end of domestic occupation and the razing of structures. In effect, the destruction of the built environment *produced the conditions* for the archaeological site to exist in the first place, leaving an empty, unoccupied, open grassy lot at the center of the former shanty enclave. The destructive factors making

archaeological research possible are traditionally classified as post-depositional or taphonomic factors. As the razing of the structure completes as much as carries on the trajectory of the material history described in the previous chapters, it is as much an instance of historical rupture as continuity. The archaeological process, itself an act of destruction, is but one step closer to an actual terminal point.

Archaeology and real estate maps disclose a patterned change in the material landscape within the shanty enclave beginning with the company divestment in the late 1930s. As discussed in Chapter Four, the first structure in this area is a long barracks-like building present by 1885. Alterations to the first half of the twentieth century reveal cumulative additions to the structure made by residents to accommodate boarders and expanding families. These changes also indicate the differentiation of space in response to changing settlement patterns and sensibilities of space and privacy. A map from the 1940s reveals a literal rupture in the pattern of cumulative growth in the form of a narrow (≈ 3.0 ft) alleyway separating the two households, remembered by occupants of the house in the 1940s. A second later map indicates that the real estate company began to selectively demolish houses in the shantytown, reducing the housing density to restructure the spaces in conformity to modern norms of privacy and space. The map shows the eastern-most unit of the structure penciled in with “to be razed”. Likewise, the pattern of selective removal is pursued along all the domiciles fronting Church Street (Figure 7-1).

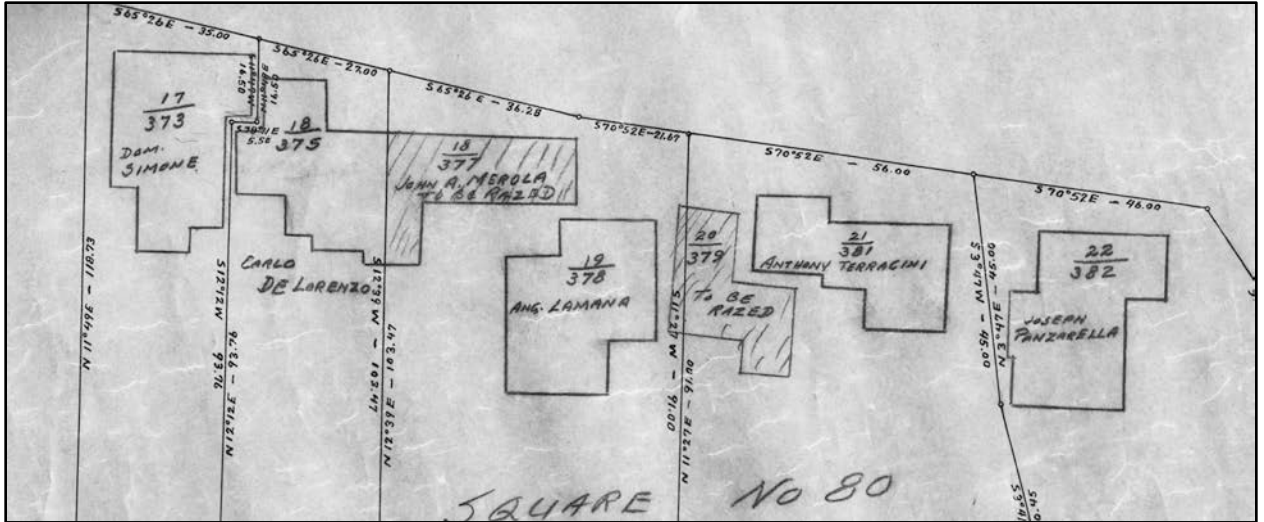


Figure 7-1. Real estate map of Church Street in Pardeesville from the 1940s showing every other house labelled "to be razed"

Test units (TUs' 9, 10, 11, 12) investigating the narrow passageway between buildings, however, failed to turn up any subsurface indications of the passage. Instead, a (2 ft thick) stone foundation wall (**Feature 8**) was uncovered along the eastern wall of the Simone/Dibiasi residence. To the west of **Feature 8**, remnants of the 1885 brick foundation in the form of **Feature 17** were identified, interrupted at less than a perpendicular angle where it was cut off by the construction of the stone wall (Figure 7-2). The angle of this masonry conforms to the outline of the 1885 building. Where the alleyway should have been, excavations uncovered a concrete cellar (**Feature 14**) packed with architectural and domestic debris ranging in date from the turn of the century to the 1960s.

I believe that the cellar represents yet another phase of the building's construction that saw the consolidation of the once thrice-divided barracks into a single family home. Residents accomplished this by demolishing and replacing the two eastern-most units with a cellared extension.



Figure 7-2. Image from 2013 Excavations showing (top) Features 17 [brick foundation] intersecting with Feature 8 [stone foundation wall] and (bottom) Feature 14 (cellar hole).

As discussed in Chapter 4, in contrast to the rigidly enforced homogeneity enforced upon company double houses, shanty occupants were free to alter site plans in response to changing needs and sensibilities. Architectural features identified in the excavations viewed in combination with company

and real estate maps and aerial photography from

between 1878 and the present depict a radically shifting spatial patterning in the shanty enclave in Pardeesville. The resulting changes reflect a movement over the course of about sixty years of increasingly atomized spaces and expanding house sizes within the densely populated boundaries of the shanty town. Maps of each year are identically scaled in the following figure. It can be clearly seen that house sizes expand considerably after 1940 as do the spaces between them (Figure 7-3).

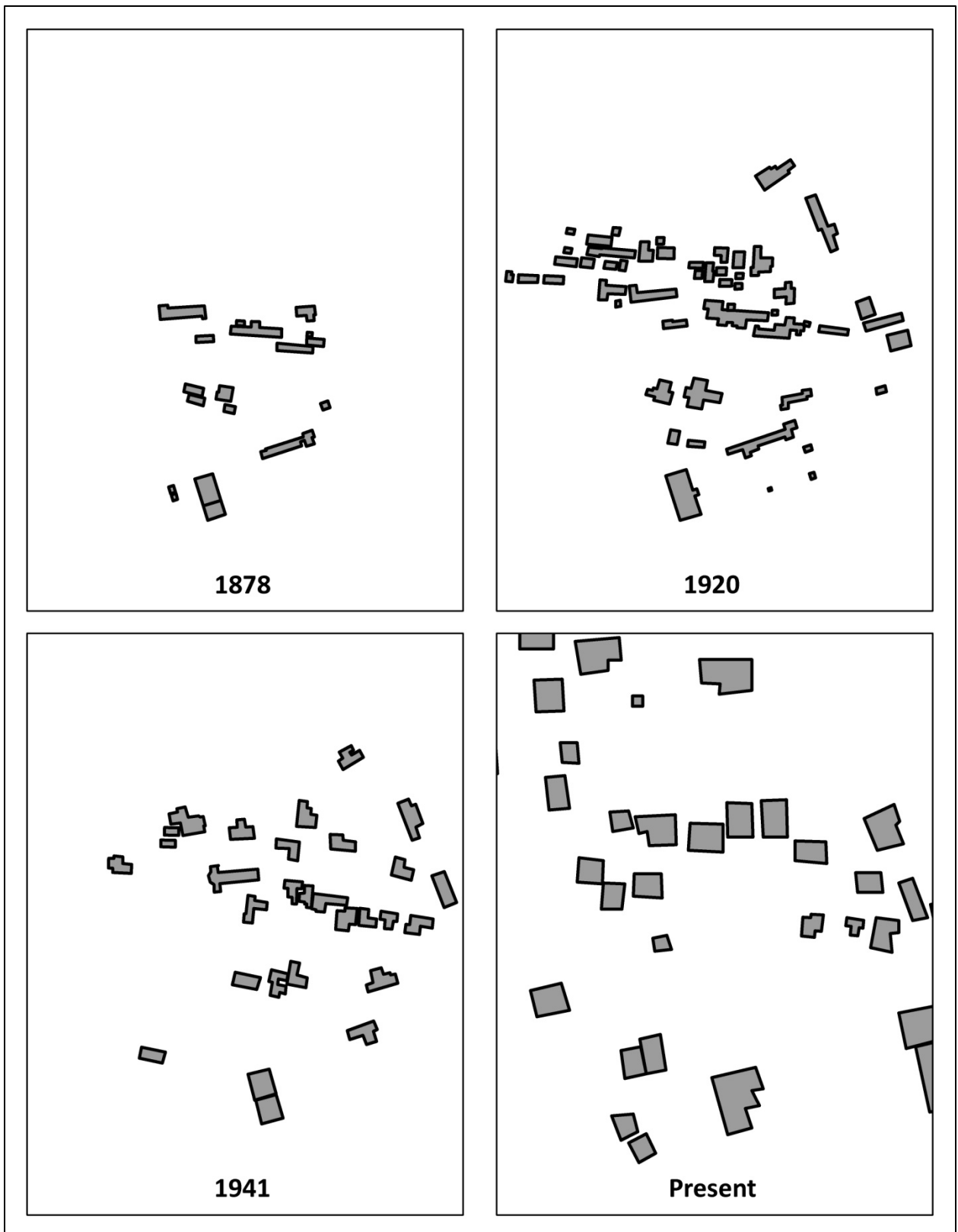


Figure 7-3. House plans of the domiciles around Church Street redrawn from various real estate and company maps and aerial photography showing decreasing population density and larger house footprints. (Note: maps are rendered in the same scale) [graphic by Adrienne Allegretti]

The most radical changes to the company town landscape came in the period after the Second World War when renters were given the chance to purchase former company-owned lots and a new development of properties was developed by Hazle Realty Company along the new access road into town. Many residents who chose not to purchase lots in town purchased along the street above town, as did younger generations who moved up the hill to start their own families. An aerial photograph from 1959 depicts about thirteen such dwellings. By 1969 about twenty-five are visible. Data of family migration reconstructed from census info and real estate maps dating to the 1960s is superimposed over aerial

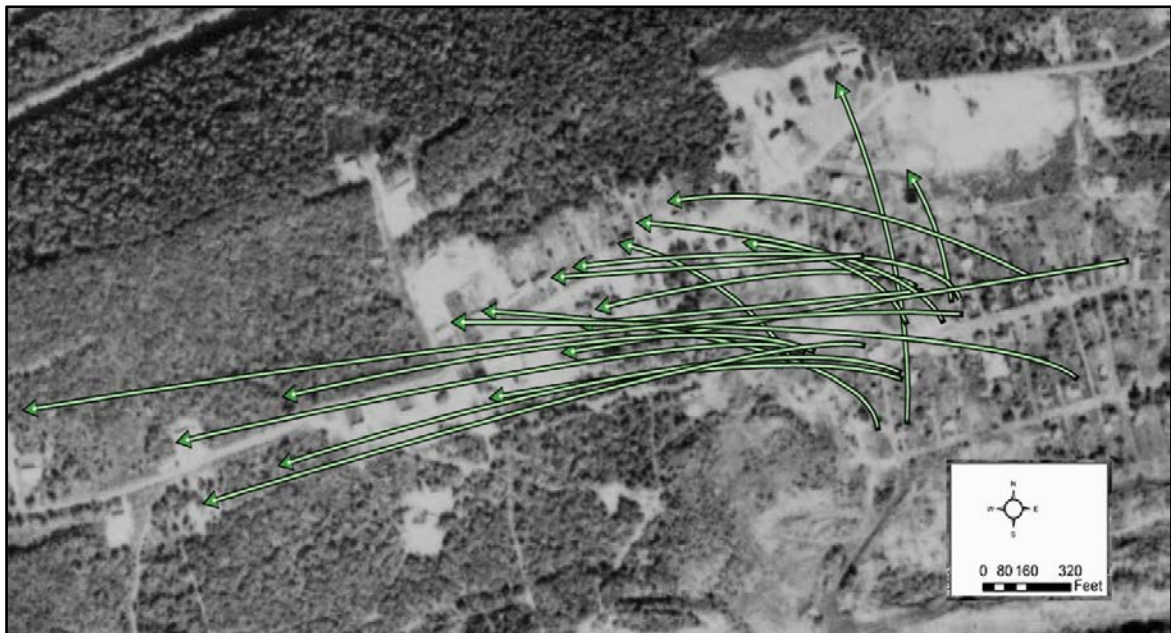


Figure 7-4. Graphic depiction of family movement from company town spaces to new development along the new Pardeesville access road reconstructed from census and real estate maps. The basemap is a 1969 aerial photograph.

photography from 1969. It shows the approximate movement of household members at the time, generally from the western portion of town (Figure 7-4). Local informants report at this time that garden soils were often excavated and replanted in behind and around houses on the larger lots on the hill. A resident of the town reported:

I have some [soil] here from my mother's. They lived down by the strippings. There was an old house there. They took the topsoil and I got the one below that. A lot of them, they took the topsoil wherever they could get it. From the old houses they dismantled and nobody bought the property and the topsoil was there and they took it.... [DM, Interview 13 November 2013]

In some cases shanties were deconstructed and their materials stored or integrated into outbuildings or other structures. In comparison to the ageing houses in the shanty enclave and elsewhere in the town, the houses on the hill resemble typical low-density suburban housing with carefully maintained lawns.

The landscapes that developed in Pardeesville by the late 1960s do not merely reflect the choices of residents alone. Governmental and capital forces at many scales also considered ways to radically remake the space of the company town and its surroundings. If resident's motivations reflect a continuation of previous efforts to better their lives, capital and government channeled these labors into ways to recapitalize the industrial landscape for profit, taxation and a revitalization of the labor market. In the next section, analysis of a redevelopment planning document from Hazle Township, a prototypical artifact of late modernity, reveals a systematic governmental and capital effort to transform the material and social landscape. The changing landscape can be understood to reflect more than simply the dialectical synthesis of these two forces, but a convergence of mentalities, governmental, capitalist and subjective. In essence, it reflects a growing consonance between resident's increasingly governmentalized aspirations, the direction of planners, and those looking to capitalize on the real estate of the town.

