



**NATIONAL
ENDOWMENT
FOR THE
HUMANITIES**

Narrative and Treatment/Script

Sections of a Successful Application

The attached document contains the grant narrative and other selected portions of a previously funded grant application. It is not intended to serve as a model, but to give you a sense of how a successful application may be crafted. Every successful application is different, and each applicant is urged to prepare a proposal that reflects its unique project and aspirations. Prospective applicants should consult the Public Programs application guidelines (Notices of Funding Opportunities) and additional information on grant programs at <https://www.neh.gov/divisions/public>. Applicants are also strongly encouraged to consult with the NEH Division of Public Programs staff well before a grant deadline.

Note: The attachment only contains the grant narrative and selected portions, such as the script or treatment, not the entire funded application. In addition, certain portions may have been redacted to protect the privacy interests of an individual and/or to protect confidential commercial and financial information and/or to protect copyrighted materials.

Project Title: Lost Highways Podcast

Institution: State Historical Society of Colorado

Project Director: Noel Black

Grant Program: Media Projects Production

***Lost Highways: A Rocky Mountain History Podcast from History Colorado* Narrative**

A. Nature of the request:

History Colorado respectfully requests \$208,808 from the National Endowment for the Humanities to support the production of eight 45- to 60-minute episodes of *Lost Highways: Dispatches from the Shadows of the Rocky Mountains*, a podcast about the overlooked history of the Rocky Mountain West. *Lost Highways* tells engaging, relevant, diverse, and under-told stories about Colorado and the Rocky Mountain West and their impact on the nation. Drawing upon the resources of History Colorado's vast collection -- particularly oral histories and other audio resources -- and augmenting our holdings with new interviews and recordings, they share compelling stories in tightly constructed, highly produced, host-driven narratives.

Not mere history lessons or self-indulgent explications, each episode explores topics that resonate with questions about our world today, connecting the historical with the contemporary, the macro with the micro, the national with the local, and ultimately offering listeners a deeper understanding of how we got to now. This podcast is unique in that it is the first statewide podcast devoted to Colorado history and its impact on the nation and the world. Episodes run approximately 45 to 60 minutes long, with each season probing central humanities topics around western identity such as home, individualism, and the search for freedom. Six episodes are scheduled to be released beginning in September 2019, to be followed by a second season comprised of eight episodes beginning in September 2020. Grant funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities would support the production of the second season of *Lost Highways*.

The American West has long been seen as a place of freedom and opportunity, but that identity finds complex expression through the lived experiences of those who call the region home. In a series of diverse stories, united by a shared landscape that Wallace Stegner once called "the native home of hope," *Lost Highways* will explore this central theme through the lives of individuals who sought the promise of personal liberty against the spectacular backdrop of the Rocky Mountain West. We will also explore major themes around women's experiences with freedom and risk, and marginalized people's fight for self-actualization. For more than a century, inherited notions of what it means to live out West -- from outdoorsmanship to the freedom of wide-open spaces -- have linked independence to a deep connection to the land. In *Lost Highways*, we examine the many ways those inherited ideas have shaped how people have tried to live in the Rocky Mountain West, and then complicate them by comparing them to individuals' actual lived experiences. Episodes in season two will chronicle the experiences of activists, counterculture idealists, independent women, and Hispanic residents, each topic offering a unique lens on our themes.

B. Program synopsis:

Each episode of *Lost Highways* begins by inviting listeners to draw connections between western history and current events. Hosts and lifelong Colorado residents Noel Black and Tyler

Hill's engagement with historical topics opens a personal door and invites listeners to cultivate a sense of wonder at the stories they discover along the way. Episodes span diverse cultures, geographies, and time periods in the history of Colorado and the Rocky Mountain West. Taken as a whole, the season will leave the listener with a deeper understanding of how the American West has long been seen as a place of freedom and opportunity, but that reputation for freedom is complicated by individuals' lived experiences.

C. Humanities content:

The American West has long been seen as a place of freedom and opportunity, but that identity finds complex expression through the lived experiences of those who call the region home.

Utopians, activists, and “nationalists” all found a natural home in the West to explore new ideas of freedom and community, leading to lasting cultural change across the nation. Today, Americans are echoing the ideals of these original communities by experimenting with cohousing-style living, sustainable communities, and “America First” rhetoric.

Some of the first 1960s hippie communes that gained national relevance were located in Colorado -- Drop City and Libre. In the podcast episode “A Tale of Two Communes” we tell the story of these artist communes that sought to embody the counterculture and a true expression of personal and artistic freedom. Drop City was the first of the two communes to form, and was featured sensationally and nationally in *Time* magazine from 1965 to 1967. While media attention on Drop City helped spread counterculture ideals across the nation, it also contributed to the demise of the commune, which failed after an influx of new members arrived but did not contribute to its upkeep. Libre, on the other hand, survives to this day, albeit in a form that is guided less by the total personal freedom of Drop City and more by structure, agreed-upon rules of conduct, and an insular vetting process. Through a rich collection of interviews with members and founders from both communes, hosts Black and Hill ask: what are the limits of freedom in community? Once strict rules are established, is a counterculture commune still counterculture? They conclude with a paradoxical analysis that in order for a community focused on freedom to survive, compromises and shared societal rules may be necessary. Modern-day cohousing movements and other individuals focused on a return to hippie ideals may have a romanticised vision of the carefree nature of past counterculture communities. All listeners have the opportunity to benefit from this historical reflection on how, in order to achieve freedom and a community's goals, compromise to strict idealism is the historical norm. We draw upon the scholarship of Mark Mathews, Pamela J. Clark, H. Roger Grant, and many others to inform our discussion of the hippie and utopist experience.

In the episode “Turned-On Dropouts” we look at another facet of the counterculture movement in Colorado that drew national attention historically: the Naropa Institute in Boulder. At the Naropa Institute in Boulder, Chogyam Trungpa led the development of a Buddhist movement in the West and created a community of poets that included participants like Allen Ginsburg. The

community members sought personal freedom through their Buddhist spiritual ideals and self-actualization through poetic work of the Naropa poetry community, leaving a lasting legacy of spiritual and artistic exploration in Boulder. In an incident that 2019 listeners would now understand as a #MeToo style scandal, Trungpa forced two attendees to strip naked at a party against their will. The incident rocked the community -- despite their commitment to spiritual education and personal freedom, members were not protected from sexual assault and abuse at the hands of Trungpa. In fact, loyalty to the insular community pushed women and men to stay silent about their experiences with sexual assault, an experience shared by many. The work of Timothy Miller and Jeff Roche provide scholarly insight into the conflict and cover up -- known as the Naropa Poetry Wars -- and the limitations of ideals to protect vulnerable people.

Hippies were not alone in finding mixed results when seeking opportunity and freedom in the West. During the Great Depression, Coloradans staked out a claim on jobs and opportunities using "America First" style rhetoric to exclude "immigrants" from New Mexico. This culminated in the brief closing of the Colorado border to New Mexicans, until a backlash from employers seeking beet pickers and sheep shearers reopened them. The episode "Mirror Mirror" shows how borders have been drawn between Colorado and New Mexico, the United States and Mexico, and California and the rest of the United States, using the same narratives about employment and undesirable immigration that we often hear today. The episode focuses on the case study of Governor "Big Ed" Johnson to share how Americans have historically created in-groups and out-groups in order to build their version of a more perfect union. Derek Everett will share the most recent scholarship and perspective on Governor Johnson from a biography he is currently writing, while historians Douglas Sheflin, Carl Abbott, Mae M. Ngai, and many more have written on these issues of labor and immigration in the West.

Women in the mid-twentieth century had opportunities for great freedoms, yet could face great peril in the West.

While western settlement often carried the social norms of the eastern United States with it, the West represented the promise of greater freedom and opportunity to women. Two episodes will explore the lives of women in the West around the turn of the twentieth century.

"Rattlesnake Kate" follows the story of Kate Slaughterback, who made a living selling the rattlesnakes she killed and played an active role in curating her own larger-than-life identity. She ran a homestead in Colorado where she built her own house, sewed her own rattlesnake skin dress, and beaded a belt with cowboy hat motifs that declared her to be *the* "Rattlesnake Kate." An abundance of available primary source material allows our hosts to break new ground in this overlooked story by presenting Kate as a proto-feminist, running her own business and gaining attention in regional papers through her larger-than-life antics. From claiming to have survived an airplane crash to making moonshine, by engaging in mythmaking Kate found great economic and social opportunities. Works like Virginia Scharff's *Twenty Thousand Roads* and Patricia Nelson Limerick's *The Legacy of Conquest* frame this discussion of independent women in the West, and ask why popular notions of western culture focus on masculinity when many women engaged in the same work as men, staking out an often-overlooked claim on the economic and

social history of the West. The popularity of the modern feminist movement indicates audience interest in the stories of bold women from history, and we enter the subject by speaking with Neyla Pekarek from the popular band The Lumineers about her newest album, inspired by the stories of Rattlesnake Kate.

