A HISTORY OF _____ Carbon County



Ronald G. Watt

UTAH CENTENNIAL COUNTY HISTORY SERIES

A HISTORY OF _____ Carbon County

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Ronald G. Watt

Carbon County is situated in central Utah. with the Book Cliffs on the north and the Wasatch Plateau on the west, Hundreds of years ago, a group of Fremont Indians lived in Nine Mile Canyon and inscribed their tock art on the canyon walls. White men first became interested in the area as a means to exploit the coal in Pleasant Valley. The Price River Valley was first settled by a group of Mormon pioneers. Within a few years, set tlers had founded the towns of Price. Wellington, and Helper. The inhabitants of the valley soon found themselves in political conflict with their neighbors to the south. and when their attempt to move the Emery County seat to Price was thwatted, they founded Carbon County in 1894. The beginnings of coal mines in Sunnyside, Castle Gate, and other places encouraged people of many nationalities to migrate to the county, and they have helped create a vibrant and multifaceted history in this most unique county of the state. That history includes the stories of towns and mining camps, strikes, conflicts. tragedies, struggles, cooperative efforts, and accommodation among the various national and religious groups making up Carbon County up to the present as it and the state begin their second century.

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IN MEMORY OF

HELEN Z. PAPANIKOLAS

A HISTORY OF Carbon County

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Carbon County

Ronald G. Watt

1997 Utah State Historical Society Carbon County Commission

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Utah State Historical Society 300 Rio Grande Salt Lake City, Utah 84101-1182 To
Frances Cunningham
Emma Kuykendall
Madge Tomsic
J. Eldon Dorman

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Preface

Carbon County's history is indeed unique in the state of Utah, but that is not a difference that one perceives growing up in the county. To me there were no questions asked about other counties or how they differed from my home county. Didn't everyone have Catholic, Methodist, Greek Orthodox, Mormon, and several other denominations in their home town? Didn't everyone have friends whose parents or at least grandparents immigrated to the United States? Didn't everyone in Utah have friends who knew another language? My good friend knew Spanish, and when we visited his grandmother, she talked to him in Spanish, and he answered back in English. That was a normal occurrence in my experience of growing up in Carbon County. Most of the rest of the history I didn't know. I only knew the after-effects; I was there for the accommodation or blending part, not the conflict part.

Carbon County's early settlers came from the dominant religious group in Utah, but they settled because of the need for land not as a direct "call" from their religious leaders and definitely not for cooperative reasons. Less than five years later the railroad built a line X

through the Price River Valley, and the lives of these early settlers changed forever. The railroad company exploited the coal that abounded in this energy-rich area, and it also brought in diverse groups of people from southern Europe and Asia. The county could never be one dimensional again—its history thereafter would be a multifaceted picture.

I would like to thank four people especially for their help on this work: Dr. J. Eldon Dorman, Emma Kuykendall, Madge Tomsic, and Frances Cunningham. Dr. Dorman was always the quiet encourager and advocate of a written history. Emma was the stalwart who was the chairperson of the county history committee and was always talking to her friends, who were many, about the Carbon County history book. Madge Tomsic was always sending me whatever I needed from the Helper Museum and was a good person to send up trial balloons about how it was, and she shot down several of them because of her knowledge. Frances was the person who had gathered extensively on Carbon County history, always let me have copies from her own files, read several chapters in manuscript form, and with whom I discussed aspects of Carbon history for several hours.

Other people on the committee and in the county helped in various ways. Thelma Pierce was my Wellington connection and brought in photographs and manuscripts, and LaRue Bate was the secretary. Elaine Jensen, Birdie Lindsey, and Mary Trabue helped by their discussions and bringing in source material for the history. Eldon and his late wife, Carole Miller, helped by their discussions with me on the coal camps and gathering oral histories of Hiawatha. James Jensen, Layne Miller, Pam Miller, Lloyd Noyes, Penny Sampinos, Karen Bliss, Walter Borla, and Nancy Taniguchi read parts of earlier versions of the manuscript. I want to thank the archivists and librarians at Utah State University, Utah Historical Society, University of Utah, Brigham Young University, LDS Church Archives, and Bernice Mooney at the Catholic Diocese of Salt Lake City Archives for their assistance in helping me find sources about Carbon County from their repositories. The people in the offices in Carbon County who assisted me deserve a special thanks: Sandra Baird at Helper City, Charmaine Jones at the Board of Education, Kelly Hansen at the Carbon County Commission, Sue Ann Martel at the College of Preface xi