Urban Renewal

In July of 1973 the Hazleton Standard Speaker published a photo of the southern portion of downtown Hazleton showing tall weeds growing on the empty lots where buildings once stood. Beginning in 1968 the city of Hazleton used grants provided by the federal government through the Housing Act of 1954 to establish a redevelopment authority and to remake the failing city. The demolition focused upon the area known as “Downtown South”, approximately 16 square city blocks. Of a total of 225 buildings in the area, 198 were demolished. Of these 122 were residential structures, many of which displaced occupants. Through the power of the redevelopment authority the city used eminent domain to seize

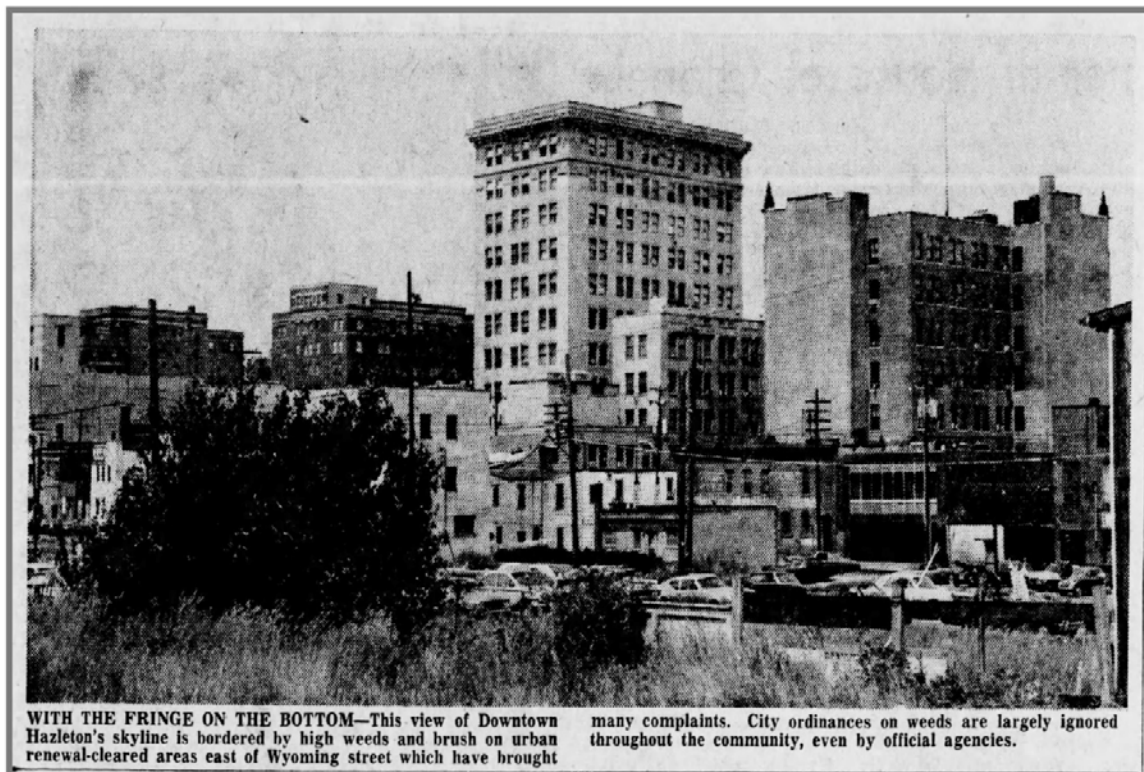


Figure 7-5. Image from the Standard Speaker (1973: 15) showing weeds growing in the empty lots of downtown Hazleton after urban renewal.

properties, providing minimal reimbursement to landowners. Local landowners took the Hazleton Redevelopment Authority to court time and again for reimbursing owners mere fractions of the land's purported worth (Tarone 2004:129-132). When the dust settled, many historic buildings were demolished with little left in their place. A recitation of Benjamin's brief meditation on "the Destructive Character" is instructive here, as there can be no better description of the working through of renewal processes:

The destructive character knows only one watchword: make room. And only one activity: clearing away. His need for fresh air and open space is stronger than any hatred. [Benjamin 1978 (1931):301-303]

In time some reconstruction occurred in the southern half of Hazleton but for many residents the destruction of the city that commenced in the 1960s and continued into the early-1980s remains a traumatic issue for elder residents. Joe Michel, a project collaborator and former city engineer, until recently maintained a collection of bricks as a memorial to each of the prominent buildings he witnessed the destruction of in his time including many theaters, hotels and the Hazleton train station. An in depth accounting and study of the motivations and strategies of the individuals and agencies behind the destruction of the town has yet to be conducted (Tarone 2004:131). Outside of the possibility that funds to demolish buildings were secured simply because they offered an injection of outside capital to an economy desperately in need, the most generous interpretation is the one Benjamin describes for the destructive impulse: "He has few needs, and the least of them is to know what will replace what has been destroyed ... Someone is sure to be found who needs this space without occupying it" (Benjamin 1978 [1931]:301-303). Likely, it was far easier to destroy

the past than to come up with a vision or an investment in the future, and so the process halted halfway through.

The *Standard Speaker* was often an ardent critic of the failures of redevelopment efforts. Ironically, in the photo caption above they defer critique of the demolitions. Instead they comment on the hypocrisy of city officials in their failure to obey their own anti-weed ordinances. In view of the history recounted below, this is not a surprise. In fact, throughout the destructive period of redevelopment in the region the most visible manifestations of poverty and economic failure embedded in material landscapes: weeds, garbage, junked cars and architecture, served as code words and justificatory stand-ins used by government, business and community members to transform place and atomize communities.

The Urban Renewal movement originated in the Progressive and New Deal politics of the 1930s. By the end of the Second World War, state coffers were flush with the post-War economy. Fordist industry demanded certain levels of efficiency and dependability to maintain profitability. Even with the economy in full swing, capital remained poorly distributed among sectors of the workforce not protected by labor unionism. In the post-War period the state was called upon to provide for the redistribution of capital on behalf of the national economy through investments in infrastructure, transportation, social wages, and housing (Harvey 1990:133-135). Urban redevelopment was one such deployment. Initially, its focus was the reshaping of American cities through “slum clearance” and other efforts to transform residential city life. The Housing Act of 1949 stimulated the

spread of redevelopment to many cities by providing federal funding for the acquisition and demolition of buildings declared as slums and for funds to provide the displaced with low income housing (Self 2004:142-143; Fairbanks 2012, 2014). The passing of the Housing Act of 1954 by a conservative Congress, however, provided a new emphasis on economic renewal. Providing for greater collaboration between government and business, the act essentially allowed federal funds to finance local efforts to do practically anything they wanted in the way of redevelopment. In essence, what began as an effort to provide low income housing to the most vulnerable became “a program to rebuild downtown” led by the business community (Self 2004:143; Fairbanks 2014:5).

Informed by social science, namely the “culture of poverty” school of cultural anthropology, the directives of the 1954 Act guided local redevelopment authorities to target the broader social contexts of “blight”. As a comprehensive plan it sought to administer to what it considered sustainable improvements in social and economic growth as opposed to the “piecemeal thrusts” of earlier generations of urban redevelopment (Fairbanks 2012:1). A document prepared by an advisory council to the President comprised of business leaders and social progressives suggests that rather than simply demolishing slums, renewal should be aimed broadly, encouraging “a standard of decency and order which will support the self respect of people, adequately serve family life, and prevent physical surroundings which are unsafe or unhealthful or destroy community and citizen morale” (Presidents Advisory Committee on Government Housing Policies and Programs 1953:134). A 1961 amendment increased the share of

federal funding offered to municipalities with less than 50,000 people. As a result small municipalities such as Hazleton and surrounding Hazle Township were given incentives to take part in the national program (Fisfis and Greenberg 1962:61).

Hazle Township's redevelopment efforts began in earnest in the late 1960s. *The Hazle Township Comprehensive Plan*, funded through an urban planning grant from the Department of Housing and Urban Development under the provisions of Section 701 of the Housing Act of 1954, was prepared by Kendree and Shepherd Planning Consultants of Philadelphia. It is divided into three sections, a Development Conditions Study (1967a), a Development Proposal (1967b), and a Comprehensive Plan (1967c). Embedded in the reports are detailed plans for recapitalizing upon the catastrophic material, social and economic life of the anthracite region. Read "along the archival grain" (Stoler 2002:157; 2009), such documents of failed imaginings, of "unrealized plans... short-lived experiments, and... failed projects" provide a rich ethnographic source to view the workings of political economy. This is equally the case for another supplemental source referenced in the text, an essay entitled "Tourism for the Anthracite Region - An Alternative for Unemployment" (1961) by economic geographers George Deasy and Phyllis R. Griess. This source, discussed at the end of this section, provides the planners with an academically approved mandate to "Disnify" whatever will remain of the region's history the development cannot absorb. There is no greater utopian vision for the region than the one described here as an effort, perhaps the only one possible, to reimagine a

wholeness to the region after the mining industry collapsed. The tourist industry imagined by Deasy and Griess provides the only plan that even integrates fully the ruined landscape for which no one can remember what came before such that the denuded hills and mineral-laced streams are considered the “natural environment” for all (Goin and Raymond 2001).

The report describes in depth the material manifestations of blight the planners perceive as barriers to redeveloping the region’s economy, either as residential landscapes for white-collar labor and as an expanded tax base. Many of the material aspects of community economic support described in the last chapter are coded and targeted: the banking of investment in salvaged or curated materials, gardens, informal and communal spaces for socializing, community economy, and the particular forms of spatial intimacy unique to many of the communities. In return, they offer only superficial solutions in the form of zoning ordinances and enforcement, tax reform, and residential growth.

The first volume of the *Hazle Township Comprehensive Plan* provides detailed data regarding the demographic and economic context of the region framed by statistics from Hazle township and surrounding Luzerne County. The collapse of the coal industry and ensuing unemployment, as high as 17 percent in Luzerne County in 1958, is listed as a matter of grave concern (Kendree and Shepherd 1967a). Other issues addressed include the outmigration of youth from the region and the consequent increase in the average age of the existing population. A detailed analysis of the employment conditions in the region presents a peculiar picture. The region experienced an overall increase from 8.6

to 12.8 percent unemployment between 1950 and 1960. On the one hand, positive economic indicators such as increased family income, bank deposits, retail sales and personal service establishments suggest a marginally favorable economic picture for families between 1950 and 1960 (1967a:1-11 - 1-15). During the same period, increases in employment in the manufacture of durable goods amounting to 6 percent are offset by an 18 percent decrease in employment in the mining industry (1967a:1-10). The most significant increase in employment in the region between 1950 and 1960 however comes in the category of “other or unreported” exhibiting an increase from 1 to 11 percent (1967a:1-10). This anomalous category likely reflects the replacement of steady employment in mining work with unconventional and temporary work situations.

A list of employing industries based in the township at the time reveals a tragedy in hindsight. Of the 13 companies employing a total of 718 employees, the largest, at 373 workers or 52 percent, are employed by the Beryllium Corp. The company moved into the region from New Jersey in 1957 to produce beryllium-based products for military contracts that use the unique qualities of the element for atomic weapons and aircraft and satellite components (Roe 2012). Reflecting a new order in globalized extractive industries, Beryllium was mined in Africa and India and imported to the region for processing (Frassinelli 1999). With unemployment rates soaring to almost 25 percent at the time, local leaders and aspiring workers hailed the plant as a boon to local economy, bringing Hazleton into “the atomic age” (Roe 2012). Despite assurances that the plant would be safely maintained, government reports suggest that dust counts were as high as

330 times the safe limits. Beryllium dust at even low levels can cause a chronic life-threatening disease called berylliosis, similar to the black lung disease affecting miners (Zagofsky 2012). Because many employees were formerly employed in mines, the lung ailments they suffered were frequently interpreted by both sufferers and the medical community as attributable to their former work environments instead of the unsafe conditions of the plant. Some sources suggest that by 1995 over 90 deaths in the Hazleton area could be attributed to the disease and hundreds more are still at risk (Isaac 1995; Roe 2012; Zagorsky 2012).

The assessment and recommendations of the region produced in the report reflect the planner's belief that the region should be developed into a tax-producing suburb for Hazleton. The authors suggest that because the recent "influx of suburban housing has" already "created additional demands" on the township the township's future role "will be to provide suburban housing" (Kendree and Shepherd 1967a:3-14). Presumably, the tautological implications of this assessment are that the infrastructural demands of suburban development will require additional taxable income from home ownership to meet this burden. For this reason, the blighted domestic landscape is described as "the greatest drawback to industrial development" in the region (1967a: 1-6). The report reflects the notion characteristic of urban redevelopment that a blighted built environment is the *cause* of social deterioration rather than a *reflection* of it. This approach represents a step both forward and backward from the approach to shanty architecture espoused in the 1898 *Century* article discussed in Chapter 4.

Housing in the region is shown to be considerably older than the State average of 64%, with 90% of the region's houses built before the Second World War (1967a:1-7). In the township a total of 9% of dwellings are considered "deteriorating" and 4 percent given the elevated condition of "dilapidated" (1967a:3-14).

Particularities of each patch town in the township are addressed, including redevelopment potential and barriers. A total of 90 dwelling units with a total population of 300 individuals are listed for Pardeesville. Lattimer is listed as exhibiting 170 dwelling units with an estimated population of 580 (1967: 2-4).

Pardeesville is described thusly:

This is the northernmost area of Hazle Township. Access to US, Route 309 is provided by the Pardeesville Road. The village is service by an upper and lower road and several unpaved alleys. The predominant building in the village is St. Nazarius Roman Catholic Church, which is located on a hillside overlooking the Butler Valley. An outdoor chapel is located in a small grove which provides an attractive vantage point. There is no industry in the village except for a small coal stripping operation in the eastern section. Pardeesville has a small post office which also includes living quarters and a small store. Food purchases can be made from a converted bus which visits Pardeesville from Lattimer. Public transportation is available. The village is made up primarily of single-family detached houses with a few twin houses. Approximately 20 percent of the housing is in need of major maintenance. The biggest problem facing the community is the storage of trash and junk within the village. This problem is particularly apparent along the lower road, where there are several abandoned vehicles and other trash. Water is provided by local wells, with a water storage tank near the church. There is an abandoned, dilapidated school in the village. [Kendree and Shepherd 1967a:3-1]

A second paragraph addresses development potential around the town:

To the east there is a small development which could be called East Pardeesville. It has approximately 5 homes. However, the most significant development has occurred in the western section along the Pardeesville Road. Here there are about 15 new homes. There is no other section of the Pardeesville area which is accessible. The area to the east and west is composed of small pine trees primarily. It has not been stripped. By and

large the area has an attractive location, with the exception of the village itself, which faces south towards Lattimer over several miles of abandoned strippings. [1967a:3-2]

Of the sixteen towns listed in the report, Pardeesville is reported as having the largest percentage of blighted dwelling units at 23 percent among an average of 6.6 percent for the region.

Nine material factors of environmental sanitation are given as targets including: Housing Conditions, Sewage and Storm Water Disposal, Water Supply, Rubbish Storage, Rubbish Collection and Disposal, Weed Growth, Air Pollution, Retail Food Handling, and Attractive Nuisance and Fire Hazards (Kendree and Shepherd 1967a:3-18 - 3-21). To produce the economic conditions favorable to redevelopment as a tax-producing suburban community the report suggests that efforts must be made to stimulate new home ownership and reconstruction specifically tied to “modern single-family” use. For this reason “stagnation”, closely tied to blighted conditions, are assessed in the “value of homes for modern use”, either in the anachronistic construction or condition of buildings, the extended occupation of residents, and the number of facilities such as bathrooms and bedrooms (Kendree and Shepherd 1967a:3-15 – 3-17). Statistics indicate that over 40% of occupants had moved into their current residences in 1939 or earlier with 78 percent owner occupation (1967a:3-14, 3-17). A total of 62 percent of these dwellings are listed within the lowest market value of less than \$5,000 (1967a:3-17). Overall, the predominance in the region of owner occupied low-cost housing presented a major barrier to stimulating demand for new housing units. The authors conclude, “It is in these areas that demand must be stimulated” (1967a:3-17).

The problem of sewage disposal touches upon the factor of primitive systems of disposal that run into ground surfaces and local streams such as the wildcat sewers installed by residents in many villages. By 1965 many of the towns had been hooked up to the Hazleton City Water Authority with the exception of Pardeesville and three other small villages. The report warns that the outdated local systems of water delivery such as the water tank maintained by the Pardeesville Water Company create “a potential public health problem” in their lack of maintenance, water quality and chlorination (1967a:3-19). The problems of rubbish and rubbish collection and disposal target the tendency of inhabitants to either dump refuse in open spaces or to collect items such as aging equipment and automobiles on property. The report notes that:

Open burning is generally conducted on the lot. Often cardboard cartons, 55 gallon drums or even no containers at all are used for storage. Such sources are excellent breeding grounds for insects and rodents. In addition, discarded items are often maintained in old sheds and garages, contributing to the unsightly appearance of many rear yards. These are also an excellent attraction for rodents [1967a:3-19].