In “The Triplet Murders” hosts Noel and Tyler discuss some of History Colorado’s most interesting collections with Ann Sneesby-Koch, our Project Manager for the Colorado Digital Newspaper Project and expert on turn-of-the-century sex workers. Women immigrating to Colorado were able to find greater economic freedom by engaging in sex work. However, they faced significant social stigma and risks to their safety, much like sex workers today. We connect these ongoing issues of opportunity and safety to the present day by relating them to the closing of websites like Backpage and Craigslist to sex workers as a way to screen clients. After three women were murdered in 1980 in what became known as the Triplet Murders, these issues were highlighted to the broader community, in much the same way that the closing of modern websites sparked a national discussion in the media. The coverage of the Triplet Murders in the *Rocky Mountain News* and *The Denver Post* was one of the most sensational stories of early Denver, providing editorial insight into public perception of the women who worked in Denver's sex trade and the the aftershock among the sex worker community in Denver. We have access to transcripts of interviews with Laura Evens, who worked in Denver in the late nineteenth century and then ran a brothel in Salida, Colorado, well into the twentieth. Her interviews, while highly anecdotal and mostly entertaining, also offer rare firsthand insight into the lives of women who actually worked in the sex trade of Colorado at the turn of the twentieth century. A conversation with William Wei, Colorado State Historian and author of the essay “Representations of Nineteenth-Century Chinese Prostitutes and Chinese Sexuality in the American West,” provides a racial dimension to the scholarly background for this episode.

While the episode on “Rattlesnake Kate” provides an example of a woman successfully finding personal freedom and room to construct her identity in the course of homesteading the West’s wide-open spaces, “The Triplet Murders” focuses on the limitations and risks that women face by rejecting societal norms.

Throughout the twentieth century, marginalized Americans in the West fought for self-actualization.

Inherited ideas of freedom out West didn’t mean freedom for everyone. Throughout our series we ask, who asserts power within society and who is subject to that power? How do the boundaries of these groups shift over time? Where do we see successes and limitations in the efforts of marginalized individuals to find inclusion in western society? How have public perceptions of marginalized groups evolved to bring us to the present day? Three episodes examine cases in which the West has been the setting for the expansion of individual rights that went on to impact the nation as a whole.

“The City that Changed Sex” is a case study on the life of Stanley Biber, the doctor who transformed Trinidad, Colorado, into the “sex change capital of the world” through his

pioneering work in sex reassignment surgeries. Biber's work began in secret in a hospital run by Catholic nuns, but later became a part of the economic success and cultural identity of Trinidad as businesses and hotels began to cater to transgender clients. By rejecting the heteronormative boundaries of what it means to live in the West, he created space and freedom for transgender persons. We are fortunate to have been able to interview Biber before he passed away, providing this episode with a personal look into the experience of being on the cutting edge of cultural transformation. We rely upon the work of several historians of queer history to frame our discussion, including that of Joanne J. Meyerowitz and Susan Stryker.

On July 5, 1978, wheelchair users and disability rights protestors blocked traffic at one of Denver's busiest intersections, bringing the city to a standstill for a full twenty-four hours. They would become known as "the Gang of 19," and as various other civil rights movements regarding race, class, gender, and sexuality across the country caught fire, they would ensure that people with disabilities also had a seat at the table. The Gang of 19 and other direct actions by the Denver-based disability rights group ADAPT would be pivotal in making Denver the first city in the United States to offer public transit that was accessible to people living with disabilities. But passing legislation and enforcing it are two different things, and many disability rights activists still feel there is a long way to go, even in Colorado where access to accessible transit and Medicare benefits is relatively high. We will talk to primary sources like surviving members of the Gang of 19, lawmakers of all affiliations, ADAPT members, and Colorado residents with disabilities as well as scholars in the fields of disability studies, history, and architecture in an attempt to locate Colorado's place in the fight for accessibility and disability rights. As one of the most accessible museums in the world is being built in Colorado Springs, and Denver still lacks accessible sidewalks in large swaths of the city, Colorado is once again at the center of the debate over who's in and who's out in the American West: a place built on ideals of freedom, opportunity, and wide-open spaces.

Our final episode, the "Miseducation of Freddie Freak," tells the story of Juan Frederico Trujillo, a Chicano activist who participated in *el Movimiento* of the 1960s to the 1980s. Oral histories with Trujillo make up the basis of this episode and document his journey from a young man pressured by nuns to anglicize his name to embracing the opportunity to reclaim his Chicano identity as an activist. "The Miseducation of Freddie Freak" defines the journey from exploitation to empowerment through the voices of the people who marched, organized, and struggled for justice. Dramatic readings from Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales' seminal poem *Yo Soy Joaquin* and from Gloria Anzaldua's *Borderlands/La Frontera* will add to the experience. The episode illuminates the distinct aspects of the national Chicano movement including land and labor rights, student activism, and anti-war sentiment.

Season two of *Lost Highways* provides listeners with the opportunity to understand, through eight moments in time, how our western identity has influenced the rest of the nation. It looks at how lofty dreamers, bold women, and larger-than-life activists have confronted reality and experimented with what it means to live in Colorado, and in the United States as a whole. Our

stories echo the most pressing issues of today, offering context and examples to listeners of both successes and failures as individuals have sought freedom and opportunity.

D. Creative approach:

Lost Highways is a narrative documentary podcast with a strong host presence. The podcast relies heavily on audio clips from oral histories, interviews with scholars, interviews with living subjects, and host narration around History Colorado's collections and archival materials to present high-quality research in an approachable documentary style. This documentary content will position Colorado as a microcosm of many of the ideas, struggles, and hopes that have animated some of the most consequential and contentious conversations in the twenty-first century.

The host-driven nature of the podcast serves to connect modern conversations and contemporary personal experiences with their historical context. Hosts Noel Black and Tyler Hill, both raised in Colorado, engage in personal lines of questioning about the past to draw the audience into the humanities content and humanize our historical subjects. The style aims to be personal, often humorous and conversational, while also being journalistic, documentary, and serious in its approach.

Several oral histories provide opportunities for immersive experiences with powerful, underrepresented voices. For example, "The Miseducation of Freddie Freak" will rely on an oral history with the episode's Chicano subject, Juan Frederico Trujillo, while adding context with host interviews of scholars such as State Historian William Wei. Interviews with living members of the Libre commune and archival interviews with subjects like the pioneering sex-change surgeon Dr. Stanley Biber will bring valuable connections from the past to pressing contemporary matters. One of our most unique creative approaches will be to interview musician Neyla Pekarek from The Lumineers about her engagement with the history of "Rattlesnake Kate" to produce a new album based on Kate Slaughterback's life.

Where interviews and oral histories are not available, dramatic re-creations may be used. In the case of "The Triplet Murders," for example, a dramatic reading of interview transcripts with 1960s Denver prostitutes from the History Colorado collection may be used.

Analysis of primary source material such as Big Ed Johnson's speeches in "Mirror Mirror" will engage the audience in the work of historical research and interpretation. Rattlesnake Kate's dress and belt provide a unique opportunity to engage with exciting material artifacts through host descriptions. In the case of "The Triplet Murders," our abundant newspaper sources will enable us to follow the ways the murders were investigated and the public's reactions.

Our archival materials and preliminary interviews provide a rich and varied source of information to draw upon. A list of the most important materials can be found in section M.

Similar Podcasts

We have conducted a broad competitive analysis of a range of comparable podcasts. The heaviest competition lies in the realm of history where podcasts like *Things You Missed in History Class*, *BackStory*, and *Hardcore History* are reporting download numbers from 500,000 per episode. These podcasts focus on a diversity of geographic regions, many not within the United States. People interested in the stories and history of Colorado and the Rocky Mountain West have few options, but it is clear from the popularity of these podcasts that there is significant demand for history content.

Most of the notable “podcasts” coming out of Colorado are repurposed radio or public television content being put out as podcasts such as *Colorado Matters* from Colorado Public Radio (CPR) and *Colorado Experience* from Rocky Mountain PBS. The two notable exceptions are *The Tax Man* podcast about Douglas Bruce from CPR and *Wish We Were Here*, the now-defunct podcast about southern Colorado that Noel Black co-produced for KRCC Public Radio. *Changing Denver* is the only documentary-style Denver-centric podcast of any competitive note. It is well-produced, and its most recent season is fairly exhaustive on the topic of the Rocky Flats nuclear weapons plant, but listenership numbers are not available. Given the lack of competition in the region, we anticipate strong regional, state, and local interest due to the “backyard effect” if marketed properly. We believe that by bringing a closer focus to topics that resonate specifically with listeners looking to better understand their world closer to home, *Lost Highways* can establish a strong listener base within the western regional market. The national relevance of our season-two topics, such as the #MeToo movement, LGBTQ history, and immigration, broadens the podcast’s appeal to national audiences. As one of the fastest-growing states in the nation and a pioneer on many national issues, Colorado enjoys significant national attention.