Eastern Utah Museum, Joan Lessar at Price City, and Jaylene Marakis at East Carbon City. Dr. Michael Peterson at the College of Eastern Utah willingly shared files and his notes on the history of the school. Helen Papanikolas brought me copies of her files which helped in the history, K. Haybron Adams assisted with microfilms of the newspapers, and Janae Winder, a neighbor, read several draft chapters of the manuscript.

I would also like to thank the editors, Kent Powell and Craig Fuller, who tried to teach me more about being a good author and for the reading of Philip Notarianni who contributed greatly with his comments. I am also grateful for my mother, Norma Watt, who provided several meals as I traveled to Carbon County, and my wife, Barbara Watt, who was patient with me in my research and writing and listened to me often about historical moments of the county's history.

Without all of these people the history would have been poorer, but the mistakes are mine alone.

General Introduction

When Utah was granted statehood on 4 January 1896, twenty-seven counties comprised the nation's new forty-fifth state. Subsequently two counties, Duchesne in 1914 and Daggett in 1917, were created. These twenty-nine counties have been the stage on which much of the history of Utah has been played.

Recognizing the importance of Utah's counties, the Utah State Legislature established in 1991 a Centennial History Project to write and publish county histories as part of Utah's statehood centennial commemoration. The Division of State History was given the assignment to administer the project. The county commissioners, or their designees, were responsible for selecting the author or authors for their individual histories, and funds were provided by the state legislature to cover most research and writing costs as well as to provide each public school and library with a copy of each history. Writers worked under general guidelines provided by the Division of State History and in cooperation with county history committees. The counties also established a Utah Centennial County History Council

to help develop policies for distribution of state-appropriated funds and plans for publication.

Each volume in the series reflects the scholarship and interpretation of the individual author. The general guidelines provided by the Utah State Legislature included coverage of five broad themes encompassing the economic, religious, educational, social, and political history of the county. Authors were encouraged to cover a vast period of time stretching from geologic and prehistoric times to the present. Since Utah's statehood centennial celebration falls just four years before the arrival of the twenty-first century, authors were encouraged to give particular attention to the history of their respective counties during the twentieth century.

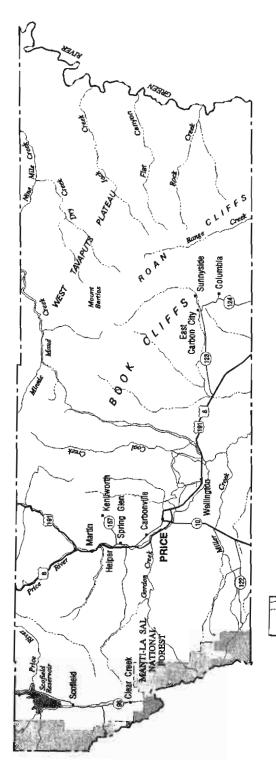
Still, each history is at best a brief synopsis of what has transpired within the political boundaries of each county. No history can do justice to every theme or event or individual that is part of an area's past. Readers are asked to consider these volumes as an introduction to the history of the county, for it is expected that other researchers and writers will extend beyond the limits of time, space, and detail imposed on this volume to add to the wealth of knowledge about the county and its people. In understanding the history of our counties, we come to understand better the history of our state, our nation, our world, and ourselves.

In addition to the authors, local history committee members, and county commissioners, who deserve praise for their outstanding efforts and important contributions, special recognition is given to Joseph Francis, chairman of the Morgan County Historical Society, for his role in conceiving the idea of the centennial county history project and for his energetic efforts in working with the Utah State Legislature and State of Utah officials to make the project a reality. Mr. Francis is proof that one person does make a difference.