The report notes that at the time of writing there was no organized rubbish collection in the area. As a result residents dumped refuse in open areas, strippings or at several local dumps.

The problem of weed growth is cited as an issue around abandoned buildings and junkyards. Weed growth “presents a pollen problem for persons afflicted with certain allergies” as well as serving as a breeding ground for insects through the collection of rainwater (Kendree and Shepherd 1967a:3-20). Retail food handling in the regions many informal and part-time establishments, often ethnic, neighborhood-based grocery stores, is cited as representing a potential

health hazard in the potential to spread communicable diseases. The authors recommend a minimum standard of public health standards be enforced.

The problem of “Attractive Nuisance and Fire Hazards” addresses the many ruined or abandoned dwellings, industrial structures, culm banks, strippings and unregulated junkyards throughout the region. The issue is listed as “extremely severe” (Kendree and Shepherd 1967a:3-20). All these landscape features are described as unsightly, or as dangers to the unwary, namely children in the way of enticements risking collapse or fire. Applying a disease metaphor often associated with blight, the report suggests that these material factors multiply upon each other: “Any deteriorated conditions, in fact, encourage others to develop. In this way the problem gradually becomes more severe when no steps are taken” (1967a:3-21).

Another local condition associated as a barrier to redevelopment but not listed among the numbered items under the subheading of “Environmental Sanitation” is the regional tendency to look upon the neighborhood as the basis of community, a condition that presents itself as a “problem of local identity” for local government. The authors of the report suggest that without a “closer relationship between the government structure and residents.... it will be difficult to justify the underlying reasons for the comprehensive plan” (Kendree and Shepherd 1967a:5-2). In their suggestion that addressing the housing problems of the township may eventually “threaten the existence of the neighborhoods,” the writers recognize the relationship between the built physical environment of the patch towns and the solidarity of local communities (1967a:3-18). They

suggest that neighborhoods must be considered in the development of the region, either by strengthening their capacity to provide services or by their integration “into a larger community”. In effect, the report suggests deterritorialization.

A number of solutions to these material conditions are given, mainly in the order of governmental controls and the means to their enforcement (1967a:5-5 - 5-6). They also cite the need for a development program to encourage the growth in the highly-skilled or white collar employment sectors, mainly in an effort to stem the outmigration of younger generations from the region (1967a:5-1 – 5-2). Again, a tautological relationship is proposed that depends upon the production of taxes and other revenues to fund the apparatuses of administration, maintenance and enforcement in the township. The report cites the stagnant per capita revenue generated from real estate and other taxes, subventions, licenses and other permits throughout the period between 1960 and 1965 (1967a:4-10 – 4-12, 5-5).

A comprehensive development plan including building, sanitation and health controls and ordinances and strictly enforced zoning laws are proposed to meet certain future goals (Kendree and Shepherd 1967b:1-3 – 1-4). Mainly, the redevelopment plan proposes to recreate the township along a variety of uses, industrial, recreational and residential. Primarily, however, the report proposes the township develop as much low-density single-family residential housing (1967b:1-3).

By the 1960s the once bustling commercial center of Hazleton city centered around Broad and Wyoming Streets were already largely deserted of businesses. In time, the emptied husks of commercial buildings downtown would in turn be demolished, often by municipal condemnation, from urban redevelopment (Tarone 2004:127-169). The Hazle Township Redevelopment plan proposed profiting, if not hastening, this exodus and deterioration of commercial activity by concentrating retail businesses in shopping centers on the periphery of the city. "Zoning, building and health controls" laws would be developed to encourage "coordinated... groupings of commercial activities" accessible mainly to automobile traffic (Kendree and Shepherd 1967b:1-4, 2-4 – 2-5; 1967c: 1-2,). Four major areas are proposed as major shopping centers or malls. The largest of these areas, "expected... to become in the future a large regional center representing a relocation of Hazleton core to the east." (1967b:2-4) The Laurel Mall, developed in 1972, realized these plans and continues today to offer the city its largest concentration of national-brand retail. The demise of urban commercial retail in Hazleton and the deterritorializing of its role as a hub of community social life followed trends occurring in American cities across the nation throughout the first two decades of the post-War era (Cohen 1996, 2003; Hanchett 1996; Jackson 1996). As Lizbeth Cohen reports (2003:257), suburban retail would outstrip that of urban trade in this period making up almost 60 percent by 1961, up from 4 percent in 1939. When read in combination with the section on plastic developed in Chapter 5, the dependence and encouragement of these new retail centers on automobile culture cemented the parameters of a

new spatial, material and economic world based upon petroleum (Rose 1983; Mrozowski 2014). As Rose (1981: 96) reminds us, for “a city and a way of life built during the heyday of coal and rail”, Hazleton’s only choice at this time was to “adapt to the new energy source or suffer... even more massive depopulation and social disintegration.”

The coal company towns and other traces of industrial order in the landscape are cited as areas of major concern encompassing issues of unsightly mine waste, population nucleation, expanses of underutilized open space and exaggerated stratification in salaries, housing, and commercial development (Kendree and Shepherd 1967a:5-2 – 5-4; 1967b:1-6). Specific changes to population density in and around patch towns require constructing high-value low-density housing in undeveloped areas at their periphery and altering preexisting high density areas within the towns into a “secondary core” (1967b:2-3). To accomplish the latter task it is proposed that selective older dwellings be demolished to make way for open space or multi-family structures and traditional double houses be converted to “single-family detached dwellings” (1967b:2-3, 2-10). Of the unsightly mining landscapes, their appearance is cited as an aesthetic discouragement to new settlement and the jagged and dramatic contouring and inadequate settling of soils making land unfit or unprofitable for new development. In response, the report offers the suggestion that these settings in fact be integrated into the development of suburban low-density housing in the form of landscaping:

...It is... possible to use low landscaped culm piles themselves as a means of providing privacy in screening the view of other homes. In those

areas where water has filled a stripping hole, homes can actually be placed around this site, thus with proper landscaping providing an attractive view. Since much of this land was virtually flat before mining operations began, the strippings may actually lend a distinct character to the site by providing a variety of contours. The obvious advantage of using strippings for this purpose is the low cost of the land which will provide the developer a means of assuring his profit percentage while actually spending more per lot on site improvements. (1967b:5-4 - 5-5)

Other nuisances cited include the many dumps, auto junkyards and deteriorating buildings (1967b:1-6-1-7). The report suggest that building controls such as ordinances and other forms of enforcement should be applied so that unsightly and/or abandoned buildings are promptly demolished and existing businesses be screened to "reduce the visual impact of... use" (1967b:5-10).

Of the social problem of transferring community identity to that of the township, the report suggests that broad social changes have already started this redirection:

Today the automobile and television have done much to change living habits. Commutation is relatively easy, and since coal mining is no longer as important to the local economy, there is little reason to continue to reside in the villages. In recent years, many persons who are moving into the new subdivisions do not have such ties. They tend to look more directly to the Township [1967b: 1-8].

The report suggests that the process of inserting township governance into local identity cannot be encouraged by granting new services given the constraints of funding and scale. However, they suggest, firstly, that the township grant citizens a degree of participation in governance in an advisory council. Secondly they suggest providing support for renewal at the village level, offering professional assistance "in planning improvements, elimination of eyesores, and assistance in the purchase of supplies for improvements." Such programs should be

encouraged because of the inducement of “increased market values” residents would receive in the form of personal real estate (1967b:1-9).

Pardeesville and Lattimer are targeted as a “secondary core” development area, with the open forested lands on their periphery to be developed for lower density high-value suburban development. A short description of the proposal for Pardeesville’s redevelopment reads as follows (1967b:2-11):

This coal village has been identified as one of the secondary core areas where redevelopment and renewal are slated. The existing village would be expanded to the east with improved roads. Spot clearance and rehabilitation would eliminate a number of blighting influences. A small neighborhood commercial facility would be established. The area to the south towards Lattimer would eventually become an industrial site. Low-density housing would prevail over most of the remaining sections in this planning area except for a residential development district east of the village.

Lattimer is given a similar plan:

This coal village is expected to be developed as a secondary core through the renewal of sections of it. The local street pattern would be improved and high-density development permitted. To complete the area to the west, suburban housing would be permitted. A small neighborhood commercial area would be encouraged. Low-density housing would occupy most of the remaining area.

In essence, the historic landscapes of the towns, once conducive to particular forms of socialization central to resisting the patronage of capital, are intended to be selectively improved to make way for a broader suburban context.

A list of procedural suggestions is offered in the final volume of the comprehensive plan entitled *Development Procedures* (Kendree and Shepherd 1967c). Besides the alterations to the material landscape offered in the previous sections, they include proposals such as the controlling haphazard commercial development along highways and in neighborhoods, unifying industrial development, controlling activities such as trucking and mining, improving local

roads, public transportation, water services and refuse disposal, establish recreational areas and expand community services (1967c:1-1 – 1-4). A section on enforcement controls proposes five forms of governmental control to the built and social environment. The first four involve enforcing standards over the built environment including “pre-development”, “use”, and “construction” controls. The second two controls, “condition” and “activity”, however, regard policing the social environment (1967c:2-1 – 2-1). Condition controls extend to the use of the built environment throughout its social use and are controlled through health, sanitation and housing ordinances. The report suggests that though difficult to enforce, condition controls are “probably the most important tool in enforcement” slyly suggesting that given its slipperiness in the realm of law, “Greater imagination in writing legislation and effective enforcement is the key to its effectiveness” (1967c:2-2). Condition controls are given in the form of negative freedoms such that they apply to the legally co-responsibility of a general social realm. As a result they are generalizable and susceptible to relative enforcement. Examples include “Freedom from hazards which may cause accidents; freedom from improper storage of rubbish and garbage, freedom from noxious weeds and objectionable plant growth” and “freedom from the depreciation of surrounding property” (1967c:2-12). Activity controls police the behavior of citizens to the extent to which a municipality can legally enforce. Both these controls are legally difficult to administer, but the report suggests that controls can be built into zoning so that behavior can be policed if it can be spatially designated into code.

An example is given of restrictions such as a curfew placed upon shared public places such as a park (1967c:2-15).

The report recognizes that many of the problems of the area can be linked to the coal industry, and therefore, “no real progress can be made without acceptance of this past in a manner which can be a part of the future development of the municipality” (1967b:1-4). One of the solutions to the region’s economic problems suggested by the authors of the *Comprehensive Plan* is the introduction of tourism to the region. For the purpose of providing a spectacle sufficient to attract tourists from the wealthier cities of the east it is proposed that little to nothing need or should be done to mitigate the ruinous landscape. In fact, it is suggested that

“...the emphasis must be on the starkness of the area. A site to be developed for this purpose should not be planted and emphasis must be placed on maintaining this visual impression of lifelessness. Sometimes the emphasis can stress vast expanses of dissimilar surfaces, such as the jumbled rock of a high wall of stripping counterbalanced with a smooth water surface of an inaccessible lake. The authors posit that tourism is the only practical solution to the failing local economy as it alone would not require the massive funds necessary to clean up the wasted and ruined landscape. Instead it would turn them, along with an anachronistic social life and infrastructure, into a productive spectacle.

The authors draw liberally from an essay by Penn State economic geographers George Deasy and Phyliss Griess (1961) who suggest that the spectacle of industrial ruin in the region, “is bizarre and grotesque, and to some visitors even repulsive, but it is nevertheless mesmeric in quality”. The authors suggest that the landscape represents “awe-inspiring...earth manipulation” of gigantic proportions for which “engineering feats such as the Suez and Panama Canals pale in comparison” (1961:3).

Deasy and Griess suggest moreover that the people of the region, in combination with the anachronistic social and built environment should be part of the preserved spectacle of the region. While the region is hardly “the most pleasant site in which to establish permanent residence... the aura of the past that permeates these towns can have a definitive appeal to the” tourist from modern suburbs who would recognize, “the tempo and atmosphere... reminiscent of a past generation” (1961:4). The authors cite things such as, “the occasional appearance of a horse-drawn peddler cart” or “neighborhood men in aprons gossiping in the yards” as offering the modern urban visitor “a page from his own life,” or “earlier years in a world that moved at a slower pace...” (1961:4-5). The retention of ethnic migrant cultures in the forms of food, dress and religious architecture are suggested to offer much to stimulate tourist trade. To ensure that such spectacles are maintained, they propose that “efforts should be made to preserve” some of, “the region’s urban centers in their present state” rather than “attempting to modernize them” (1961:5). Such deliberative preservation accompanied by the development of specialty food, dress and handicraft shops, “appropriate redecoration and landscaping...” along with “the deliberate use of more horse-drawn vehicles” are some of the steps that could be taken to “capitalize on the region’s distinctive... atmosphere” (1961: 7-8)

Deasy and Griess (1961:7-8) warn that there is much work to be done in the way of producing the infrastructure of travel, hospitality, and services necessary to support the needs of out-of-town guests. Potential tourist sites would require signage, facilities and showmanship. Advertising campaigns would

be needed to regiment the public's opinion of the region in the direction of curiosity and interest. Generally, they contend, tourism would require "major innovations in the mental orientation and attitudes of regional and community leaders, and significant changes in some of the physical attributes of the region." Despite these efforts, the authors suggest that the advantage of introducing tourism to the region as opposed to any alternative industry is that it alone would not require the herculean effort or investment capital needed to alter the ruined environment (Deasy and Griess 1961:3). In fact, the catastrophe of the coal industry and the anachronistic and isolated behavior of its residents, within appropriate constraints, would *be the putrefaction*, the very foundation necessary to "reestablish the basis for renewed accumulation" (Harvey 1985:116).

When the comprehensive plan addresses the economy of the region it shifts to the passive voice in suggesting that development pursue a plan that aligns with a perceived trend in "...increasing [the] number of highly skilled or white-collar jobs to attract and retain younger persons in the area." As for the ageing over-specialized workforce displaced from the mining industry they ambivalently suggest that is no longer, "...enough to simply provide work for the unemployed, but to start a development program *that is much more selective*" [emphasis added] (1967a:5-2). Though they do not state it, perhaps they imagine unemployed miners can supply the touristic spectacle of the picturesque "old men seated on benches in front of neighborhood stores" (Deasy and Griess 1961:5)?

These two documents, the *Hazle Township Comprehensive Plan* (1967) and “Tourism for the Anthracite Region” (1961) approach the economic and social conditions of the region from different angles, but with a similar goal, to recapitalize upon what remained of a region in major decline. The planners authoring the *Comprehensive Plan* responded through the mandates of governmentalization implied in the urban renewal movement. This future-oriented document, somehow simultaneously utopian and modest, entailed reorganizing the spatial context of capital accumulation. For Deasy and Griess, a shortsighted utopian plan integrated an awareness of the profitability potential in the social world of the anthracite region. In a sense, their plan was far less ambitious in that they propose only the replacement of one monolithic industry for another, tourism for coal, which would occupy the same sites and retain the same retarding and isolating factors. The development plan operated within the context of a nationalized deployment. More importantly, the parameters of the atomizing spatial, social and material world it encouraged was already deeply ingrained in the trajectories of a culture intractably connected to petroleum consumption, governmentalized planning, and flexible accumulation. Moreover, it was broadly consonant with new forms of subjectivation in circulation at the time.