There are few well-produced, documentary-style podcasts being created about Colorado or the West. This podcast can serve as a way for Coloradans to learn about their history and region, and for others outside the state and in rural areas to understand the stories that have shaped not just this region, but the country as a whole. With a rich and multifaceted collection that spans millennia of human history in the Rocky Mountains, and a large statewide and national network of partners, no organization is more ideally suited than History Colorado to offer listeners compelling content about the place we call home.

E. Audience and distribution:

In fall 2018, the Podcast Team launched an internally managed market research survey to define our target audience’s demographics, understand our target audience’s preferences, and refine our marketing strategies. The survey was statistically valid and reached over 1,000 respondents across the United States with 52 percent of respondents from Colorado. In addition, the survey was sent to History Colorado membership to gauge their opinions on the same topics.

After analyzing the results, the Podcast Team has concluded that the target audience of *Lost Highways* encompasses three groups:

1. Individuals between the ages of 18-44 who listen to podcasts at least monthly (34 percent of all respondents).
2. Individuals who live outside of the Front Range corridor (often, but not always, in rural areas) who listen to podcasts at least monthly (11 percent of all respondents representing the rural portion of this target audience).
3. Non-white individuals who listen to podcasts at least monthly (15 percent of all respondents).

These audiences show a demonstrated interest in the podcast medium through regular listening, indicate interest in concepts similar to *Lost Highways*, and have a higher likelihood to listen than other respondents. They also represent an opportunity for History Colorado to create affinity among audience groups that differ from the demographics of our current membership base. While members have shown a great deal of interest in the idea of a podcast and will certainly be part of the marketing effort and anticipated audience, efforts will focus on connecting with the audiences noted above. Developing these new audiences is essential to our mission to share Colorado's stories in ways that promote civic engagement and investment in creating a better future for Colorado.

Target Audience Preferences

Our survey found that our target audiences enjoy narrative/documentary (*This American Life*) and interview (*Fresh Air*) style podcasts. This style preference confirms that the narrative format of *Lost Highways* will be appealing to listeners.

Target audiences listen to podcasts for a variety of reasons but more people listen to podcasts to “learn new things” and because “the hosts are compelling” than others. This suggests that personalized, host-driven hooks for each episode will be compelling for listeners.

Target audiences were generally interested in podcast descriptions similar to *Lost Highways*. Each description garnered at least 65 percent of respondents indicating they were either somewhat or very interested in the concept and at least 68 percent of respondents indicating they were either somewhat or very likely to listen to each concept. While the description of *Lost Highways* was not tested specifically, this finding indicates interest in the material.

Marketing, Advertising, and Outreach

Target audiences most often learn about new podcasts via word of mouth. They also discover new podcasts through recommendations on podcasts they already listen to, web searches, searches of streaming services, and by reading reviews. In order to generate word of mouth interest, we will promote the podcast at a series of listening parties in the Denver Metro Area

and create behind-the-scenes content to cultivate interest in the new podcast for sharing on social media. The Podcast Team has identified a list of similar podcasts to target for ad buys, interviews, and to pitch to air individual episodes of *Lost Highways*. We will use Google Adwords ads and a webpage on our organizational website to promote the podcast to listeners conducting web searches.

Our marketing survey also found that target audiences are heavy users of social media. We will invest in targeted audience-sponsored posts to create awareness as well as to create behind-the-scenes content like photographs and a short trailer to tease episodes on social media. We will also advertise in e-blasts to members in coordination with press releases and media outreach.

At least 85 percent of survey respondents in the Colorado target audience had engaged in some sort of cultural or community activity in the past three months (visited a museum or art gallery, gone to a sporting event, volunteered, gone to a block party, etc.). Paid physical advertising in the Denver Metro Area and onsite marketing at History Colorado's ten community museums and historic sites across the state through digital screens and handouts will help us to reach these audiences.

Target audiences are frequent listeners of public radio. At least 80 percent of each respondent in the Colorado target audience listened to public radio at least once a week, and at least 50 percent listened to public radio at least once a day. Hosts Noel Black and Tyler Hill will offer interviews, particularly with Colorado Public Radio, local community radio (KUNC, KGNU, etc.), and local television (Unique2Colorado/KWGN, Next w/Kyle Clark/9News) to reach public radio listeners. We will also purchase radio ads with a focus on public radio stations. Currently, we are exploring opportunities for local and national radio distribution partners to air episodes (CPR, RMPBS, NPR ONE, etc.).

Colorado Public Radio, Rocky Mountain Community Radio, and other regional radio stations are potential distribution partners. We believe it is conservative to think that we could have 2,500 downloads per episode outside of any distribution deals. The release of the first season of the podcast in September 2019 will allow us to measure our marketing impact and pivot resources towards those strategies that have proven the most successful.

F. Project evaluation:

The Podcast Team will capture all available download data offered by Libsyn, a podcast hosting platform. We will also use Podtrac, an independent, free tracking service, as well as iTunes data to measure downloads. The number of downloads combined with the listenership data from distribution partners will allow us to reliably report on our audience size.

In order to measure whether the podcast has met its learning goals and engaged audiences in thinking about humanities ideas, we will analyze our social media comments sections and

listener feedback given via email to qualitatively assess if audiences understand key takeaways or are engaged in discussing content.

Listening parties with question-and-answer components will provide the bulk of our qualitative evaluation data. We have successfully used this model with season one, hosting an episode preview and discussion at “The Center,” an LGBTQ service center. Audience questions and feedback led to tweaks in episode content before release to the general public, and assured our production team that our themes were comprehensible, accessible, and meaningful to listeners. For season two, several listening parties may be held at The Center, History Colorado Center, El Pueblo History Museum, or Trinidad History Museum. We are happy to provide a summary of findings and comments made at these listening parties to NEH at the conclusion of the season.

G. Humanities advisers:

Many humanities scholars and topic experts have been identified as resources for *Lost Highways*. Listed below, with brief bios, are the scholars who have committed to participating in this project. Resumes and letters of commitment for each are included as item 7 of the application -- “Résumés and letters of interest and commitment.”

Thomas Andrews, PhD - Professor of US History, University of Colorado Boulder. Thomas is one of the leading environmental historians in the state. His first book, *Killing for Coal: America's Deadliest Labor War* (Harvard University Press, 2008), won six awards, including the Bancroft Prize. He will contribute his broad knowledge of Colorado history to the project by providing episode reviews.

Sam Bock, MA - Exhibit Developer at History Colorado. Sam’s graduate work at the University of Colorado Boulder focused on the intersection of Native American and environmental history. Sam will provide research support and historical review of content.

Shaun Boyd, MA, MIS - Curator of Archives at History Colorado. Shaun oversees and manages the History Colorado archives collection. She will interpret and make the collection and its intellectual content available to the Podcast Team and guide them regarding the interpretation and use of artifacts in the collection.

Cara DeGette - Editor, *Greater Park Hill News*; Affiliate Professor in Journalism, Metropolitan State University of Denver. Cara brings over 30 years of experience as an editor and journalist to our team. Cara will act as a consultant for journalism ethics on the podcast.

Ramon Del Castillo, PhD - Professor of Chicano/a Studies, Metropolitan State University of Denver. Ramon’s areas of interest include Latino public policy issues and concerns, Diversity in American society, Chicana/o studies, Latino youth leadership development, and poetry. He will act as an expert advisor for the podcast by reviewing historical content and giving interviews. His work will focus on the “Miseducation of Freddie Freak” episode in particular.

Derek R. Everett, PhD - Professor of History, Colorado State University. Derek has consulted with History Colorado on several projects, including past exhibitions, publications, and research initiatives. He will provide broad expertise in Western history, especially immigration history, in the form of content reviews and interviews.

Pricilla Falcon, PhD - Professor of Hispanic Studies, University of Northern Colorado. Pricilla brings over 20 years of research experience as a Professor of Hispanic Studies. She will provide interviews and historic content reviews for the podcast, focusing especially on Latino history.

Nicki Gonzales, PhD - Associate Professor of History at Regis University. Her research interests include the American Southwest, the Chicano Movement in Colorado, Chicano social, political, legal, and environmental activism, and the history of land grant communities. She has served as an advisor for History Colorado's exhibits *El Movimiento: The Chicano Movement in Colorado* and *Zoom In: The Centennial State in 100 Objects*. She will provide historic content review and interviews as an advisor for the podcast.

Jason Hanson, MA - Chief Creative Officer and Director of Interpretation and Research at History Colorado. Jason's previous publications include "Women's Work in Utopia: How the Women of the Colorado Cooperative Company Sought Utopia by Doing What They'd Always Done" (*Colorado Heritage*, July/August 2016). Jason will provide creative oversight, community coordination, and executive leadership to the podcast.

Thomas J. Noel, PhD - Professor of History and Director of Public History, Preservation & Colorado Studies at the University of Colorado Denver. Tom has written many books and articles about the state and serves as a tour guide for History Colorado. His courses at CU Denver include regional history (Colorado, Denver, and the U.S. West), historic preservation, heritage tourism, and the National Park Service, and classes on Colorado industries like mining and railroads. He is coauthor of *Colorado: A History of the Centennial State*.