Before the Law

In April of 1967 a resident of Hazle Township by the name of John Sacco petitioned township officials to take action to prevent neighbors from burning garbage next to his property and force them to remove an unsightly shanty (*Standard Speaker* [SS], 28 April 1967:2). Sacco, in essence, went *before the*

law. Sacco was reassured that proposed municipal nuisance ordinances would soon authorize the township to take action. In May, Sacco returned to the township's public meeting to request that the municipality use the nuisance ordinances to remove the shanty that was, in his opinion, both a "health hazard" and an "eyesore" (SS 31 May 1967:15). "I live in a residential area" he suggested, "why should he and his neighbors with well- maintained houses have to put up with an unsightly structure?" he asked. The official responded that Sacco's request was a private matter and not a public nuisance and that the petitioner was merely attempting to "get the township to solve private litigation". In response the petitioner requested that the solicitor differentiate, "between a public and private nuisance". The solicitor responded that "a public nuisance affects a substantial segment of the population." He cited the example of the mine fire burning beneath the surface of Pardeesville for nine years that had plagued residents with acrid smoke. Sacco retorted by bringing up the examples of a recent building in Hazleton city that had been demolished by the Hazleton Redevelopment Authority soon after it was pictured in the newspaper, declared as a community eyesore. (SS, 31 May 1967:15)

John Sacco was correct in recognizing that in citing their enforcement in the form of negative freedoms, condition controls unambiguously position well-defined legal rights of individuals over traditional or illegible communal values. This is the case particularly when these individual rights, to things such as privacy, profit or privilege, correspond to broader political or economic mandates. The fire that raged in the abandoned mines and coal seams below Pardeesville

over nine years between about 1960 and 1969, in fact, had much to do with Sacco's claim. Based upon claims that illegally dumped garbage had spontaneously combusted and started the fire, news and government documents used this example as a justification to enforce rubbish ordinances in the town and throughout the township (SS 10 March 1967, 27 April 1967, 31 May 1967, 9 February 1968, 24 January 1969). On the 28th of April 1967, soon after the publication of the comprehensive plan, the newspaper announced a township drive to eliminate nuisances



Figure 7-6. Image posted in the Standard Speaker describing the imminent enforcement of junk removal in Pardeesville (Standard Speaker, 5 May 1967: 6)

through the municipality. Planned areas of enforcement included the illegal dumping and burning of garbage and the parking of junked cars.

The crackdown on rubbish, reports the Standard Speaker, was prompted by a visit “of state mine officials who” while planning the fighting of the Pardeesville mine fire, “noted numerous piles of illegally dumped trash which they said posed a threat of future mine fires” (SS, 28 April 1967:2). A captioned photo in the Standard Speaker from the 5th of May, 1967 (Figure 7-6) depicted a

junkyard in Pardeesville, describing how the cars “have been tagged or their owners have been warned and the township supervisors say, that if these cars are not moved by Monday, the township will have them moved away at the owners [sic] expense” (SS, 5 May 1967:6).

In July of 1967 the township passed extensive nuisance and building ordinances and looked towards creating a police force to enforce its new laws (SS, 27 July 1967). The ordinances passed at this time included a law against the accumulation or dumping of garbage, the growth of weeds to a height of more than six inches, a law prohibiting “the carrying on of any offensive manufacture or business” and a justification for the township to remove “any nuisance or dangerous structure on public or private grounds after notice to the owner to do so”. The newspaper quoted the law as stating that “offensive manufacture or business” includes “any enterprise of business which constitutes a nuisance ‘or is detrimental to the safety, health and welfare of the community’” (SS, 27 July 1967:13). A promise was made to “vigorously enforce” the laws.

Outlined in the last chapter as reflecting a community ascendant as a political, cultural and economic force in the region, Pardeesville residents report the period after the war, and later, following the passing of ordinances, was also a transitional, and sometimes tumultuous, period for the community. The changing material landscape is both cause and effect of these changes, many of them positive, for the community:

DM: ...things did change slowly before the war, but then after the war then they started moving ahead. The soldiers came back and they married and they started building houses and going to school. G.I. school.

MR: So did the community change a lot when people moved different places? From being close to together to being spread out some?

DM: Yeah, people were starting to spread out the way it was. I mean because a lot moved out of town. There was no work here. A lot of them moved to New Jersey, to work in factories in New Jersey. And then they started Can-Do. That helped the area out. But a lot of them were out of town. And then.... people started becoming more independent as years went by, they became more and more independent. And they were separated, spreading outlike today, what you see today. Sometimes you don't even know your neighbor, this town here, there are a lot of people I don't know and at one time I knew them all.

By the 1970s, even the water company, that first example of communal self-organization was falling apart, the victim of aging infrastructure, mismanagement and a community reluctant to pay into informal modes of infrastructure:

...the company was in a shambles. The records weren't up to date. They were frivolous... overinflated... the assets ...people [did]n't want to pay for their water. It was like pulling teeth. I was going house to house collecting delinquent dues. Where you going to get all this money to do this and that? The lines were getting all deteriorated. They fought. This town always fights... fights... They cut your throat for fifty cents.... So when I look at the past I say 'what the hell did we have?' I mean in certain cases the people stuck together but in other cases... eh-eh. But this was starting to happen like years later. That new people started coming into town and it changed [MD, Interview, 21 March 2013].

Residents and newspapers report that beginning at this time neighbors and local government fought amongst themselves over the present and future of the community. Neighborhood disagreements were sometimes acted out through ordinances, framed in the language of public, health, safety, sanitation, and real estate values.

The newspapers report on a few such cases. On the fourth and fifth of December of 1967 the Hazle Township Zoning and Planning Commission received a series of petitions at a public meeting from residents charging that enforcement of the ordinances was “discriminatory and unfair” (*Standard*

Speaker [SS] 5 December 1967:15). At this time two particular issues were being protested. A trailer placed somewhere in the vicinity of the Church Street property excavated during the Summer 2013 field school was given a building permit despite exceeding by two feet the length permitted. A resident of the Church Street property, who could see the trailer from her residence, protested that no building permit was publically exhibited at the site as required by the ordinance. A second complaint revolved around a cow a family was allowed to keep in town despite the area given a residential zoning designation. A member of the 12 person group suggested that "The zoning officer wants everything to stay as it was 20 years ago." They continued, "If this is so, then let us pay taxes as they were 20 years ago. Give the money back to the people that paid for zoning and building permits, as the present system is a farce" (SS 4 December 1967:14; 5 December 1967:15).

On the 13th of April (1970:13) the *Standard Speaker* reports that a resident of Pardeesville charged that the township was failing to properly enforce anti-weed ordinances in the town. He claimed that while one side of the double house is occupied with a well-tended garden, the other half remained vacant with a garden full of high grass and weeds. The resident charged that a fire started among the weeds and nearly burned down the entire house, suggesting that this "likely would not have occurred had the owner been required to cut the grass".

The increasingly bureaucratic demands residents made of the each other throughout the last few decades of the twentieth century suggests that they, at least tactically, adopted the language of renewal and management as

understood within the framework of individual rights or negative freedom. Aspects of the historic material landscape of the patch town: plant growth, population densities, architectural aesthetics, privacy or its lack thereof, animal tending, refuse disposal, each took on an altered significance within the context of economic renewal. Ethnographic accounts suggest that heirloom plants brought over from Italy including garden vegetables and fruit trees, overgrown or untended, were removed as weeds along with the knowledge of how to cultivate them. The same was true of domesticated animals. Collections of machinery consisting of automobiles and other scavenged material, which were the source of banked capital, surplus parts and technical repositories, were removed as junk. Lastly, the intimate spatial order of the town that both nurtured and demanded informal and communal methods of arbitration and communication were altered. These changes occurred simultaneously within the context of an increasing political, economic and cultural ascendancy within the community.

The CAN DO Philosophy

The urban redevelopment plan outlined by outside consultants in the Hazle Township Comprehensive Plan reflected the methods and theories of a national ideology aimed at recolonizing the post-war landscape, social and material, for a new economy. Despite the impression of rigorous data collection the study neglected matters of key regional importance. Particularly, the study neglected to address the mass of unemployment that resulted from the mining workforce. Instead, it opted to find ways to create a selected workforce of white-color workers. While this move reflected progressive forward-thinking planning,

the temporality of the present was essentially accelerated such that the remnants of the past, people, history, and material landscapes should be forgotten as quickly as possible. The plan also entirely underestimated or misrecognized the capacity of the residents of the region for collective endurance and struggle.

The early locally-produced redevelopment effort known as CAN DO mobilized as many residents as possible to aid in financing the redevelopment of reclaimed mining sites for new industry. In this way it capitalized on the working class demographic of the region and on the contradictory spirit of community support and competition that defined the dynamics of coal industry life. A self-historicizing work produced in 1974 reflected on this brilliant strategy:

The most important ingredient in community action is the ordinary people of the community. The people of Hazleton came from many different countries to the rugged mountains to work, to earn a living, to make a new life. They have a strong sense of individual family responsibility. They lived by a creed of “doing for” their family and community as constructive citizens and looked upon anyone who lived otherwise as somewhat of a slacker and parasite. [CAN DO 1974: 41-42].

In the early 1950s repeated failures to court industrial prospects to the region revealed the inadequacies of the ruined mining landscape. As early as 1955 the first CAN DO drive, Operation Trees, targeted these aesthetic issues, operationalizing community volunteers and corporate and state-sponsored donations. Trees donated by corporate sponsors were planted along roads throughout the region to shield the grotesque piles of mining waste from the view shed of passers-by (*The Plain Speaker* 26 May 1955: 13). As late as 1971 the *Standard Speaker* reported an unlikely coalition of boy scouts, representatives of organized labor including the I.L.G.W.U and the United Labor Council, representatives from the Pennsylvania Bureau of Mines and Pennsylvania Power

and Light planted 4,000 trees along the CAN DO freeway to “improve the environment, produce oxygen and give the Scouts the opportunity to work on a worthy program (27 April 1971: 20).

The first DIME-A-WEEK drive conducted in 1955 asked all residents of the town to donate a dime a week to fund the development of the first building shell for potential residence by a client company (CAN DO 1974; Rose 1981:113-115). Lunch pails were placed throughout the city to make the campaign as readily visible as possible. In a public relations move worthy of the work of Edward Bernays (described in Chapter 5), the local media stimulated this effort by publishing the names of contributors and businesses in the newspaper daily to inspire competition amongst civic groups and businesses. The CAN DO history explains that, “the listing of names.... exerted subtle pressure on those who had failed to donate. No one wished to be placed in the position that he failed to help his family, neighbors, or community” (1974:42). Most of all, as the CAN DO organization depended entirely upon volunteer base, the public campaigns gave residents an active role in aiding the community. Thusly, the core community values of self-sufficiency would not be put at risk in the welfare efforts of redevelopment. The fundraising efforts were, by all accounts, an incredible success that often raised funds well beyond projected goals. As a result a revolving fund for repeated action was developed (Dublin and Licht 2005:127).

By the mid-1950s CAN DO had purchased land to produce an industrial park built on reclaimed mining land to the southwest of the city, providing infrastructure of sewage, water and electricity. Between 1956 and 1974 the

corporation added a total of sixty new or expanded industrial firms to the employment base of the city. These companies provided over 7,000 jobs amounting to earnings of nearly \$50 million for the local economy (Dublin and Licht 2005:117). Largely, these jobs were in unskilled trades such as light manufacturing. They included garment and textile industries, metal trades and assorted plastic and polystyrene -based fabrications (CAN DO 1974:75-77).

Retrospectively, the efforts of CAN DO were dependent upon, or more precisely, nested within a national economy in transition (Dublin and Licht 2005; Rose 1989). Harvey posits the energy crisis of 1973 as the end of Fordist economics and dawning of a new age of flexible economy. The preceding decade or so before this he characterizes as an era in which the, “inability of Fordism and Keynesianism to contain the inherent contradictions of capitalism became more and more apparent” (Harvey 1990:141-142). Indeed, this new era coincided with the latter half of the redevelopment efforts in the region, and as such, structured its development. Two major characteristics of this new economy deeply affected redevelopment efforts of the region, the intervention of the state in regulating the economic landscape upon which capital accumulation occurred and the new capacities, technological, logistical and economic for the rapid liquidation and movement of capital and labor markets by industry. In effect, these developments split in half this period in the region's history between the post war period and the dawning of regimes of flexible accumulation toward the end of the 1960s.

Dublin and Licht (2005:126, 239) suggest that the distribution of federal and state assistance capital in the region followed two patterns that correspond to this split. The early period reflected regional efforts to redistribute funds based upon genuine need. As growing professionalism in fundraising at the regional level intersected with an important legislative decision regarding laws governing the eligibility of recipients, capital began to flow into increasingly concentrated pockets of industry and place. A review of fund distribution reveals that this change occurred roughly around 1968 (Dublin and Licht 2005:126, 239). By at least one assessment, by 1979 the federal and state assistance programs that played a major role in redevelopment in the region served to make the “rich [get] richer and the poor [get] poorer” (Dublin and Licht 2005:126).

The age of flexible accumulation was also characterized by the dawning of a new era of industrial competition occasioned by the addition of newly exploited, less-expensive global labor markets to industrial work and the facilitation of new technologies of mass transportation that allowed entire industries to relocate practically overnight (Cowie 2001). The success of the community effort to bring industry to the region hinged upon this dynamic. The incredible competition between communities across the country, not to speak of those within the region, in courting the settlement of industrial work led to the undercutting of stability and quality in the work that could be captured and integrated. CAN DO and other regional community development firms succeeded by a combination of enticements, not the least of which was the large base of unskilled, unorganized mining labor, for the most part in desperate need of work. The ostensible draw of

this labor pool was that they would require only minimal wages with a decreased risk of absenteeism (Dublin and Licht 2005: 132-135). On top of this, the monetary enticements offered by a variety of federal and state assistance grants and community donations were sweetened by introductory-periods of tax free occupation. In some cases, companies left when their time was up (Dublin and Licht 2005:132-135). As a result, the redevelopment efforts had mixed results. At best, they offered the region a second wind based upon conditions that seem nearly epochal in the region's economic history. The surplus army of men and women of the region were offered a place in a competitive market for insecure, low-wage work.

Conclusion

In this chapter and the last (Chapter 6) the actions and relationships between three main social groupings in the anthracite region are described: community members, local government and the business community. Conspicuously missing are the feudal elites of old, the coal operators who left the region to diversify their portfolios on other interests, abandoning their dying investments. In the period after the Second World War the region's working class, merchants and professional classes found themselves alone to salvage the life of the region as best as they could. In fact, defining a strict division amongst these groups by the end of the 1960s is less than correct. Residents from patch towns such as Pardeesville and Lattimer served as members of local government and acted within the business community, pursuing the recolonizing of their own small world. In fact, a construction company based out of

Pardeesville was awarded some of the largest contracts to demolish buildings in South Hazleton (Standard-Speaker, 11 February, 1969:15).

Another section of the textual fragment from Walter Benjamin beginning this chapter highlights the youthful self-annihilation that consumes the path of the destructive character:

The destructive character is young and cheerful. For destroying rejuvenates, because it clears away the traces of our own age; it cheers, because everything cleared away means to the destroyer a complete reduction, indeed a rooting out, out of his own condition [Benjamin 1978 (1931):301-303].

This quote exemplifies perfectly the spirit by which those responsible for renewal efforts justified the destruction of historic landscapes that signified for them the breeding grounds for corrupt, unhealthful past practices and social behaviors. Seen in this way, the destructive period of the 1960s was an effort by those who remained in the coal region to abolish the memory of their own past, pursuing the most immediate and lucrative means to make a “way leading through it”. If we conceive of subjectivities as rooted somehow in memory and materials, the radical destruction of these two forces can result in trauma.

The redevelopment efforts of the 1960s amounted to an effort to not only “recolonize” (Rose 1989) but rather to reclaim the landscape and social relationships of the anthracite region. The effort to restructure the ecology of the region into a productive landscape for capitalism took three forms. First, they sought to recapitalize the region’s resources in great supply after the exit of the coal companies: labor and real estate. The latter required a material transformation into aesthetic and infrastructural landscapes attractive to new industry. Ordinances transformed architecture, weeds, refuse, water, air, space,

and privacy, the settings of the everyday, into commodities subject to lawful appraisal and enforcement. A corollary of this outlined in the Comprehensive Plan is an effort to cultivate residential areas as tax producing resources, which would in turn maintain the governmentalizing apparatus needed to regulate and administer to colonizing efforts. As a corollary of this, the plan sought ways to halt the flight of youth from the region, needed to supply both a consumer base for the local merchants and a youthful workforce for an anticipated shift in to an economy based upon white-collar technical, service or professional-based work.

With the withdrawal of the coal industry the region was burdened with its large number of aging, unemployed, unskilled, and unorganized workers (Rose 1981). Despite the lack of employment, strong familial and community ties bound many individuals to the unique landscape of the region. By the 1970s this labor market perfectly met the growing demands of a global economy moving towards flexible labor regimes and away from Fordist models of stability, institutional support, and paternalism (Harvey 1989:150). The once extensive organizational power once held by the UMWA over regional industry was impotent to protect workers divided into ephemeral micro-industries. The same was true as industries turned to non-traditional labor arrangements such as part-time, temporary or sub-contracting to maintain the liquidity of operations (Harvey 1989:150).

As before, this instability was mediated by the surplus enjoyments of life in the region: community and family support, gardening, opportunistic scavenging and informal work arrangements. However, these were likely subject to

diminishing support. Material aspects of the space, which amounted to so much more than mere aesthetics in previous eras, were removed, labeled as nuisances. Heirloom plants brought over from Italy including gardens and fruit trees were removed as weeds along with the knowledge of how to cultivate them. The same was true of domesticated animals. Collections of machinery consisting of automobiles and other scavenged material which were the source of banked capital, surplus parts and technical repositories were removed as junk. Lastly, the intimate spatial order of the town which both nurtured and demanded informal and communal methods of arbitration and communication were altered. Disputes once settled at the level of community over the boundaries of space, privacy and function were settled through the legal apparatuses of local government. At stake was the capacity for the materiality of landscape to remember, reproduce and channel social relations in a manner responsive to the exigencies of uncertain economy.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

The modern world is the product of a gigantic process of labour, and the first thing to be forgotten is the labour process itself

John Connerton, *How Modernity Forgets* (2009:40)

All historical knowledge can be represented in the image of balanced scales, one tray of which is weighted with what has been and the other with knowledge of what is present. Whereas on the first the facts assembled can never be too humble or too numerous, on the second there can be only a few heavy, massive weights

Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project* (1999:468)

In the mid-1970s Jon Berger and Dan Rose, two cultural anthropologists, conducted ethnographic research on environmental land uses in the patch towns around Hazleton (Berger 1976; Rose 1981, 1989). Their goal was to produce an ethnographically grounded land use plan to help in Hazleton's future development. In a retrospective essay of the ethnographic work, Rose recounted a persistent idiosyncrasy he came upon wherever he conducted ethnography in the region. He found that community members were eager to speak to him, but invariably, whenever he mentioned he was writing a book they would ask for a copy. Eventually Rose decided to not tell interviewees about the book to avoid the obligations of promising so many book copies in exchange for information (Rose 1989:40-41).

My ethnographic work in the region found the same unquenchable desire for recollection, memory and affirmation forty years later. This desire often translated into a bountiful generosity in the sharing of stories, photographs,

cuisine, and knowledge from community members. Similarly, homes, garages, storefronts and other public and private spaces are often packed with vernacular displays of preservation and memory-making in the form of artifact and photography collections. Poetry, plays, film scripts, pageants and reenactments about the region's history are also common, many of which were collected and consulted in the process of conducting this research. The associations most commonly mythologized in these acts of recollection are somehow always connected with the coal industry and the communities that grew around it. Rarely, if ever, is factory or textile mill work mentioned, unless prompted (Westmont 2015). An organic tradition, vernacular memory-work in the region concatenates the personal, the regional and the political, overlapping individual, familial and community memory into a collective statement.

I propose that we can understand these acts of collecting, rendering, and organizing not as heritage, remnant traces of a tradition fading away, but as contemporary and collective response to the trauma of its loss. Moreover, I propose that this traumatic loss is the key to understanding the regional response to the recent migrants to the region. To elaborate upon the implications of this interpretation requires a theoretical vocabulary built equally of psychoanalytic and Marxist thought. First, however, a note on how I developed the temporal and material methods I use in this dissertation.

A Note on Method: Formation of a Benjaminian Archaeology

When I began this project with Paul Shackel and Kristin Sullivan in 2009 the research problems I needed to address were quite clear: “how can the racial

tensions of the past so ironically echo the present?” (Shackel et al. 2011) Borne out of the juxtaposition of past and present, the nonlinearity of this history seemed to challenge a central narrative of late twentieth century progress, one that suggested that the self- correcting mechanisms of the neoliberal market had wiped away tribal tensions of the past (Friedman 1999).¹⁵ In the course of the project it was clear that on various fronts, contemporary events were propelling the global present yet even further away from neoliberal narratives of progress: rising inequality, the recapitulation of capitalist dominance in the aftermath of the economic crisis, major industrial disasters in areas of the third world inheriting American manufacturing, the violent suppression of the Occupy movement and other pro-democracy protests throughout the world, an inflammation of racially-tense police killings, and the violent suppression of peace activism and increasing militarization of border controls throughout the world. In essence, by the beginning of this decade we have borne witness to the rebirth of a sovereign order of violence perpetrated by the very forces of progress and order.

The juxtaposition of past to present provided the source of my questions; erupting out of a rhetorical apparatus designed to provide dialectical insight. The function of this narrative mode serves a specific purpose. As Paul Shackel (2013:2) suggests, the procedural role of narrative in historicizing processes is often, “not about the data, but rather *what is to count as data*” [emphasis in original]. In essence, the dialectical juxtaposition of past and present serves to consciously exercise the proposal of Benjamin’s, that “the historical index of images not only says that they belong to a particular time”, but rather “that *they*

attain to legibility only at a particular time" [emphasis mine] (Benjamin 1999:462).

From the vantage point of contemporary life described above, I had to ask, what particular aspects of the Anthracite region's past are particularly legible that may not have been only decades before? I also found this mode of bricolage was laterally complementary to the ethnographic insight issuing out of regional vernacular modes of memory and storytelling.

For a variety of reasons, however, it was increasingly clear that if I confined my inquiry to a binary comparative framework, one that seeks only to make comparisons between homologous aspects of past and present, I would not produce a substantial understanding of either. Any new knowledge I produced by this method would be, like the memory of residents of the region, haunted by the traumatic ruptures and continuities of the interim. In his study of the history-making process in Annapolis, Chris Matthews (2002:135) writes of the further danger of such a presentation:

If only what we know about now is applied to the past such interpretations are as dangerous as they are familiar. They can only confirm that the differences that lay at the root of social struggles occurring today were the same in the past.

In essence, Matthews suggests that such a method is fundamentally conservative in reifying the past and present as tradition. In other words, presenting the relationship between the past and present as either continuous or characterized by rupture are themselves kinds of ideological narrative devices that can be used to reify political readings of history (Eliot Tretter, personal communication, 2014). The analytical power of juxtaposition comes from its capacity to produce rich and meaningful questions, but its danger arises from

producing historical narratives that are all too easily explained by determinism, teleology or its correlate, progress.

The insight coming out of the ethnographic process brought a further complication to drawing answers from comparative history. I recognized that my effort to build the trust and empathy with ethnographic informants would be complicated, if not impossible, if I made an *a priori* assumption that the contextual roots of interethnic tension in the past and present erupted out of xenophobic sentiments. Uncontextualized, such a presumption predicated the individual culpability of each of the community members I spoke with. From a critical tradition in social theory, an isolated focus upon either an ethnographic or archaeological present in a localized setting disregards the structuring effects of power within the broader scope of materialist or transnational history (Leone et al. 1987).

These reservations reached a turning point when I presented my research on the social fragmentation, nostalgia, and melancholia that characterize the anthracite communities at a recent academic conference. The symposia discussant responded to my presentation with the suggestion that we should not be surprised by this outcome, the production of alienated traumatized selfish individuals by post-industrial life. By explanation, he suggested that this is what “the spaces of capitalism... were designed to do. They are designed for you to think that really you have tremendous freedom... to get in as deep debt as possible to buy crap that you don’t need....” In defiance, I propose that we should not discourage a creative displeasure with exactly how the present has turned

out and make this the instigation of critical research. Only from a critical perspective which makes uncanny the everyday can we begin to posit a historicity to the development of the present. In contrast, a vulgar Marxist analysis premised on determinism in fact only cynically reifies the narrative of victorious capitalism.

In fact, I had witnessed community members engage in critical incredulity at the outcomes of their own local history, questioning the inevitability of the destructive character of capitalist economy as it unfolded in the region. Through the medium of its own political, social and material memory-work, the community searches through its past for the reasons behind the dissolution of community and the forceful dominance of individualism today. One interviewee, a third generation resident of the area, responded to a question about whether the identity of coal mining has remained in the area despite the virtual extinction of the industry in the 1950s:

Yeah, absolutely.... I think, 'What the hell is wrong with me?' Everybody has that question. 'Something is wrong?'but it.... I think it is just generational. I think.... every generation tells the other generation hints. And then you become.... it becomes a part of your makeup whether you know it or not [RB, Interview, 24 December 2012].

This is only one of many instances in which locals expressed passionate views about social change in the region reflecting anger, frustration, confusion and melancholy. The unbearable weight (or absence) of the past in the region evokes Marx's proposition that, "The tradition of all dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brains of the living" (Marx 2003). In the region, however, it is not only "the brains" but all the senses that are confronted by this weight in the material forms of ruinous landscapes, derelict buildings, and discarded objects.

This hypertrophy of memory and forgetting has lead one former resident to proclaim that the town's inability to face needed revitalization in the present is intrinsically connected to its "oozing nostalgia" (Longazel 2013b). It is clear that the particular conditions of the coal industry, the demographics, the economy, the materiality and the social organization have left some enduring but irresolvable kernel of reality in the social predicaments of the present. But as the industry has been in decline or nonexistent for an amount of time at least equal if not greater than the rise of industry, it is likely that it is in the traumatic dimension of its loss within the recent past that is reflected in the present.

As Benjamin warns in the "Theses on History", surprise at the barbarity of the present cannot be the source of our knowledge unless it also implicates how we make history.

The current amazement that the things we are experiencing are "still" possible in the twentieth century is not philosophical. This amazement is not the beginning of knowledge- unless it is the knowledge that the view of history which gives rise to it is untenable (Benjamin 1970:259).

These issues are best addressed in an archaeological manner, both literally and figuratively. Turning again to Benjamin, it became clear to me that the very *temporalities* inherent to historicization and archaeology are only tentatively comparable in the case of an archaeology that models the reproduction of the past in a manner faithful to its own unique epistemological method. This implies an excavation method that works its way through every stratigraphic contribution, querying data for evidence of ruptures and continuities while continuously interrogating the contingencies of site formation. Benjamin suggests that the way through is to:

...abandon the tranquil contemplative attitude toward the object in order to become conscious of the critical constellation in which precisely this fragment of the past finds itself in precisely this present" (Benjamin 1975: 28).

While this formulation seems to chart a clear research agenda, one might be lead to ask the question of how we might disentangle the *critical constellation* and the *fragment*?

In his 2010 dissertation on infrastructure in Eastport, Matt Palus draws attention to the ubiquity of infrastructure on archaeological sites, drawing a connecting between this omnipresence and their universal treatment not as significant archaeological data but rather only as “representing the destruction of archaeological data”. The linkage Palus makes is telling. In a present context suffused with the apparatus’ of memory-making, preservation laws, and recording technologies these formational features of the modern world can somehow hide in plain site from the one profession positioned to make legible their historicity and materiality. In a 2001 article William Rathje, Vincent M. LaMotta, and William A. Longacre suggest that the last fifty years of history amount to a largely unstudied “black hole” for archaeologists and other scholars of material culture. As suggested in Chapter 5, I propose that it is the uncanny semblance of artifacts from the beginnings of the machine age of mass manufacturing to those of the present that position them as the subjects of a repressive disavowal. It seems to me it is only to the extent that we refuse to discard materials at the site, making choices based upon standards of “historicity”, that *method is theory in archaeology*. After all, field methods

proscribe that we start in the present (surface) and work our way backwards (downwards) into the past (Wurst and Mrozowski 2014).

An Archeology of Capitalism in the Twenty-First Century: Benjamin, Žižek, Lazzarato, Picketty

The seven core chapters of the dissertation reflect the contingencies of archaeological and ethnographic practice. Archaeology is used strategically, opportunistically, and dialectically. It is supported, amplified and illuminated by archival and ethnographic research, spatial analysis, and social theory. Varied in its use of sources, it is nonetheless parsimonious in its returning again and again to the material staging of political economy. The changing landscapes of the company towns of Lattimer and Pardeesville and the shanties on their periphery are explored in every chapter. Temporally, the study ranges across more than a century of change. For research focused upon the topic of company towns, expanding the archaeological frame beyond company divestment naturally led to the question: “What remains of a company town after company divestment?” Without the insights provided by Benjamin, Palus, Matthews, Rathje and others, this period of the town’s record would, like Palus’ infrastructure, signify only the termination of archaeological history.

If the juxtaposition of past and present had already granted me the insight to dispose of the concept of progress, Benjamin would suggest an inevitable logical corollary: “Overcoming the concept of ‘progress’ and overcoming the concept of ‘period of decline’ are two sides of one and the same thing” (Benjamin 1999: 460). The implications of this dilemma are clear, the historical research

must “enter the black hole” of the recent past. In fact, the departure of the epochal figures of capitalist domination in the region, the feudal coal lords, is far from signalling the departure of capitalist processes. In fact, their disappearance brings the subtle workings of capital accumulation and its corollaries in the form of governmentality, sovereignty and subjectivation into greater, albeit subtle, legibility.

As I mention in Chapter 4, company towns are most often theorized *monadically*, as ahistorical totalizing capitalist entities exemplifying the development of paternalism and Fordist economy and the colonizing influence of industrial logic into everyday life. The most commonly cited characteristic of these spaces is one of rigid homogeneity and dominating control. These explicit formations of capitalist domination, however, demand unpacking when stretched alongside the temporal and spatial trajectory of exceptionally long duration. Turning to Benjamin (1999: 463), in a perfect endorsement of the archaeological tendency to foreground the implications of stylistic changes in contexts of ideology or culture:

...truth is not- as Marxism would have it- a merely contingent function of knowing, but is bound to a nucleus of time lying hidden within the knower and the known alike. This is so true that the eternal, in any case, is far more the ruffle on a dress than some idea.

As demonstrated by this dissertation, producing a nuanced accounting of capitalist developments throughout the twentieth century is an archaeological problem, but one that must pay attention to absences, surpluses and remainders through the context of materiality.