Julie Peterson, MA - Exhibit Developer at History Colorado. Julie has worked on several successful exhibits at History Colorado, including *Zoom In: The Centennial State in 100 Objects*. Julie will conduct supporting research for *Lost Highways* and provide review of historical content.

Tom Romero, PhD and JD - Professor of Law and Affiliated Faculty Member of History, Assistant Provost of IE Research and Curricular Initiatives, University of Denver. Tom is an expert on legal history of the American West, Latinos and the law, school desegregation in multiracial contexts, property, land use, water law, and urban development and local government in the United States. He will provide interviews and conduct content reviews for the podcast.

Susan Schulten, PhD - Professor and Chair of the History Department, University of Denver. Susan is the author of [A History of America in 100 Maps](#), [Mapping the Nation: history and cartography in nineteenth-century America](#)(2012) and [The Geographical Imagination in](#)

America, 1880-1950, both with the University of Chicago Press. She has been extensively involved in the podcast project, and will continue to provide guidance, interviews, and content expertise.

Douglas Sheflin, PhD - Earned his PhD at the University of Colorado at Boulder where he studied modern American history with an emphasis on environmental history and the history of the American West. Most of Sheflin's recent research deals with land use and labor on the Colorado Plains and seeks to explain how the Dust Bowl, New Deal, and World War II combined to change agriculture in southeastern Colorado. His first book, *Legacies of Dust: Land Use and Labor on the Colorado Plains*, is set for publication in 2019. Douglas will provide historical content reviews and interviews for the podcast, focusing on the "Mirror Mirror" episode.

Ann Sneesby-Koch, MA, MIS - Project Manager, Colorado Digital Newspaper Project at History Colorado. Ann is an expert on the social history of sex work in the American West, and she is involved with Atlas Obscura, leading walking tours of Denver's historic red-light district. She will provide research and reference support for the episode "The Triplet Murders."

Stephen Leonard, PhD - Professor in the Department of History at Metropolitan State University of Denver. His areas of research and expertise focus on the history of Colorado and Denver. Leonard has authored *Trials and Triumphs*, and *Lynching in Colorado, 1859-1919*. His book *Colorado: A History of the Centennial State* is a popular college-level textbook. More recently, Leonard co-authored *A Short History of Denver* in 2016. Stephen will use his broad base of knowledge to provide content reviews for the podcast.

Jared Orsi, PhD - Professor of History, Colorado State University. Jared brings his expertise on Colorado history, environmental history, and borderlands history to the podcast. He will provide interviews and reviews of historical content to bring *Lost Highways* to light.

William Philpott, PhD - Professor of History, University of Denver. William is the author of a labor history titled *The Lessons of Leadville, or, Why the Western Federation of Miners Turned Left*. His forthcoming book, *Vacation Land: Tourism and Environmental Transformation in the High Country*, is rooted in Colorado environmental history. William's expertise on labor and environmental history will be contributed to the podcast in the form of content reviews and interviews.

William Wei, PhD - Professor of History at the University of Colorado Boulder. William is editor-in-chief of the online Colorado Encyclopedia and has held various national and international fellowships. His work focuses primarily on modern China, with research interests in Asian Americans. His latest book, *Asians in Colorado: A History of Persecution and Perseverance in the Centennial State*, was a finalist for the 2017 Colorado Authors' League Award for General Non-Fiction.

H. Media team:

Noel Black is the Senior Producer and Host of *Lost Highways*. He was the creator, co-host, and Senior Producer of *Wish We Were Here*, an Edward R. Murrow Award-winning radio program and podcast produced by KRCC public radio in Colorado Springs, Colorado.

Tyler Hill is the Producer and Co-Host of *Lost Highways*. He was formerly a producer at NPR's *Morning Edition*, *Weekend All Things Considered*, and *Weekend Edition*, and the host and producer of the independent podcast *Gods & Ghosts*.

I. Progress:

We are currently finalizing production for season one, which consists of six episodes. Season one of the podcast will be released in September 2019 on iTunes, Google Podcasts, the History Colorado website, and other platforms. We are currently in negotiations with Colorado radio partners to broadcast select episodes of the podcast on air. Initial research and interviews have been conducted for the second season of the podcast.

During the NEH period of performance, further archival research will be conducted on season two topics to gather and edit audio clips and oral histories that can be used to present each subject. The Podcast Team will conduct further interviews with scholars and individuals who can act as primary sources. They will then record narrative host discussions around each subject to bring together archival content and the new interviews, edit the podcasts, and finalize them for release. Throughout this entire process they will work closely with our Podcast Advisory Committee, a group of historians and podcast experts, to review the content and direction of each episode, ensuring that the humanities content is of the highest quality. Season two of *Lost Highways* will be released in September 2020, with eight episodes launching two weeks apart from one another over a four-month period. Evaluation of the podcast's impact on audiences will begin at this time and conclude in February 2021.

J. Work plan:

Each episode takes approximately six weeks to produce, with our humanities scholars reviewing script drafts and providing input throughout the process. The Podcast Advisory Group, including our humanities scholars, meets formally at least every three months for general discussion. A typical six-week work plan for an episode is below, followed by a month-by-month work plan for the season.

Week 1: Booking, research.

Week 2: Research, interviews.

Week 3: Interviews, transcription, outlining.

Week 4: Script writing.

Week 5: Script edit to humanities scholars, rewrite, tracking, editing.

Week 6: Mix, humanities scholars listen and critique, rewrite, retrack, remix.

<p>February 2020</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Podcast Team conducts research and interviews ● Podcast Team records content, transcription, writing, outlining ● Podcast Team performs script edits, tracking, editing ● Humanities scholars provide critiques
<p>March 2020</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Advisory Group and Editorial Team Meetings ● Podcast Team conducts research and interviews ● Podcast Team records content, transcription, writing, outlining ● Podcast Team performs script edits, tracking, editing ● Humanities scholars provide critiques
<p>April 2020</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Podcast Team conducts research and interviews ● Podcast Team records content, transcription, writing, outlining ● Podcast Team performs script edits, tracking, editing ● Humanities scholars provide critiques
<p>May 2020</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Podcast Team conducts research and interviews ● Podcast Team records content, transcription, writing, outlining ● Podcast Team performs script edits, tracking, editing ● Humanities scholars provide critiques
<p>June 2020 (90 Days Out from Launch)</p>	<p>Public sneak preview of “Freddie Freak” episode at The Center on Colfax (LGBTQ center in Denver)</p> <p>: Preliminary publicity efforts begin</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Advisory Group and Editorial Team Meetings ● Podcast Team conducts research and interviews ● Podcast Team records content, transcription, writing, outlining ● Podcast Team performs script edits, tracking, editing ● Humanities scholars provide critiques
<p>July 2020 (60 Days Out)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Podcast Team finalizes Libsyn Setup ● Podcast Team initiates cross-promotional efforts ● Podcast Team conducts research and interviews ● Podcast Team records content, transcription, writing, outlining ● Podcast Team performs script edits, tracking, editing ● Humanities scholars provide critiques
<p>August 2020 (30 Days Out)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● History Colorado marketing team begins media campaign and publicity ● History Colorado marketing team begins paid promotion

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Podcast Team conducts research and interviews ● Podcast Team records content, transcription, writing, outlining ● Podcast Team performs script edits, tracking, editing ● Humanities scholars provide critiques
September 2020	<p>Final Advisory Group and Editorial Team Meetings before launch.</p> <p>9/16/20 - Episode 1 launches</p> <p>9/30/20 - Episode 2 launches</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Podcast Team conducts research and interviews for final episodes ● Podcast Team records content, transcription, writing, outlining for final episodes ● Podcast Team performs script edits, tracking, editing for final episodes ● Humanities scholars provide critiques for final episodes
October 2020	<p>10/14/20 - Episode 3 launches</p> <p>10/28/20 - Episode 4 launches</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Podcast Team conducts research and interviews for final episodes ● Podcast Team records content, transcription, writing, outlining for final episodes ● Podcast Team performs script edits, tracking, editing for final episodes ● Humanities scholars provide critiques for final episodes
November 2020	<p>11/4/20 - Episode 5 launches</p> <p>11/18/20 - Episode 6 launches</p>
December 2020	<p>12/2/20 - Episode 7 launches</p> <p>12/16/20 - Episode 8 launches</p> <p>Evaluate and Report on Season 2:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Podcast Team downloads and compiles reports from Libsyn/PodTrac ● Podcast Team downloads and compiles internal History Colorado page visit report ● Podcast Team downloads and compiles summary of iTunes ratings and reviews

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Podcast Team downloads and compiles summary of publicity and social media feedback ● Podcast Team downloads and compiles summary of public radio plays/partner feedback ● Podcast Team compiles summary of qualitative feedback ● Podcast Team conducts evaluation of podcast-driven museum visits if such metrics can be obtained (will work with History Colorado membership department on this)
January 2021	Advisory Group Meeting to discuss findings and evaluation results.

K. Fundraising plan:

Lost Highways is made possible by a three-year \$250,000 seed grant from the Sturm Family Foundation. History Colorado is committed to fully funding the *Lost Highways* podcast through generous donor support and general operating funds through at least September 2021, at which point we will evaluate the success of the project to determine future production. A grant award from NEH will allow us to build on the success of our pilot season and expand the impact of the project through the production of a second season.

The production of *Lost Highways* presents an opportunity for History Colorado to conduct restricted fundraising to support its work, and to acknowledge those sponsors during opening, midpoint, or closing credits.

The podcast team believes that distribution relationships with statewide public media platforms would be beneficial for the uptake and audience building efforts of the podcast. The team is approaching Rocky Mountain Community Radio Network, Rocky Mountain Public Media, KRCC, KUNC, and other local outlets about distribution opportunities.

L. Organization profile:

History Colorado’s mission is to create a better future for Colorado by inspiring wonder in our past. At History Colorado, we believe in making Colorado’s history accessible and in creating opportunities that connect people to Colorado and our past to cultivate an informed future. Established in 1879, History Colorado is a 501(c)(3) charitable organization and an agency of the State of Colorado under the Department of Higher Education. We are the trusted leader in helping people understand what it means to be a Coloradan -- by sharing powerful stories, honoring our state’s treasured memories, and creating vibrant communities. We offer access to Colorado’s history through cultural and heritage resources like our museums and historic sites statewide, programs for families and adults, stewardship of Colorado’s historic treasures, and resources for students and teachers making a positive impact on preschoolers, students in

grades K-12, and those in higher education. We provide programs and services related to historic preservation and archaeology as well as access to a vast collection of archives, artifacts, and historical photography.

M. List of collections of materials to be used by the project:

A Tale of Two Communes

“No right to be poor”: Colorado’s Drop City by Clark Secrest. Colorado Heritage 1998 Winter (pp. 14-21).

R 335.973 R113d accession #98.154.2: Drop City by Peter Rabbit, New York: Olympia Press, 1971.

B Pr931r : Huerfano: a memoir of life in the counterculture. By Roberta Price, Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2004. (Roberta Price lived in Libre, 1969-1977.)

306.1 P946A Across the Great Divide: a photo chronicle of the counterculture by Roberta Price.

Mirror Mirror

Oral histories:

AR.OH.44 Oral History with Edwin Johnson, June 4, 1959. (CD)

AR.OH.136 Oral History with Edwin Johnson, July 2, 1969. (CD)

SOC.11 Oral History with Robert Howsam, Jr. (Johnson is a subject heading) – on CD

Books:

B Jo631ep A Life Story by Edwin Johnson (1994)

Biography File of Edwin Johnson

MSS.347 Edwin C. Johnson Collection, 1934-1968. (4 feet of materials)

Political Literature in MSS.2637

Photographs:

86.296.1761 Campaign, 1954

88.461.19 With Sugar Beet Workers in factory, 1940s

88.596.2 With Eisenhower, 1955

Many more photos in the History Colorado collection are available as potential resources.

Resources outside of the History Colorado collection:

Colorado State Archives has the papers of Edwin Johnson:

<https://www.colorado.gov/pacific/sites/default/files/Edwin%20Johnson.pdf>

Center for the New West at CU Boulder: “When Colorado wanted to build a wall and make (New) Mexico Pay (KUNC broadcast): <https://www.centerwest.org/archives/17471>.

Jennifer Meredith. “Colorado Governor Edwin Johnson: Politics and Race (2012): epubs.utah.edu/index.php/historia/article/view/611/479.

Rattlesnake Kate

Books:

B SL15kam Kate Slaughterback: Legendary Rattlesnake Kate. by Lindsay McNatt. Filter Press, 2013.

Newspapers:

"Rattlesnake Kate." Holy Cross Trail, Volume 27, Number 46, November 12, 1937.

Resources outside of the History Colorado collection:

Greeley History Museum has many artifacts related to Rattlesnake Kate in the Kate Slaughterback Collection, including several photos of her and her home, her rattlesnake skin dress, her beaded belt with her name on it, and her .22 Remington.

Cowan, Cal (7 April 1949). "Woman Tells of Killing 140 Rattlesnakes in Battle of Horror on Farm in Colorado" (PDF). *El Paso Herald-Post*. Retrieved 25 September 2018.

"Rattlesnake Kate Says Life in the City Not for Her". *Greeley Daily Tribune*. 22 November 1960. Retrieved 24 September 2018.

"Katherine Slaughterback Dies on Monday". *Greeley Daily Tribune*. 8 October 1969. Retrieved 25 September 2018.

The Town that Changed Sex

Making the journey to Trinidad: the sex reassignment surgeries of Dr. Stanley Biber. Colorado Heritage, Winter 2004 (pp. 42-48); ill.

Journal of the Gender Identity Center of Colorado (October 1991) (newsletter).

Newsletter of the Gender Identity Center of Colorado (February 1986)

CD 305.9 S91ch The Sex Change Capital of the World. San Francisco: Spine Films, 2003. Film on CD.

305.3 G876p Passage through Trinidad: journal of surgical sex change by Claudine Griggs. Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Co., 1996.

Gang of 19

811 Sm62c *Companions*. By Michael Smith: Atlantis Community, 1975.

Regional Transportation District (RTD) Frontier. Held in serials. Holdings: 1971---1980.

The Miseducation of Freddie Freak

History Colorado El Pueblo Museum oral history recordings with Juan Frederico Trujillo.

Resources outside of the History Colorado collection:

Colorado State University holds the Juan Federico "Freddie Freak" Miguel Arguello Trujillo Chicano Movement Collection, 1965-2009. 5 linear ft.

Turned-On Dropouts

294.3 C549g The great Naropa poetry wars. By Tom Clark Santa Barbara: Cadmus Editions, 1980.

Building a movement and a monument: the rise of Tibetan Buddhism in America and the construction of Colorado's Great Stupa by Ross R. Webster. Colorado Heritage March/April 2011 (pp. 22-31).

Triplet Murders

305.80 W424a. *Asians in Colorado: a history of persecution and perseverance in the Centennial State*. By William Wei. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2016.

Oral Histories:

MSS 1881 Oral history with Laura Evens, long-time sex worker and brothel owner, who started her career in Leadville in the 1890s before moving to Denver, and then ran her own house in Salida, Colorado, well into the 20th century. The interview transcripts provide very specific and personal insight into sex work in Colorado.

Newspapers:

The Denver Post and the *Rocky Mountain News* covered the murders and the arraignment/trials/acquittals of various suspects. Dozens of articles are held in the History Colorado collection.

Manuscript Collections:

MSS.1881, Fred M. Mazzulla Collection, History Colorado, Denver, Colorado. Description: Collection consists of correspondence, clippings, ephemera, photographs, and other material related to Fred Mazzulla, a Colorado lawyer and historian who amassed more 250,000 photographic images of the American West. 60.75 linear ft plus 19 flat boxes.

MSS.1231, Fred M. Mazzulla Collection, History Colorado, Denver, Colorado. Description: Collection consists of correspondence, diaries, legal records, clippings, scrapbooks, and other material relating to Fred M. Mazzulla, an attorney and historian from Denver, Colorado, 5 linear feet.

N. Rights and permissions:

As Colorado's State Historical Society, we are fortunate to hold permissions for many of the materials in our collection and to work closely with our partner universities and libraries. We are confident that we are able to obtain all appropriate permissions and clearing rights to use our proposed materials.

O. Preliminary interviews:

- Clark Richert, a Drop City commune founder.
- Jim Fowler, a Libre commune founder.
- Electra Johnson, daughter of Libre commune founder.
- Roberta Price, onetime Libre commune member.
- Dean Fleming, Linda Fleming, and Luz Fleming, artists and Libre commune founders.
- Tom Clark, poet, *The Naropa Poetry Wars*.
- Neyla Pekarek, The Lumineers band member who created an album based on Rattlesnake Kate's life.
- Dr. Marcie Bowers, sex reassignment surgeon, mentee of Dr. Stanley Biber.
- Jose Ortega, History Colorado Collections Coordinator, interviewed about the Chicano Movement.

- Ann Sneesby-Koch, MA, MIS, expert on the social history of sex work in the American West and History Colorado NEH Project Manager, interviewed about the Triplet Murders.

P. Social media and audience-generated content (if applicable):

N/A

3. Detailed treatment

1. “A Tale of Two Communes”

Their principle was, “Everybody’s welcome” – which, in America, is a disaster.

– Dean Fleming, Co-Founder of Libre Commune

Drop City, one of the first communal living experiments of the 20th Century, launched the modern hippie commune movement and helped redefine notions of freedom and community for an entire generation. While Drop City failed shortly after its creation, it spawned a new commune that survives to this day -- Libre. Over the course of the 55-minute podcast program, hosts Noel Black and Tyler Hill will interweave the stories of these two communes seeking freedom and opportunity in the West, Drop City and Libre, with interviews of its members, historians and scholars of communes, the art world, and the counterculture movement of the 1960s into an engaging, rich, multi-layered audio-documentary.