To understand the material realities of company town life, the dissertation dwells on its *surplus productions*: peripheral settlements, states of exception, enjoyment, survival, endurance and waste. Far from departing from an analysis of capitalist accumulation, a lingering on excess and surplus presents an alternative approach to understanding the realities of capitalism as they play out within the historical materialities of everyday life. These very contradictory processes of capitalism are in fact heightened by the introduction in the late-twentieth century of economic regimes of flexible accumulation. The nearly inscrutable introduction of financial logic into everyday life, the mobilizing of capital and labor markets, the cipher of neoliberal subjectivities and the accelerated cycles of creation and destruction all demand critical structures that can make legible the manner in which these new paths to power are embedded in everyday life.

Marx's concept of commodity fetishism is central to the work of both Walter Benjamin and Slavoj Žižek. In their work this relationship is a central mirror or allegory not only for the profit index associated with the production and consumption of goods, but also the very nature of all relationships under capitalism including those between people and materials, nonhuman entities, histories, and built environments. Žižek proposes that this relationship offers "a kind of matrix enabling us to generate all other forms of the 'fetishistic inversion'... a pure – distilled, so to speak – version of a mechanism offering us a key to the theoretical understanding of phenomena." (1989:9-10). Of the

relationship between surplus enjoyment and surplus value in capitalism, Žižek suggests (1989:54):

...it is not a surplus which simply attaches itself to some 'normal', fundamental enjoyment, because enjoyment as such emerges only in this surplus, because it is constitutively an 'excess'. If we subtract the surplus we lose enjoyment itself, just as capitalism, which can survive only by incessantly revolutionizing its own material conditions, ceases to exist if it 'stays the same', if it achieves an internal balance. This, then, is the homology between surplus-value – the 'cause' which sets in motion the capitalist process of production – and surplus enjoyment, the object-cause of desire. Is not the paradoxical topology of the movement of capital, the fundamental blockage which resolves and reproduces itself through frenetic activity, excessive power as the very form of appearance of a fundamental impotence... the leftover which embodies the fundamental, constitutive lack?

How is this concept operationalized in an analysis of company town life in the region?

Chapter 2 provides a historical context of the anthracite region situated against the background of the Industrial Revolution. The material transformations of industrialization and modernity, characterized by energy, light, and movement, stand in frank juxtaposition with the dirty, inefficient and dehumanizing extractive process. These processes produced an industry in constant demand for expendable, needy, affordable labor to maintain productivity and profitability. The company town reflects the needs of this extractive process as "above all, landscapes of environmental and social control" (Frankavigla 1991:99). In the manner in which they direct all social life towards a rational goal, uprooting, harnessing or replacing traditional organizing units with rationalized policy goals, company towns exemplify the rupturing of the past and present central to the historical developments of modernity and capitalism. Materializing Enlightenment beliefs in the inherent plasticity of social order, company towns exemplify the

praxeological possibilities of spatially engineering social life for ideological goals (Herod 2011). In their ostensible confusion of the dualities of life/work, production/consumption, they embody what Maurizio Lazzarato (2014) has termed *machinic enslavement*. Lazzarato describes such a condition in which individuals are contiguous with machines, constituting an “apparatus in which humans and machines are but recurrent and interchangeable parts of a production, communications, consumption etc, process [that] well exceeds them” (2014:26). Spatial reproduction in such an environment acts not by harnessing the discipline of individual subjects but by deterritorializing them, producing labor as immaterial flows that can be constituted and reconstituted at will (2014:27).

Diachronically, the history of the anthracite industry is interminably linked to broader historical contingencies. Global depressions, political developments and migrations shaped the social and economic patterns in the region. Regular boom and bust periods ensure labor and capital were constantly at odds. The demographics of the anthracite region reflected this human mobility throughout its history, serving often as the first stop in the proletarianization of waves of peasantry freed from feudal conditions in Northern and eventually Southern and Eastern Europe. These migrant populations were absorbed and mobilized by the industry in waves to create work competition. Labor unrest and its violent repression began almost coincident with the start of the industry, and as early as the Civil War the coal operators secured a contingent of federal troops to suppress Irish labor radicals allied with anti-draft protests. By linking labor unrest

with patriotism the operators endowed themselves with the sovereign right of the state to confront the possibility of labor organization.

By this time, despite decreasing opportunities for work, large numbers of immigrants from eastern and southern Europe sustained the ranks of an army of surplus labor, joining or slowly replacing earlier generations of nativized workers. As in other industries, the new immigrants were at first turned onto relatively less skilled laboring roles and could be, therefore paid considerably less (Barrett and Roediger 1997; Bodnar 1982, 1985; Dubofsky 1996; Gutman 1977; Roediger and Esch 2012). Maintaining this pool of surplus labor allowed capital the logistical flexibility to respond to the exigencies of an unpredictable market. Ironically, coal operators such as Ario Pardee, linked with encouraging or importing the employment of New Immigrant labor to break strikes led by generations of nativized labor, also claimed that foreign elements interfered with “his right as an American to run his own business”. Furthermore they “constituted a dangerous threat... to the established American way of life” (Foulke & Foulke 1979: 73-74).

The third chapter, which reports on the context of the Lattimer Massacre, culminates with the findings of an archaeological survey of the site. The buildup to the event in the late nineteenth century is marked by the governmentalizing of racial law. As a series of economic depressions hit the region, coal operators, organized labor, lawmaking bodies, and the general public began to turn on the new immigrants, blaming them for overproduction, decreasing wages, the degeneration of the region’s social life and the general decline of local economy.

Empowered by the increasingly governmentalized discourse of citizenship and race spread by a growing national anti-immigration movement, attempts to legislate immigration into the region were made by an unusual coalition of these groups. This movement is reflected in the transference of the traditional sovereign domains of security and territory into matters of interest for citizens and private institutions. As creative lawmaking acts, they bring into the hands of the public the power to draw the divisions of labor and race in the body of law. In a procedural sense, this assemblage of laws was written *as if* to legislate workplace safety and employer culpability, though implicitly, they were aimed at controlling immigration. In this circumlocutory manner they reflect the round-about way in which governmentalized power treats the use of law “only as a set of tactics” or *rules* among many other heterogeneous means to accomplish policy goals (Butler 2004:52, 62; Foucault 2009).

As described in Chapter 4, by the late 1870s shanty towns are visible on the peripheries of the company towns. As historical records indicate that the company buildings were constructed around 1865, the shanty settlements began a mere thirteen years after the town’s inception. Archaeology conducted on shanties indicates the dynamic practices of shanty construction in the region. In contrast to the enforcement of rigid homogeneity of company double houses, shanty occupants were free to alter the site plan of houses in response to changing needs or sensibilities.

At each scale examined, contradictions abound in the spatial analysis of the town. During the rise of industrial capitalism, the conflicting strains of national

identity and demands for a supply of unskilled labor placed migrants in the contradictory positions of being appropriated and restricted. The homogenous ordering of the company houses is opposed by *both* the exceptional heterogeneous spaces of the management enclave *and by* the isolated peripheral shanty settlements. The low density settlements that begin just at the borders of the company double houses seem to echo their density and arrangement, while also reflecting the organic architecture and growth of the other more concentrated ethnic enclaves. The spatial arrangement of the three shanty settlements mirror the spatial organization of the larger town in miniature, facing inwards to line a central thoroughfare, materializing a community defined, by the very least, by shared communal space and access. In their isolation and the inscrutability of the communal spaces they form, however, they are also invisible to the surveillance of company eyes. This invisibility is complemented by the anarchic or organic quality of their infrastructure, their resistance to the documentary efforts of surveyors, and their operation outside of corporate infrastructure.

Theorist Giorgio Agamben (1995) suggests that the concentration camp, the detention facility, and the refugee camp represent a sort of primal materialization of political culture in the twentieth century; as panicked and yet engineered responses to the challenge of diversity brought on by mass immigrations, but also by the consolidation of the national body through the intensification of governance. I add the shanty town to this index. The camp presents a state of exception and exemption just on the outside of prevailing

logic, exceptions that incidentally, mirror the exceptions at the top. Shanty settlements in Lattimer are tellingly *excluded or exempted from* entitlements such as company-constructed houses, infrastructure, maintenance, visibility, but also even from surveillance.

It is Agamben's (2009) suggestion that today there is a dispersal of this order, an elimination of contradiction not by the cancellation of the boundaries between the excluded and those included but by a state of exemption that has become extended to all of us. Slavoj Žižek suggests that there is an implicit element of capitalist exploitation responsible for the inscription of the excepted, a system that has as its foundation in the production of a surplus army of labor (Žižek 2013:1003). Referring to Marx, he reminds us that the surplus army of labor is "not simply outside the circulation of capital, they are actively produced as not-working by this circulation.... They are not simply not- working, their not-working is their positive feature...." (Žižek 2013:1003). In essence, contradictions such as that of exclusion are implicit to the functioning of capitalism itself and amplified in its more complex forms (Harvey 2014a; Jameson 2011;).

The archaeology of the shanty towns explores the proposal that it is the surplus that defines the absences, the trauma, inherent to capitalist realities. The development of shanty enclaves, justified by the introduction of states of exception appropriated from a governmental and sovereign discourse on race and citizenship, occurred nearly coincident with the development of the company town at Lattimer. In fact, to distinguish this political and economic order as somehow peripheral to the reality of its productive capacity within industrial

capitalism is to entirely misread the operations of capitalism. In effect, the capacity for laborers to leave and return each day to the mines to work despite the traumatic lack of investment in their welfare is the primary source of profit for capitalists in such an environment, the very means of profit. The survival of labor is not only the requisite to the production of surplus value, it can be understood as the main goal of social reproduction materialized by the company town.

In contrast to what others have described as satellite communities, which provided alternative spaces for those who seek to operate outside of capitalism (Goddard 2002, Matthews 2010: 138-141), the state of exception models for all workers the new conditions of flexibility, vulnerability and precarity late-capitalism would propel upon workers in the twentieth century. Understood thusly, the shanty enclaves functioned as autonomous and unordered space within the margins of a company town, resisting its order and visibility, while also operating within the broader system of its productive function: supplying the colliery with the ephemeral surplus labor fundamental to its operation. This relationship is premised on greater and greater freedom and flexibility both for capital and labor as the possibility of unalienated social relations became increasingly mediated: by wages, by contracts, by consumer desires and by ideological abstractions increasingly materialized in physical and social boundaries.

Returning to the massacre and the resulting trial that resulted in the acquittal of the assailant, the bureaucratization of racial thinking in this time empowered all those called to interpret and execute these laws with the sovereignty of the state, paradoxically, in the process unbinding them to law

itself. At such a scale, the question of “who shot first?” or “who was acquitted in the trial?” become an abstraction, a Kafkaesque exercise in absurdity as it becomes clear that the racial dimensions of the social life of the region informed the decision, or rather predisposition for violence on the part of the deputies just as it would preordain the outcome of the trial.

Chapter 5 begins with the period of the First World War. Writing in the period between the World Wars, Walter Benjamin astutely observed that, “the mighty seek to secure their power with blood (police), cunning (fashion) and with magic (pomp)” (Benjamin 1999:133). This chapter deals with the second element in Benjamin’s trichotomy, that of cunning and fashion. For Benjamin, elite control of fashion represented more than simply administering to consumer taste. Rather, it implies a mastery of time and history; of the cycles of memory and forgetting accreted in the material world of objects and landscapes (Buck-Morss 1989: 97-99). For Benjamin, the temporality of fashion embodies the measure of how the temporality of industrial modernity, exemplified by the accelerating product cycle, the assembly line and new media of communication and transportation, touched the everyday life of producers and consumers.

The artifact assemblage from the mid twentieth century recovered at Church Street Pardeesville reflects changes in personal and household choices in consumption in the manner of individual commodities and aesthetic choices. But when seen within the *longue duree* of twentieth century capitalism and modernity, the context of these choices reflects an engineered trajectory of political economy. Recognizing this requires troubling the distinctions between

moments in the life cycle of the commodity: production, distribution, exchange, and consumption. Reading the shared print of the country's businessmen, advertisers, middle-class commentators, social engineers and politicians, the mandate for instilling mass consumerism originated in the proposal that mass consumerism could control or at the very least neutralize those very segments of society that threatened social stability including foreign elements and labor radicalism.

Mass consumerism in the Interwar period entailed a wholesale realignment of production, consumption, distribution and exchange within capitalism along the lines of a new society, a *consumer democracy*. The architects of this process including businessmen, designers, advertisers, producers and others, produced commodities attuned to the particular assumptions they held about the nature of their market. Commodity consumption, adopted in piecemeal in the assemblage recovered from the Simone Lot at Church Street, Pardeesville is marked by significant transformations in 1) Mechanization, 2) Advertisement, 3) Product Design and the Fashion Cycle, 4) Obsolescence and Waste and 5) Mass Media as Double Production. These aspects of commodity cycle not only interject themselves into a preexisting material world. In Marx's time, adjustments to production entailed innovations in science, technology and labor discipline. In the Interwar period, however, it came to include consumer-oriented aspects of the production process including advertising, public relations, media consolidation, the control and acceleration of the fashion cycle and targeted product design. In essence, the

engineering of consumption became the major means of transcending the limits of capital. Unsurprisingly, these changes affected everyday practical realities for labor and consumer. The phantasmic objects produced through machine age processes do not provide us with an alternative “dreamlike illusion” yielding an escape from our reality. Rather, they serve as a “support for our ‘reality’ itself: an ‘illusion’ which structures our effective, real social relations” (Žižek 1989:45). The illusion is materialized in the affective realities of artifact morphology: in the acceleration of the fashion and waste cycle, the implications of deskilling from machine-aided manufacturing processes and the entanglement of electronic mass ideas.

As interpreted by Susan Buck-Morss, Benjamin’s *Arcades Project* (1999) amounts to an indictment of the collective dreamwork enacted in mass consumerism. In *The Dialectics of Seeing* (1989), a reconstruction of Benjamin’s unfinished work, Buck-Morss suggests that the phantasmagoria of mass consumption puts modern individuals asleep, dreaming individually of the commodity dreamworld and believing that it is their dream alone. In fact, mass production is anything but. Individual dreamers, through their participation in collective dreamworld are not linked by this experience. Instead they experience collectivity, “only in an isolated, alienating sense, as an anonymous component of the crowd” (Buck-Morss 1989: 260). The contradiction and irony in this situation outlined by Buck-Morss gets to the heart of the issue of the invention of “the Masses” outlined in Chapter 5. Industrial society has produced social experiences, spaces and objects that engendered new forms of conformity and

forms of overlapping unconsciousness. Despite these new forms of commonality, they otherwise produce no new forms of “social solidarity, no new level of collective consciousness of their commonality and thus no new way of waking up from the dream in which they were enveloped” (Buck-Morss 1989:261).

Chapter 6 covers the potential crisis confronting the community when the company divested in the space of the town after going bankrupt in the 1930s. For a short period of time the employees, along with the support of the UMWA and the business community, took control of the company. It is possible that in these negotiations the real estate of the town was to be divided and sold to renters. The potentially traumatic gap formed by the departure of paternalism was filled, for a period, with communal relationships and material accommodations not simply developed at the periphery, but rather already integral to the functioning of the community throughout the lean times of the century. This short-lived worker’s utopia provides an example, to a certain extent, of unalienated collective action flourishing in the lacunae between divestment and inevitable recapitalization. The history of the company town as told by residents and archaeology of this period is a story of surplus enjoyment: a litany of collective and individual efforts to negate the pain of a landscape of domination and neglect.