The story will begin with interview recordings at the scenes of two art exhibitions in Colorado in 2019: a retrospective of Drop City member Clark Richert’s paintings at the Museum of Contemporary Art in Denver, and a 50-year retrospective of art by members of the Libre commune at the Gallery of Contemporary Art in Colorado Springs. In Denver, we’ll get to know Clark Richert, who never went back to commune life after leaving Drop City several years before its demise. We’ll hear from him about the ideas and ideals on which Drop City was founded and the ways in which, in his eyes, it both succeeded and failed. In Colorado Springs, we’ll meet Linda Fleming, Dean Fleming, Roberta Price, Jim Fowler, and, finally, Electra Johnson, Jim’s daughter who was raised Libre commune by her father after her mother committed suicide when she was still an infant.

An architect by trade, Electra is now in her 40s and the Chairwoman of the El Paso County Democratic Party in nearby Colorado Springs. She and our host Black discuss how she hasn’t lived full-time at Libre since she graduated from High School, but she and her dad and the members of Libre are trying to figure out how Electra and her family might eventually be able to return and rejoin the commune, possibly even “inherit” her father’s hand-built home, which looks like a cross between something out of a fairy tale and a Pippy Longstocking adventure and sits at the edge of a ponderosa forest. But how does one inherit “property” held in a common trust where no one owns anything? Does Electra belong to the Libre community by birthright and the fact that she grew up there, or should she have to apply as other artists over the years have had to do? And even if she has to apply, won’t she enjoy the benefits of nepotism? And what of her father’s home? Would she be entitled to inhabit it even though, technically, he doesn’t own it? Or would she have to build her own home? Electra and her family will serve as our guides through Libre at 50 years old. A bridge between the “straight world” in which she

lives now and the legacy of the counterculture, and the She'll guide us through the challenges facing this commune as it and its baby boomer founders now confront the challenges of age.

Black and Hill will then dive into the history of the communes through host discussions and interviews with our potential scholars. They will conduct in-depth interviews with scholars including, but not limited to: Timothy Miller, author of *The Hippies and American Values*, who will provide a broad historical context for our interpretations of the ideals behind the commune movement; and Mark Mathews, author of *Droppers: America's First Hippie Commune, Drop City*, who will provide specific setting, regional context, and scholarly detail to the podcast.

Founded on a patch of farmland just north of Trinidad, Colorado, not far from the site of the Ludlow Massacre, Clark Richert, Richard Kallweit, Joanne Bernofsky, and Gene Bernofsky took the radical utopian ideas of Buckminster Fuller and put them to the test in daily life. They built the iconic “Bucky ball” geodesic dome homes sheathed in the colorful steel peeled from junkyard cars. Instead of rules, they allowed for John Cage’s principles of chance and improvisation to be their laws. It was wild, and wildly successful for a time, if success can be measured in media attention and influence. But there was a dark side to such radical openness. The lack of rules and reliance on the better angels of chance eventually gave way to lawlessness stoked by all manner of freeloaders, criminals, and other interlopers who exploited the high-minded freedom and ideals of the young “dropper” commune. As artist Dean Fleming told journalist Alan Prendergast in a 2015 interview, “‘Their principle was, ‘Everybody’s welcome’ — which, in America, is a disaster.’” And after eight years, Drop City collapsed under the weight of its own freedom. From 1965 to 1967 Drop City was covered in Time magazine by reporters eager to sensationalize the drug use and sexual practices of the commune members. Tourists and transients flocked to the commune as a result, draining its resources and tearing apart the community. Media attention gave the counterculture ideals of personal freedom a national platform, but ultimately led to the closing of the commune.

But the end of Drop City wasn’t the end of the commune movement in southern Colorado. A splinter group of artists including Dean Fleming, his partner Linda Fleming, Peter Douthit (aka Peter Rabbit), Jim Fowler, and others who’d seen the demise of Drop City, bought another tract of cheap land far from the main highway near the town of Gardner to the west. Just like the droppers, they built their own geodesic dome homes and “zomes” (a modified version of the signature geodesic domes), and set out to live as free, full-time artists. But instead of an “Everybody’s welcome” philosophy, there were limits, especially concerning who was allowed in, and who wasn’t. And 50 years later, Libre (which means “free” in Spanish) is still going strong, albeit with far more rules and regulations. So many, in fact, that an outsider might be left to wonder: aside from the spectacular artist-built homes, is this really a counterculture commune at all? Black and Hill conclude with a paradoxical analysis that in order for a community focused on freedom to survive, compromises and shared societal rules may be necessary.

In addition to the narrative arc described above, the following potential features may enrich the documentary further:

- As we have done with episodes from our first season of *Lost Highways*, we will commission an original instrumental musical that will invoke the musical spirit of the time period (psychedelic folk and rock music) while remaining a background element used to enhance the narrative beats and moods without becoming too intrusive.
- Host discussion of Clark Richert and Gene Bernofsky's art. Richert and Bernofsky were both raised in the Mennonite faith and met while attending the University of Kansas. They became involved in the modern art movement, with great interest in works like the "happenings" of John Cage. Their signature style of art was something called "droppings," mundane but bizarre things literally dropped into peoples' everyday lives from the rooftops of their dormitories at the University of Kansas.
- Host discussion of the origin of the Drop City commune. Though the Southern Colorado location of Drop City is now iconic, the commune wasn't even supposed to be in the United States. Bernofsky wanted to found his new civilization on the banks of the Nile. In his book *Droppers*, Mark Matthews tells two versions of the story: Richert's version, and the version Bernofsky told him during interviews for the book. Richert's version involves Bernofsky getting conned into smuggling drugs from North Africa. Bernofsky's version is slightly more tame. In order to raise money for his new civilization, Bernofsky grew a plot of marijuana and proceeded to sell it for a hundred dollars a pound. He and JoAnne then boarded a freighter headed for Morocco and made their way across North Africa. Once there, he ran into a number of problems (not the least of which was the language barrier) and concluded that his new civilization would have to be in the U.S..
- Host discussion of key individuals such as Peter Douthit. Douthit, who went by Peter Rabbit, was deeply involved in both communes. Because of his charisma, he was credited as the founder of Drop City. Later, he abandoned Drop City as he saw it decay, and helped found Libre. He became its main spokesperson for story-seeking journalists such as Richard Fairfield. He was ultimately removed from the Libre commune for issues that may have been related to drug trafficking. Douthit was, perhaps, the last true libertine at Libre after the collapse of Drop City.
- Discussion with a Humanities Scholar around the practical issues at the communes. As many communes did, Drop City encountered the inevitable issue of economics. How would they earn money? Though they owned their land, how would they pay their taxes and remain true to their values while avoiding all "normal" currency transactions.
- Interview with author Roberta Price. Price received a grant to document communes across the country and lived in the counterculture movement for seven years. At the end, she wrote *Huerfano*, a memoir of her experience at both Libre and Drop City. Price was witness to Drop City in its final days. She and her husband later built a home at Libre and moved there for several years, documenting the life of the commune not just in her writing, but also in photographs.

Some questions we will investigate through this episode:

- Why did Libre succeed where Drop City failed? Was it by abandoning some of Drop City's core ideals?
- Drop City and Libre have completely different communal structures. Do they both qualify as communes? Is Libre just a gated community with anti-capitalist ideals?
- What does it mean to be a utopian collective/commune in a country with deep-seated individualistic economic values?
- How can the energy, hope, and idealism so easily conjured at the beginning of a movement be transformed into something sustainable without losing that founding energy and idealism?
- Are utopian ideals and sustainable communal living something only the independently wealthy can ultimately achieve or enjoy? If not, how might communal living serve the poor?
- Did the Western landscape, in both its physical geography and its ideological promise, help nurture, obstruct, or complicate the ideals of the early commune movement?
- Can any community, city, state, or country welcome "everyone"?

Other scholars who may be interviewed:

- Timothy Miller, author of *The Hippies and American Values*, who will provide a broad historical context for our interpretations of the ideals behind the commune movement.
- Mark Mathews, author of *Droppers: America's First Hippie Commune, Drop City*, who will provide specific setting, regional context, and scholarly detail to the podcast.
- Dr. William Philpott, Professor at the University of Denver. His work as an environmental historian can shed light on the connection between the environmental aspect of the hippie ideal and modern sustainability activists.

Subjects who will potentially be interviewed:

- Clark Richert - artist and a Drop City commune founder. (Preliminary interview already conducted.)
- Jim Fowler- a Libre commune founder. (Preliminary interview already conducted.)
- Electra Johnson - the daughter of one of the original founders of Libre, now living in Colorado Springs and the president of the El Paso County Democratic Party. (Preliminary interviews already conducted.)
- Roberta Price - author of a memoir on the counterculture movement, including her time at Drop City and Libre. (Preliminary interview already conducted.)
- Dean Fleming, Linda Fleming, and Luz Fleming - artists and Libre commune founders.
- George Ksander - one time Libre commune member.
- Gene Bernofsky - one time Drop City member.
- Joan Grossman - producer of a 2012 documentary film on *Drop City*.
- Paula Manini - creator of a moveable counterculture museum in Southern Colorado
- Joe Tarabino - personal friend of artists in both of the communes.