For Lacan, the Real coincides with the surplus enjoyment that erupts in excess of symbolization:

....the Real is at the same time the product, remainder, leftover, scraps of this process of symbolization, the remnants, the excess which escapes symbolization and is as such produced by symbolization itself. [Žižek 1989: 191]

Enjoyment in Lacanian terms has nothing to do with pleasure; it is in fact *beyond the pleasure principle* (Žižek 1992: 206). Rather, enjoyment is better understood as *the negation of pain*, a positive condition outside of pain and trauma. Rather than a separable history of working class or ethnic life as told by social history, surplus enjoyments fulfill the traumatic deprivations of capitalist processes materialized in the company town. Rather than merely a peripheral production these processes define its material realities.

Archaeology of the shanty enclave revealed material adjustments coincident with the growing social power of the community. Evidence for community organized infrastructure, gardening and the collection of scavenged materials reveal evidence of communal self reliance. Simultaneously, a contradictory material dimension of community change in this period comes in the enunciation of new regimes of spatial differentiation amongst residential domestic spaces. In this period the once confined spaces of the shantytown are both thinned and emptied out while house and lot sizes increase in conformity with contemporary standards of privacy and ownership.

Chapter 7 reflects upon the refraction and redirection of new ideologies of spatial, political and social economy as they are mapped onto the material world of residents in Pardeesville in the years after the divestment. Throughout these developments a remarkable consonance is struck between actors at various scales of government, academia, business and community, each of whom operate within the principles of entrepreneurial spirit. Together they rework the landscape of the town. In fact, the catastrophe of the coal industry and the

anachronistic and isolated behavior of its residents, within appropriate constraints, would *be the putrefaction*, the very foundation necessary to “reestablish the basis for renewed accumulation” (Harvey 1985:116). In the context of the history provided, this period marks the rapid change of the shanty enclave into a suburb, entangled in the complex publically-captive political economy of that spatial designation.

With the withdrawal of the coal industry the region was burdened with attempting to support a large number of aging, unemployed, unskilled, and unorganized workers (Rose 1981). Despite the lack of employment, strong familial and community ties bound many individuals to the unique landscape of the region. By the 1970s this labor market perfectly met the growing demands of a global economy moving towards flexible labor regimes and away from Fordist models of stability, institutional support, and paternalism (Harvey 1989: 150). The once extensive organizational power once held by the UMWA over regional industry was impotent to protect workers divided into ephemeral micro-industries. The same was true as industries turned to non-traditional labor arrangements such as part-time or temporary work or sub-contracting to maintain the liquidity of operations (Harvey 1989: 150).

As before, this instability was mediated by the surplus enjoyments of life in the region: community and family support, gardening, opportunistic scavenging and informal work arrangements. However, these were likely subject to diminishing support. Material aspects of the space, which amounted to so much more than mere aesthetics in previous eras, were removed, labeled as

nuisances. At stake was the capacity for the materiality of landscape to remember, reflect and direct social relations that could respond to the exigencies of an uncertain economy. Heirloom plants brought over from Italy including gardens and fruit trees were removed as weeds along with the knowledge of how to cultivate them. The same was true of domesticated animals. Collections of machinery consisting of automobiles and other scavenged material that were the source of banked capital, surplus parts and technical repositories were removed as junk. Lastly, the intimate spatial order of the town that both nurtured and demanded informal and communal methods of arbitration and communication were altered. Disputes once settled at the level of community over the boundaries of space, privacy and function were settled through the legal apparatuses of local government.

David Graeber, in an essay entitled “Dead Zones of the Imagination” (2012: 8) argues that coercive violence underlies the functioning of all bureaucracies, systems he defines as “institutions involved in the allocation of resources within a system of property rights regulated and guaranteed by governments”. While the smooth functioning of, for example, a school library can seem distant from the coercive apparatuses of society, Graeber suggests that we try entering the library without an ID and instantly “armed men would indeed be summoned to physically remove them, using whatever force might be required.” He concludes that:

It's almost as if the more we allow aspects of our everyday existence to fall under the purview of bureaucratic regulations, the more everyone concerned colludes to downplay the fact (perfectly obvious to those

actually running the system) that all of it ultimately depends on the threat of physical harm [Graeber 2012: 8].

Bureaucratic systems compel ordinary citizens to look upon themselves as legally defined subjects in competition, each potentially *enforceable by* and *enforcers of* a law based upon negative freedom. As per Butler (2004) and Agamben (1998), in such a system each citizen is both *petty sovereign* and *homo sacer*.

Implications

Between the 1970s and the 2000s Hazleton lost as many as 20,000 jobs, mainly in the manufacturing sector (Longazel 2014: 585). CAN-DO continued its mission of courting job-producing industries to the region at nearly any cost. Reflecting the rapid mobility of global industry intensifying in the late 1970s, companies that were able to move to labor markets cheaper than Hazleton promptly decamped, often for the American South or overseas. The efforts of CAN-DO, however, continued to bring in new industries using the incentives of tax havens, locational advantage and low rent. Like many small industrial towns throughout the country, Hazleton was powerless to negotiate the retention of stable, high paying jobs in manufacturing, much less the institutional support of worker organization (Bluestone and Harrison 1982, Cowie 2001). Local labor regimes bore the costs of both global competition and local acquiescence in exchange for ephemeral employment arrangements (Fleury-Steiner and Longazel 2010).

When immigrants from the Caribbean and Central America came to the region in the 1990s they found a tense land of opportunity in Hazleton. The

downtown was, to some large extent, abandoned. Some high rises and open development had filled the once gaping Southern demolition zone. Abandonment offered new immigrants willing to endure the lack of services a low cost of living, substantially cheaper than the gentrifying East Coast urban neighborhoods they were being priced out of. Storefronts were often empty and could be rented cheaply. Employment of a sort was fairly abundant in the industrial parks at the edge of town or in agricultural work in the valley. Mainly it was of the low-wage, transient variety. Employers eagerly sought young or energetic employees willing to endure the economic and physical conditions they were required to offer to remain productive in a globalized economy.

In 2006 the municipal government, led by Mayor Lou Barletta, decided to take national immigration policy into its own hands by enacting legislation intended to neutralize the aspects of the town environment that attracted migrants in the first place: plentiful work and housing. Instead of producing a criminal code, the law, known as the Illegal Immigration Relief Act (IIRA), was added to the town's zoning and code enforcement ordinances (Longazel 2013a, 2014; Martinez 2011; Oliveri 2009: 61). The goals of the IIRA were explicit in their stated target of enforcing the removal of illegal immigration:

Illegal immigration leads to higher crime rates, subjects our hospitals to fiscal hardship and legal residents to substandard quality of care, contributes to other burdens on public services, increasing their cost and diminishing their availability to legal residents, and diminishes our overall quality of life... [T]he City of Hazleton is authorized to abate public nuisances and empowered and mandated by the people of Hazleton to abate the nuisance of illegal immigration by diligently prohibiting the acts and policies that facilitate illegal immigration in a manner consistent with federal law and the objectives of Congress [McKanders 2007: 8].

The language of the legislation as well as the media reportage and other official discourse supporting it focuses mainly upon crime and the drain on municipal resources. These pronouncements depend upon a racialized discourse labeling the new immigrants as dependent, needy and criminal (Burnett 2009; Kobialka 2012; Longazel 2013a; McKanders 2007; Martinez 2011). For residents in support of anti-immigrant legislation, neoliberal notions of self-reliance are contrasted with racialized characteristics of recent immigrants as dependent or lazy. An interviewee compared past and present immigration thusly:

...a good portion of the immigrants that came off of Ellis Island, came over from different countries, they were coming because they were hard workers, but their situation, wherever they were coming from, wasn't the best, and they knew that America was the promised land, and they could make a new start. Whereas today I think a lot of people come here because they know how easy it is to live off of the government, you know... They're not coming over here... to get their papers like... Italians or Germans or Irish did. They're coming here because... someone said "Hey, you could live in Hazleton for very very cheap prices and you don't even have to tell them that you're there." [BM, Interview, March 2010]

Another interviewee, a resident of Hazleton and a relatively recent immigrant from Asia was deeply drawn in by the literature and political activism of Libertarian politics. Embraced by the Libertarian community of Hazleton as representing a model immigrant, she recapitulated this ideology through the following critique of what she perceived as the lavish consumption habits of welfare dependents (YB, interview, July 2012):

...we started to notice a difference at grocery stores, Walmart, namely. We see three carts full of lobsters, T-bone steaks, those very luxurious desserts... you name it. While we are buying great value, you know... the cheap brands so that we can have at least a week of food. Meantime they have an access card, the welfare card food stamp card and they... just swipe away with these things that we barely really get to afford to eat. So it was really starting to [get to] all of our emotions... It's not like we are literally paying for their food everyday, but the majority of the well-off

people, the taxpayers, they pay for that. But not only that..... I am an immigrant. It took me \$7,000 to get a green card... When I decided to come here again I had to come through, oh my god, the excruciating pain of paperwork, lawyer after lawyer, it took us more than two years... I finally became a green card holder in 2000... it took a good two to three years to obtain that card...

A nuanced critical anthropology is required to parse these statements beyond juxtaposition and innuendo. However, placed within the context of the archaeological history outlined above, the racial tensions encountered in twentieth century Hazelton are approached from a different direction, as points along a long trajectory of capitalist transformations. Far from exculpatory, this history finds residents retreading economic structures and political modes well trodden in the region's history. A selective amnesia, however, defines these patterns as merely ironic rather than wicked.

Subjectivation – Kafka Reprise

Using a parable from Franz Kafka, I introduced neoliberal ideology in Chapter 1 as both a programmatic pursuit challenging all collective obstacles to capital accumulation, as well as a system of subjectivation producing possessive individuals who identify themselves “as market agents, encouraged to cultivate themselves as autonomous, self-interested individuals, and to view their resources and aptitudes as human capital for investment and return” (Binkley 2009; Bourdieu 1998). This section expands upon these ideas in a manner relevant to the developments of the late 1960s introduced in the previous chapter.

Through his stories regarding the confrontation between individuals and modern bureaucracies, Franz Kafka was the first to “articulate [the] paradoxical

status of the subject before subjectivation” (Žižek 1989:205). In Chapter One, I introduced Kafka’s parable “Before the Law” as a kind of index to understand the extended history of the twentieth century subject materialized in the transformation of collectives, communities and individuals in the town. I propose that the trajectory of Kafka’s tale can be understood as a parable concerning the manner in which the desires of early twentieth century subjects are exactly interpellated within the political economy we share as subjects in the present age. Specifically, it anticipates the paradoxical development of the neoliberal subject in late modernity.

Neoliberalism is not so much a transformation *in* ideology so much as a transformation *of* ideology (Read 2009:26). Rather than principles or narratives propagated by the state or other dominant forces, it refers to a transformation in the very “effects and conditions” by which ideology is materialized, practiced and concentrated. Scholarship attributes these changes to the development of intimate subject-making relationships between individuals and the pure financial logic of capital accumulation. Chris Matthews, in *The Archaeology of American Capitalism* (2010) cites the institution of such a prevailing subjectivity as a major effect of capital’s emergence as a structuring agent of everyday life. This subjectivity produces “distinct individuals” who come to believe they freely choose the nature of the social relations they enter. Understood in opposition to social or co-constituted relations of kinship, community, ethnicity, etc., these formations produce the contradictory position of individuals

“manufactured....from within and against their original communities” (Matthews 2010:11).

The significance of the parable and its deeper relevance to this work becomes clear when we conceive of *the Law* proposed by Kafka in his parable as not simply corresponding to the historically-produced juridical apparatus of legal pronouncements, courts, and penal apparatuses, but rather what psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan describes as *the big Other*. The *big Other* of the Law corresponds to the unseen forces of mass signification structuring the logic of society. The law in this context can be roughly understood as analogical to the structuring of language, while not precisely consisting of language. The *big Other* operates in opposition to individual desires and experiences, while providing them with words, meanings and forms for their experience. Lacan reminds us that we cannot speak other than with the words and meanings of others, and this is the same for the formal aspects of our experience of desire, belonging and satisfaction. Through freely accepting their membership into the Law, individuals are disciplined through the structure and form given to their desires via language and signification; an operation independent of the actual granting of those desires. Žižek suggests that ideology exists in the intimate relationship between individual choices and desires and the promises the *big Other* offers us:

Every belonging to a society involves a paradoxical point at which the subject is ordered to embrace freely, as the result of his choice, what is anyway imposed on him (we must all love our country, our parents...) This paradox of willing (choosing freely) what is in any case necessary, of pretending (maintaining the appearance) that there is a free choice although in fact there isn't, is strictly co-dependent with the notion of an empty symbolic gesture, a gesture – an offer – which is meant to be rejected [Žižek 1997:36].

In the parable the man believes that he has freely chosen to approach and enter the gate of the law. It is, in fact, already open and can therefore be entered by the man at any moment. And yet, something else is peculiar about the revelation that comes at the end of the parable. The man comes believing that the gate is an objective structure he can simply enter, an impersonal fact he approaches from without.

Agamben addresses Kafka's parable by proposing that the Law needs nothing to exist other than to be open and to have the excluded presence of the man to exist. Of the petitioner to the law, he writes that, "...the open door destined only for him includes him in excluding him and excludes him in including him. And this is precisely the summit and the root of every law" (Agamben 1998:50). In the suggestion of the individualized nature of the Law revealed at the parable's conclusion, we can conclude that the Law is, in a sense, always already tangled up in the materialization of the desires and beliefs of the petitioner. However, the truth is revealed when we learn that the man's desires are already interpellated into the structure of the law as it stands. It has been made only for him, both in the manner that compels him to enter it and learn its secrets and the manner in which it excludes him from ever entering. Žižek (1989:70-71) explains:

Here we encounter a kind of reflexivity which cannot be reduced to philosophical reflection: the very feature which seems to exclude the subject from the Other – the secret of the Law.... Is already a 'reflexive determination' of the Other; precisely as excluded from the other, we are already part of its game.

In the belief of the man from the country that the Law be "accessible to each of us at all times" and in the nature of bribes made as mere symbolic sacrifices, the

system of the law is revealed as not only an apparatus of satisfaction and pacification, but its existence owes itself to our presence exterior to it.

At the conclusion of Chapter 5, I suggest that the subjectivities unleashed by diabolical mass consumerism issue out of the upholding of *negative freedom* as the defining logic of liberty in late modernity. Negative freedom is defined as an individual's right to follow one's impulses, enunciated only as freedom from the constraints of the other (Schroder and Carlson 2000:660-661). The use of psychoanalytic principles to structure the operating variables of a consumer democracy was more than simply a matter of discipline and control (Curtis 2002; Ewen 1988, 1996). In contrast to the disciplining of consuming subjects in previous eras, mass consumerism of this era consists of a controlled *undisciplining* of subjects, a channeling, sublimating or unleashing of desires operationalized by giving them social form. As suggested by Schroeder and Carlson negative freedom, "ends up being all form and no content. When negative freedom obtains a content, it is supplied by our inclination- our pathological side, the side of feeling. In the end, mere negative freedom is, in fact, slavery to impulse" (2000:660). The compulsion to be free proposed by negative freedom can accept no content other than that which is arbitrary or contingent. In this context the Law, representing the limits of freedom bases these limits entirely upon the contingency produced by our impulses and the pure arbitrariness of individual pathology. In the context of negative freedom, entrance to the Law is impossible, just as it is impossible to conceive of negative freedom other than one without any other humans or human relationships.

Hegel suggests that negative freedom, with arbitrariness as its guiding principle, is an empty and tautological freedom, not merely “slavery to impulse”, but a form of self-negation (Schroeder and Carlson 2000: 660). In the Hegelian and Kantian traditions, freedom is not merely a natural category, but rather a transcendental one. As such, negative freedom:

so misapprehend itself as to place its essence in [abstract freedom, or pure ego], and flatters itself that in thus being with itself it possesses itself in its purity. More specifically, his self-subsistence is the error of regarding as negative that which is its own essence, and of adopting a negative attitude towards it. Thus it is the negative attitude towards itself which, in seeking to possess its own being destroys it. [Hegel 1993, quoted in Schroeder and Carlson 2000: 661]

Adhering to materialist history implies the rejection of transcendental principals. However we can still accept the implication of this critique in recognizing that the limits and choices of subjectivities are not simply contingent but intersubjectively co-constituted: *socially, politically, emotionally and unconsciously*.

For Maurizio Lazzarato the formation of a neoliberal subjectivity divorced from both social and collective identities also implies incongruently situation within today’s political economy. Lazzarato suggests that the crisis of the present age is primarily one of the failures of neoliberal economy to produce a subjectivity compatible with the conditions demanded of it by the omnipresent market forces. Within the structure of Fordism, the possibility of solidarity was possible due to the consolidated arenas (work and production) through which relationships were built. Even in early consumer democracy, individuated and familial striving was instituted as responses to moments of political and economic danger such as warfare and economic depression. It can even be argued that coercive forces of the time provided a mirror surface by which to imagine and

enunciate the development of a contingent but resistant force, that of trade unionism.

Throughout the period of late twentieth century, collectively defined subjectivities such as those defined by family, ethnicity, nation and class are slowly weeded out of distribution by neoliberalism (Bourdieu 1998). The only alternative template for contemporary subjectivity, suggests Foucault, is that of the entrepreneur. For the majority of the population, however, to be an entrepreneur means something far different than being free to invest ones capital in subjectively creative means, but rather "being compelled to manage declining wages and income, precarity, unemployment, and poverty in the same way one would manage a corporate balance-sheet" (Lazzarato 2014: 9). Lazzarato's figure of "the indebted man" is the dark side of the entrepreneur, one who must take on the responsibility and guilt for his lot to make up for the "economic, social and political failures of the neoliberal power bloc, exactly those failures externalized by the State and business onto society" (2012, 2014:10).

Machinic enslavement within the multiplicitous forces of post-Fordism act through the reterritorialization of "pre-personal (pre-cognitive and preverbal) level" to disperse moral politics: guilt, nostalgia, disgust, fear, and also piety, retraction, and isolation (Lazzarato 2014:38). It is exactly in such a context that memory can lose the candor of knowledge. Instead it becomes a mere burden or even worse, a deployment of occlusionary or justificatory politics. It is no longer the memory of violence but the violence of memory we speak about here. If the juxtaposition of past and present produces an *aporia* in the present as an irony in

the shape of a question, an archaeological approach requires working across this time-space-material continuum, backwards and forwards continuously retreading the processes of change (Wurst and Mrozowski 2014). The desired result is to produce not a *history* of change, but a *historicity* of change:

Historicity is not the zero-level state of things secondarily obfuscated by ideological fixations and naturalizing misrecognitions; historicity itself, the space of contingent discursive constructions, must be sustained through an effort, assumed, regained again and again.... [Žižek 1997:67]

To produce a nuanced archaeological schematic of the history of the twentieth century demands a focus on the correspondence between the smallest and the broadest of scales, the material and ideological. Between these two poles we will find Kafka's man from the country.

Dialectical Ruins

For Benjamin, dialectical ruins imply not simply architectural traces but rather narratives, allegories, the crystallizations of utopian wishes encountered in the past that, when isolated and then juxtaposed, have the capacity to upset the categories of the present. Despite the growth of insightful and productive interdisciplinary work, as a framework to understand the recent past, labor history has been largely in ruins since the mid-80s. And yet, we need it more than ever today in the face of political challenges to things that we take for granted: job security and safety, collective bargaining rights, privacy, technologies of obsolesce, etc. I propose it can be more effective as a critical tool for us today as a redemptive dialectical ruin with its architecture stripped of the historical rationalities that once propped it up and its contents scattered, like objects

thrown from a shelf we can, for the first time, pick up and examine in three dimensions.

Labor archaeology attentive to the historicity of the recent past can now serve to reveal the ironies of progress that have yielded our present. What remains intact from the long disciplinary history of labor is the dialectical armature of class struggle. Most importantly, it can serve as a comparative framework to examine the positions of the most vulnerable in our society, recognizing that they model for all of us the state of exception as bare life or rather, bare labor, in an environment in which the language of the market becomes the yardstick for all forms of value. This includes not only workers but also the precariat: ephemeral immigrant labor, service workers, homecare workers, contract workers. It also must include the unemployed and the unemployable and the retired, many of whom fell through the cracks of labor history documentation. Echoing a claim Slavoj Žižek (2014) made in a recent debate about the value of Marxist dialectics today, rather than asking what aspects of labor history we can salvage to understand our present, we should see how our political economy today might look like when juxtaposed with the dialectical ruins of our labor history.

Early in the century, Walter Benjamin founded a social theory of modernity on the catastrophe of progress which produces “wreckage upon wreckage”, a “pile of debris... growing skyward” (Benjamin 1970:259-260). Archaeology conducted in the anthracite region juxtaposes bullets with piles of discarded and wasted commodities, the wreckage of modernity and progress, tracing the

connections, historical, material, and ideological, between these categories of objects. Residents of Pardeesville and Lattimer today are entangled in the historical trajectory of the twentieth century characterized by the gradual marginalization of the populist radicalism that flourished in the region early in the century (Lasch 1969; Montgomery 1979:1-7; Susman 1984:78; Shackel and Roller 2011; Roller 2013). At the same time they have been left behind in a post-industrial landscape that has rendered their economic landscape obsolete. Many have turned to neoliberal and neoconservative politics to explain the sudden shock of resource competition with recent immigrants. *However, we know this trajectory has a historicity and that historicity is archaeological.*

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NOTES

¹The theme of the essay has been expanded upon in the recent volume by Barbara Little and Paul Shackel entitled *Archaeology, Heritage and Civic Engagement* and subtitled "Working toward the Public Good".

² Before the law sits a gatekeeper. To this gatekeeper comes a man from the country who asks to gain entry into the law. But the gatekeeper says that he cannot grant him entry at the moment. The man thinks about it and then asks if he will be allowed to come in sometime later on. "It is possible," says the gatekeeper, "but not now." The gate to the law stands open, as always, and the gatekeeper walks to the side, so the man bends over in order to see through the gate into the inside. When the gatekeeper notices that, he laughs and says: "If it tempts you so much, try going inside in spite of my prohibition. But take note. I am powerful. And I am only the most lowly gatekeeper. But from room to room stand gatekeepers, each more powerful than the other. I cannot endure even one glimpse of the third." The man from the country has not expected such difficulties: the law should always be accessible for everyone, he thinks, but as he now looks more closely at the gatekeeper in his fur coat, at his large pointed nose and his long, thin, black Tartar's beard, he decides that it would be better to wait until he gets permission to go inside. The gatekeeper gives him a stool and allows him to sit down at the side in front of the gate. There he sits for days and years. He makes many attempts to be let in, and he wears the gatekeeper out with his requests. The gatekeeper often interrogates him briefly, questioning him about his homeland and many other things, but they are indifferent questions, the kind great men put, and at the end he always tells him once more that he cannot let him inside yet. The man, who has equipped himself with many things for his journey, spends everything, no matter how valuable, to win over the gatekeeper. The latter takes it all but, as he does so, says, "I am taking this only so that you do not think you have failed to do anything." During the many years the man observes the gatekeeper almost continuously. He forgets the other gatekeepers, and this first one seems to him the only obstacle for entry into the law. He curses the unlucky circumstance, in the first years thoughtlessly and out loud; later, as he grows old, he only mumbles to himself. He becomes childish and, since in the long years studying the gatekeeper he has also come to know the fleas in his fur collar, he even asks the fleas to help him persuade the gatekeeper. Finally his eyesight grows weak, and he does not know whether things are really darker around him or whether his eyes are merely deceiving him. But he recognizes now in the darkness an illumination which breaks inextinguishably out of the gateway to the law. Now he no longer has much time to live. Before his death he gathers in his head all his experiences of the entire time up into one question which he has not yet put to the gatekeeper. He waves to him, since he can no longer lift up his stiffening body. The gatekeeper has to bend way down to him, for the great difference has changed things considerably to the disadvantage of the man. "What do you still want to know now?" asks the gatekeeper. "You are insatiable." "Everyone strives after the law," says the man, "so how is it that in these many years no one except me has requested entry?" The gatekeeper sees that the man is already dying and, in order to reach his diminishing sense of hearing, he shouts at him, "Here no one else can gain entry, since this entrance was assigned only to you. I'm going now to close it."

³ Bourdieu (1998:96) specifies the groupings he sees at risk, identified as obstacles to capital including: "the nation-state, whose room for maneuver is steadily shrinking; work groups, with for example the individualization of salaries and careers on the basis of individual performance and the consequent atomization of workers; collectives defending workers' rights - unions, societies and cooperatives; even the family, which, through the segmentation of the market into age groups, loses some of its control over consumption."

⁴ Epidemiologists Richard G. Wilkinson and Kate E. Pickett (2009) suggest that inequality can contribute to mental illness, obesity, and teenage pregnancy. For those at the polarized bottom of the hierarchy it can foster crime, affect educational performance, and lower life expectancy. Furthermore, it has effects on social relationships, essentially "undermining social bonds". Pickett and Wilkinson suggest that feelings of dominance and submission, increased social distance,

mistrust and competition for status are all enhanced by inequality (Pickett and Wilkinson 2009; Porter 2014b).

⁵ Three insightful critiques of Picketty's books have come from perhaps the leading radical thinkers of this decade, David Harvey (2014b), David Graeber (2014b) and Slavoj Žižek (2014). All three social theorists do not disagree with the descriptive narrative at the center of Picketty's volume, but rather critique the lukewarm solution that he offers or Picketty's avoidance of discussing either the culpability of agents or structure in creating this trajectory. Nonetheless, Picketty has done more to stimulate public discussion of this problem than practically any other thinker in recent memory.

⁶ Tellingly, mainstream criticism of Picketty's sober appraisal of class inequality in the present accuses him of being a closeted Marxist ideologue, just as those left of center argue that his solutions and explanations hold that he is *not Marxist enough* in his analysis (Harvey 2014; Graeber 2014).

⁷ This perhaps overdetermined focus on collectivities by Commons is tellingly manifested in his *Races and Immigrants in America* (1907) as a belief in the biological disposition of immigrant races which will prevent them from participating in the organized labor movement or otherwise adapt to American society.

⁸ Others suggest that popular outcry against political activism in the university setting had a chilling effect on explicit advocacy on the part of academics (Fink 1991).

⁹ Cave-ins and explosions still occur today at a high rate, most recently in West Virginia, China, and Turkey. Ironically, in this last case, American and British track record of safety abuses was cited as a justification for lax safety in that country's industry by President Erdogan, eager to pass off responsibility for the deaths of 301 miners. Regarding Erdogan's speech, Amy Scott for *The Guardian* (2014) writes:

The government and its media mouthpieces have jumped into self-defence mode, and Erdoğan's speech was typical of the belligerence that marks his response to any kind of criticism. Yesterday, he chose to recount a long list of mining disasters which have occurred abroad, stretching back to a British disaster in 1862 and lingering on accidents which have occurred in America, "which has every kind of technology". His advisers seemed to have spent precious hours researching foreign mining history instead of coming up with a detailed course of action to assure the public of Erdoğan's commitment to finding those both directly and indirectly responsible for the blast. (Scott 2014)

The notion that despite the fact that America has "every kind of technology" it cannot prevent mining deaths is easily disproven in recognition of the fact that Massey Energy was found guilty of numerous safety violations in connection with the 2010 Upper Big Branch Mine explosion that killed 29 miners. The company was charged a fine of \$10,825,368 following an investigation that uncovered 21 flagrant violations (MSHA 2011). In sum, Erdogan's usage of American examples suggests an even higher cost of such behavior if America is to serve as the justificatory standard for other countries poor treatment of their labor.

¹⁰ Roberts (1904) uses the term "Sclav", a variation upon the term Slav, to describe all "foreigners" who have "little or no command of the English language". Grouping a broad group of immigrants including Italians, Tyroleans, Poles, Hungarians, Slavs, Russians, Bohemians, Lithuanians and Greeks, this gross simplification grants Roberts the self-professed advantage of "a simple means of contrasting two elements" of the population, roughly dividing the new and old immigrants (1904:20). He shares this nomenclature with fellow Progressive Frank Warne, who published *The Sclav Invasion* in the same year.

¹¹ Theodore Roosevelt was said to have kept a copy of the text "always near at hand" throughout his residency (Ewen 1996:65).

¹² A sample of these texts include: Edward Bernay's *Crystallizing Public Opinion* (1923), *Propaganda* (1928); Edward Filene's *The New Capitalism* (1930), *The Consumer's Dollar* (1934); Walter Lippman's *Public Opinion* (1922), *The Phantom Public* (1930); and Roy Sheldon and Egmont Aren's *Consumer Engineering: A New Technique for Prosperity* (1932).

¹³ Schroeder and Carlson (2000: 656-657), draw from Žižek's interpretations of Kantian definitions for evil in his texts, *The Ticklish Subject: The Absent Centre Of Political Ontology* (1999), *Sic 2: Cogito and The Unconscious* (1998), and *The Plague Of Fantasies* (1997), in defining the diabolical as:

“...evil that comports exactly with the procedural requirements of Kantian morality. Diabolical evil is what the perfect coincidence of law and morality portends. When law and morality coincide, the ordinary, quotidian traces of evil rooted in the acts of mankind threaten to metamorphosize into a monstrous, sublime diabolical evil.... The moral act is that which is done for the sake of universality alone, out of a duty freely adopted on purely rational grounds. What is done for reasons of particularity- inclination, feeling, or, in general, pathology-is evil. Diabolical evil, however, is done for nonpathological reasons- out of a duty freely adopted on purely rational grounds. Hence, it is indistinguishable from the moral. In Kantian philosophy, there is no difference between the highest morality and the direst evil” (656-657).

From a historical standpoint, they conclude that, “diabolical evil is nothing but the negative freedom of the human subject, and as such, is the very foundation of liberal philosophy and psychoanalysis.” (656-657)

¹⁴ This perspective is taken up by theorists of the Frankfurt School throughout the middle of the twentieth century to critique developments in Late Capitalism. This paper is intended to address the prehistory of these developments (Adorno and Horkheimer 1944; Marcuse 1955, 1964).

¹⁵ As recently as 1999 Thomas Friedman, in his book *The Lexus and the Olive Tree*, presented the “Golden Arches Theory of Conflict Prevention” suggesting that no two countries with a McDonald’s, and presumably with a middle-class to support its business and defend the market conditions which held it stable, had ever gone to war. He was wrong at the time and the idea has only eroded in credibility in the decade and a half since it was proposed; most recently by tensions and war-like aggression between Russia and the Ukraine, both of which have McDonald’s.