2. “Mirror Mirror”

Not 30 minutes away from the site of Drop City, and 30 years earlier, a very different experiment with freedom took place on Raton Pass at the southern border of Colorado and New Mexico. In 1936, in the midst of the Great Depression, Colorado Governor “Big Ed” Johnson announced his plans to shut down Colorado’s Southern border to “immigrants” from New Mexico. The fact that New Mexico had become a state in 1912 and that its citizens were, in fact, United States citizens didn’t stop him. In fact, he went so far as to call many indigenous migrant laborers from New Mexico “aliens” and “indigents.” This decision (if not political stunt) came at a time when poverty and economic distress were at a fever pitch nationwide, and migrant labor was one of the very few ways for poor workers to make a living. It also made it a hot-button issue ripe for political publicity.

The border shutdown was not without precedent, and Johnson would hardly be the last politician to use immigration issues as a way to whip up a political frenzy. From quotas set on Asians in the 1880’s, to the thousands of Jewish refugees turned away by the United States during World War II, to the Bracero programs in the 1940’s that allowed migrant workers to cross the border when the US needed them, the current immigration controversy at the US Southern border, and the predicted migration crisis that will result from climate change, the issue of how to handle immigration and migrant labor in the west has been, and will continue to be, long and complicated. Today, President Donald J. Trump’s promise to build a border wall between the US and Mexico, and his move to deport undocumented immigrants shows what a powerful hold immigration continues to have on the American political imagination at the local, state, and national level.

Using oral histories from The Colorado State Historical Society’s archives, interviews with scholars and historians, original commissioned music, and voice actors reading newspaper articles, op-eds, and correspondence between politicians, we’ll reconstruct the mood of the state and the nation and take listeners back to the border standoff at Raton Pass for those 10 days in 1936.

This episode will begin with voice-acted news reports enhanced with tense music and interwoven with an oral history given by Governor Johnson himself from History Colorado’s archives. This will set the scene as martial law was enacted and the border was shut down. We’ll come back to these re-enactments and descriptions of the Colorado border blockade throughout the episode as we shift between the history and the interpretation of these events with the help of scholars. For example, once the initial scene and conflict are established, we’ll turn to a historical overview of borders as the ever-shifting markers of nation-states. We’ll interview Susan Schulten, noted scholar and author of several books on the history of maps, the geographical imagination, and borders. We’ll examine a wide range of historic precedents for borders and the act of building walls as a means to determine who gets in and who doesn’t. We’ll also look at the historic need to maintain in-groups and out-groups. For example, the Great Wall of China began construction in the third century B.C. and continued to be built until the

mid-17th century CE, spanning over 1,800 years. Arizona tried to enact a border blockade with New Mexico near Bisbee in 1917, and California had a similar “bum blockade” put into effect in 1936 in an attempt to ban midwestern emigrants from seeking refuge during the Dust Bowl. The “bum blockade” warned all individuals seeking refuge to “keep away from California” as nearly 200,000 people poured in from states like Oklahoma and Kansas searching for a better life in the Golden State. Our discussion with Schulten and other scholars will use this broad history to ask how effectively (or ineffectively) borders have been enforced in the past. Ultimately, we’ll ask the question: Why is human freedom even in a place with as much land and opportunity as Colorado so often predicated on some form of exclusion?

In interviews with Tom Romero and/or Stephen Leonard we will discuss Johnson’s legacy through the lenses of class and race. In his executive order, Johnson described the entering of New Mexican migrants to the state as an “invasion” and was concerned that the influx of migrants would cause “a condition of lawlessness” with “social disorder and disturbances” amongst Coloradans. This wasn’t Johnson’s first brush with the Latinx population. In 1935, Johnson deported 32 “Mexicans” south of the U.S. border, and out of those 32, the Mexican Ambassador to the United States claimed 20 were actually American Citizens. Johnson was clear that the Colorado border was closed to anyone without “evidence of ‘financial stability.’” Newspapers that covered the event characterized the migrants attempting to enter Colorado as “undesirables.” Johnson thought his policy made a lot of sense for the economic conditions of the time, sharing that, “jobs in this state are for our citizens and I propose to see that they are not filled by outsiders if I need to invoke the full military strength” of Colorado in order to keep jobs only for Coloradans.

The episode will end 6 years after the blockade in 1942 during the war when the US implemented the Bracero Program, which allowed laborers from Mexico and Guam to enter the United States legally as migrant laborers. This move furthered discussions about immigration and migrant labor. We will end the episode with a discussion of the Bracero Program and how a changing economic landscape created a demand for cheap labor, but did not create an acceptance of Mexican immigrants.

We will use the following potential features to enrich our narrative:

- Analysis of newspaper sources by the podcast hosts, and potentially, humanities scholars would provide insight into public perceptions of the blockade. While the New Mexican papers were often critical of the policies, Colorado papers used incendiary language to describe the migrants coming across and were not overly critical of Johnson at first. Additionally, the *Denver Post* published maps showing the national guard blockade locations, providing an interesting primary source that could be teased on social media to promote the episode. We may explore how the media coverage of migrants in the 1930s similar or different from today’s current dialogue on immigration. What kind of language was used and why?

- Speech analysis by the podcast hosts, and potentially, humanities scholars of both Johnson and President Trump provides a uniquely fitting opportunity to make historical connections. Recent immigration discussions have led to remarks from President Trump, sharing that immigrants are “taking our jobs, they’re taking our manufacturing jobs, they’re taking our money, they’re killing us.” Trump’s “America first” policy is not all that different from Johnson’s Colorado-first policy. Johnson said that “jobs in this state are for our citizens and I propose to see that they are not filled by outsiders if I have to invoke the full military strength of the state to do so.” Trump also discussed how working-class Americans are dealing with “lower wages, and, frankly, lawless chaos” as he proposed “an immigration plan that puts the jobs, wages, and safety of American workers first,” and Johnson said “jobs in Colorado are for those entitled to them” and “not for the cheap labor of foreign countries and out-at-the-heel wanderers of other states.”

Some questions we will investigate through this episode:

- From where does the concept of borders originate and how have they been enforced over time?
- Are borders and walls effective in keeping specific groups of migrants out? What are historical examples of successes and limitations?
- How did the Great Depression affect perceptions of immigration in Colorado?
- How did immigration from New Mexico affect employment and the economy in Colorado in the early-to-mid 20th century?
- How did media coverage in Colorado affect or reflect public sentiment during the attempt to close down the border?
- What roles do class, race, gender, and labor issues play in these ongoing attempts to maintain in-groups and out-groups?

Scholars who will potentially be interviewed:

- Tom Romero, Assistant Provost of IE Research and Curriculum Initiatives for the University of Denver. Romero’s research focuses on legal policies towards latinos particularly in the American West and is a leading scholar on the issue of the Colorado border shutdown in 1936.
- Stephen Leonard, a professor at Metropolitan State University, has written a wide array of books on Colorado history in his decades of work including *Colorado: A History of the Centennial State* and also focused in on Colorado in the Great Depression in his book *Trials and Triumphs: A Colorado Portrait of the Great Depression*.
- Susan Schulten, professor at the University of Denver, is an American historian focused on the nineteenth and twentieth century United States history. Schulten is a frequent contributor to the *New York Times* where she analyzes history through maps, with

emphasis on the Civil War in the “Disunion” series and most recently an article on women’s suffrage in the Progressive Era. Schulten recently released her fourth book *A History of America in 100 Maps* in September of 2018. Schulten’s research interests are related to this topic due to the nature of examining what makes a border and how borders change over time. The borders of the United States have changed drastically since independence in 1776, and have continued to shift as the U.S. expanded westward and into coastal territories.

- Julia Lovell, professor at Birbeck, University of London, is a British historian focusing on the building of a modern Chinese nation. Lovell’s research focuses on how cultural elements can contribute to nation building, and has discussed this in her 2011 book *The Opium War: Drugs, Dreams and the Making of China*. Earlier in her career, in 2006, Lovell wrote a vivid book entitled *The Great Wall*. Lovell’s research can help listeners understand why the Chinese built a wall and the cultural implications thereof.
- Douglas Sheflin, professor at Colorado State University in Fort Collins. He studied modern American history with an emphasis on environmental history and the history of the American West. His recent research deals with land use and labor on the Colorado Plains and seeks to explain how the Dust Bowl New Deal and World War II combined to change agriculture in southeastern Colorado. His first book, *Legacies of Dust: Land Use and Labor on the Colorado Plains*, is set for publication Spring 2019.
- Derek Everett, professor at Colorado State University in Pueblo. Dr. Everett is a Colorado native born and raised in the Denver metropolitan area. He graduated from Arvada West High School and holds a B.A. from Western State College of Colorado and an M.A. from Colorado State University. Dr. Everett earned his doctorate in history at the University of Arkansas. He specializes in Colorado and Western history with an emphasis on geography and politics. His first book, *The Colorado State Capitol: History Politics Preservation* was published in 2005. He also volunteers at the statehouse as a tour guide and researcher. Dr. Everett's second book, *Creating the American West: Boundaries and Borderlands*, is forthcoming from the University of Oklahoma Press.
- Sarah Deutsch, Professor at Duke University and author of *No Separate Refuge: Culture, Class, and Gender on an Anglo-Hispanic Frontier in the American Southwest, 1880-1940*.

Subjects who will potentially be interviewed:

- Migrant laborers in Colorado or other parts of the American West
- Border Patrol Agents
- Immigrants (including a potential discussion between Producer/Co-host Hill and his immigrant mother)

- Journalists covering issues of immigration and/or recent events at the United States' Southern border

Additional Episode Summaries:

3. Rattlesnake Kate

In this episode of *Lost Highways*, we'll look at the real life of Katherine McHale Slaughterback, aka Rattlesnake Kate -- a woman who claimed to have killed over a hundred rattlesnakes outside Greeley, Colorado in a single day in 1925, and then fashioned a flapper dress from their skins. (That dress is on display at the City of Greeley Museum.) Though she went on to become a legend -- a kind of "feminist Paul Bunyan" for Colorado -- we'll look at the real life ways she broke down gender roles as a woman in the west. When she wasn't killing rattlesnakes, Katherine McHale Slaughterback was married and divorced 6 times, carried on a 40-year love-letter correspondence with a general in the US Army whom she never met in person, and claimed to have been the only survivor of a plane crash. She also ran her own ranch and rattlesnake venom business, advertising her services through her outlandish acts, which attracted ample news coverage. To help tell this story, we'll work with Neyla Pekarek, a member of the popular Colorado band The Lumineers, who recently wrote a folk opera about Rattlesnake Kate. Excerpts from Pekarek's folk opera will help narrate and give atmosphere to the episode. Black and Hill will speak to Neyla about the research for her album and take listeners along on the musical journey through the life of a woman who refused to be tamed. In this episode, we break new ground in historical research by framing Kate as a proto-feminist and examining how she used Western imagery and tall tales to cultivate her own legendary image.

4. The Town That Changed Sex

For all its iconic landscapes and vistas, the west has also been a site for experimentation in less visible frontiers. As the current White House Administration attempts to redefine gender as purely biological, Black and Hill explore the story of Stanley Biber and Marci Bowers, trailblazers of gender confirmation surgery who turned Trinidad into "the sex-change capital of the world". Biber was born in Des Moines Iowa in 1923. He graduated from Med School in 1948 and first performed surgery while working in the Panama Canal Zone. After that, he joined the Army and served as part of a mobile surgical hospital during the Korean War. He finished his service at Fort Carson in Colorado Springs, then started working at a United Mine Workers Clinic in Trinidad. In 1969, a trans woman asked Biber if he'd be willing to perform sex reassignment/ gender confirmation surgery. He taught himself by studying diagrams from Johns Hopkins University, and performed the surgery. He kept his first few surgeries secret, out of fear of repercussions from the Catholic Nuns who ran his clinic. But eventually word got out and the community rallied around Biber and his patients. Trinidad eventually became known as "The Sex Change Capital of the World." Biber not only pioneered many techniques in gender confirmation surgery, but also trained dozens of other surgeons

along the way including Marci Bowers, the gynecologist and trans woman who took over his practice. Tapes from interviews with both Biber and Bowers are available.

5. The Gang of 19

Western freedom has often been synonymous with open spaces and freedom of mobility in the American imagination. But for some, that freedom was limited quite literally. On July 5, 1978, wheelchair users and disability rights protestors blocked traffic at one of Denver's busiest intersections, bringing the city to a standstill for a full 24 hours. They would become known as "the Gang of 19," and as various other civil rights movements regarding race, class, gender, and sexuality across the country caught fire, they would ensure that people with disabilities also had a seat at the table. The Gang of 19 and other direct actions by Denver-based disability-rights groups would be pivotal in making Denver the first city in the United States to offer public transit that was accessible to people living with disabilities. But that's not where the story begins. It starts in a nursing home -- one of the only assisted living situations available to people with disabilities at the time -- where Presbyterian Minister Wade Blank was agitating for a better, more independent life for people with disabilities, and taking them to Grateful Dead concerts. After his pot-stirring got him fired from the nursing home, Blank would go on to work with disability activists to found Atlantis Apartments, an *independent* living facility and apartment complex for people with disabilities. It also served as an informal headquarters for the disability-rights group ADAPT and would be a hub for planning the campaigns and direct actions that would eventually lead to the passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act at the national level. But passing legislation and enforcing it are two different things, and many disability rights activists still feel like there's a long way to go, even in Colorado where access to accessible transit and Medicare benefits is relatively high. We'll talk to primary sources like surviving members of the Gang of 19, lawmakers of all affiliations, ADAPT members, and Colorado residents with disabilities as well as scholars in the fields of disability studies, history, and architecture in an attempt to locate Colorado's place in the fight for accessibility and disability rights. As one of the most accessible museums in the world is being built in Colorado Springs, and Denver still lacks accessible sidewalks in large swaths of the city, Colorado is once again at the center of the debate over who's in and who's out in the American West: a place built on ideals of freedom, opportunity, and wide open spaces.

6. The Miseducation of Freddie Freak

For many, finding freedom in the West has meant dispelling the myths of the "open range" promised by manifest destiny in order to reclaim the much longer history, lands, and heritage that were taken away. As debates about identity politics dominate the national conversation, hosts Black and Hill join with oral historian Jose Ortega from History Colorado's El Pueblo Museum to tell the story of Juan Federico "Freddie Freak" Arguello Miguel Trujillo, a young man from southern Colorado whose identity and heritage was stripped from him as a child as nuns forced him to Anglicize his name and

give up his language. Juan Federico's story of personal and cultural rediscovery will lead us through the history of El Movimiento, the Chicano Movement. From its beginnings in Denver, Colorado with Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales' Crusade for Justice in 1966 through the car bombings of "Los Seis" in Boulder, Colorado in 1974 and the national farm labor movement, we'll follow how Juan Frederico Trujillo reclaimed his Chicano identity as one civil rights activist in the larger struggle for equality waged in fields and factories, in schools, courts, through alternative media, in the arts, and via political organizations. "The Miseducation of Freddie Freak" is the story of El Movimiento told by activists who were there, passionately seeking justice. This episode will examine the political and social upheaval in Colorado during that pivotal era and connect it to the wider history of the national civil rights movement. In this episode, we'll draw on History Colorado's numerous oral histories from our "El Movimiento" exhibit along with the scholarly work of Nicki Gonzales, Tom Romero, Pricilla Falcon, and Ramon Del Castillo to discuss the broader context of the Chicano movement. We'll also hope to incorporate dramatic readings of excerpts from Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales' seminal poem "Yo Soy Joaquin" and from Gloria Anzaldua's *Borderlands/La Frontera*.

7. Turned-On Dropouts

In this time of the #metoo movement, we look back at the so-called "Naropa Poetry Wars" -- a sex scandal at the Naropa Institute in Boulder, Colorado involving Chogyam Trungpa, the poet Allen Ginsberg's spiritual teacher, and the frenzy of gossip, fingerpointing, and betrayal that divided the community after Trungpa was accused of inappropriate sexual behavior. We use the Naropa Institute as an entrypoint to discuss the spiritual tourism and interest in eastern religion of the 1970's. Drawing on several of the same themes of utopian community idealism explored in "A Tale of Two Communes," this episode will focus more specifically on the experiences of women in the 1970's, how freedom doesn't always mean freedom for everyone, and how poets felt the need to look the other way on Trungpa's sexual misconduct in order to maintain loyalty to the vision of the Institute. We'll also look at how communities that promise the greatest forms of liberation can go too far. For this episode we'll interview the poet and scholar Ed Sanders whose students in his class on "Investigative Poetry" at Naropa initially investigated the incident.

8. The Triplet Murders

For women in the west, freedom has come with great promise and great danger. Over the course of three months in late 1894, three women were found strangled in their homes on Denver's notorious Market Street: Lena Tapper, Marie Contassoit, and Kiku Oyama. In this episode, we look back at the lives and times of these three women -- all from different economic backgrounds and nationalities -- and the many others like them who faced similar risks, as well as the history of the criminalization of sex work, particularly in the American West. We'll examine this early 2018, new anti-sex-trafficking legislation

shut down backpage.com and Craigslist personals, which made it harder to conduct sex work online. According to reports from law enforcement agencies across the country, it has also made it more difficult for sex workers to screen potential clients and resulted in increased violence against women. Sex work--stigmatized and romanticized in equal measures throughout history--has always been among the rare industries where women have had the *potential* to make more money than men, yet they've seldom been able to reap the financial benefits of this disparity because of the physical and moral risks. The relative lawlessness of the American West in the mid-19th to early-20th centuries offers a telling parallel to how little has changed for women in the past 100 years. For this episode we'll work closely with History Colorado research librarian Ann Sneesby-Koch who has researched this topic extensively and gives historical "red light district" tours of Denver for the website AtlasObscura.com.