ALLAN KENT POWELL CRAIG FULLER GENERAL EDITORS

CARBON COUNTY





CARBON COUNTY



CLIFFS ROAM Columbia Sunnyside Carbon City Mount Spring Gleni

THE UNIQUENESS OF CARBON COUNTY

The uniqueness of Carbon County was evident during its prehistory. The area was one of the few places in Utah to have a large group of people from the Fremont culture settle within its borders. For several centuries they found the Nine Mile Canyon area suitable for their villages, inscribing its canyons with petroglyphs and pictographs. Subsequently, these Native American people left Castle Valley and the surrounding mountain canyons.

The settlement of Price River Valley by white men and women had characteristics that were both similar and dissimilar to settlement throughout Utah. The Mormon pioneers who settled the Price River Valley came not through a call from their leaders; rather, they came on their own volition out of a desire to farm the land and raise their families. These predominantly young pioneers also were not favorably inclined toward the cooperatives that Mormons previously had tried elsewhere. The early settlement of the valley also differed from its neighbors because of the arrival of the railroad within four years after settlement; therefore, the period of isolation typical in other

Utah counties never hindered the area's development. Instead, adaptation to other people began almost immediately in the valley.

In 1886 the county became the center for freighting with the establishment of the army's Fort Duchesne in the Uinta Basin, more than 100 miles from Price. Price became the railhead for a freighting traffic that prospered between it and the Uinta Basin for over twenty years. Indians, army freighters, and independent freighters used the road over Nine Mile Canyon, hauling goods from Price to the Basin; soon they returned with wagons loaded with gilsonite. The freighters' tandem wagons were pulled by four to six horses, and almost every man in Price and Wellington had a wagon and horses for the purpose of hauling freight. Freighting turned Price into a commercial center, with the Gilson Asphaltum store beginning in 1887, the Emery County Cooperative in 1888, and Price Trading Company in 1890. Freighters desired entertainment during their visits to Price; consequently, saloons soon became part of the town. Within a little over a decade of first settlement the valley had a commercial district serving the people in Price River Valley and in the Uinta Basin that was different from those in most rural counties within the state.

The railroad also brought families of sheepherders to Price. Some sheep owners became prosperous, selling wool and lambs to salesmen who came to town periodically to buy the products. Price became a prosperous western town with freighters, railroad men, sheepmen, and farmers, who were mostly the early Mormon settlers. The town, which later became the county seat, had two distinct parts—a commercial district with saloons grouped around the railroad depot on the western side of town, and a more sedate section surrounding the log meetinghouse and (later) the town hall. Located about two blocks from one another, these two buildings dominated the eastern side of the community.

Helper, located at the mouth of Price River Canyon, was founded in the late 1800s as a place where extra railroad engines were attached to the trains to help them over the mountain by way of the Soldier Summit route between Helper and Utah Valley. Helper became an instant town whose inhabitants were not from Utah's dominant religion, distinguishing it from most other Utah towns. It became the center of the coal industry, with seven coal camps soon operating in

Spring Canyon and four more in Price Canyon and Kenilworth, a short distance away.

Coal mining first began in Carbon County in 1877 in Winter Quarters in the western part of the county; it started at Castle Gate in 1888 and at Sunnyside, in the eastern part of the county, in 1899. Area coal mining never could have existed without the railroad, and the Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad with its subsidiary, the Utah Fuel Company, controlled the early coal mines and the politics of the county. The county was distinctive in Utah for its early large-scale industrial development.

Coal mining companies established communities known as coal camps throughout the area. The companies tried to get the miners and their families to purchase all their goods at the company store, but sometimes miners purchased groceries and other items in Helper's busy commercial district, with its stores even accepting the mine companies' scrip at a discounted price. Miners from this section of the county generally did not go to Price for purchases, only traveling there for official county or court business.

Coal camps began with the settlement of the county and continued until the late 1960s when the coal mines were declining. The quickly built tar-paper shacks and tents characteristic of the early coal camps changed over the years into two-bedroom houses. Coal camp families had many things in common; for instance, they all had to purchase food, clothing, and supplies at the company store, which generally meant indebtedness due to the higher prices charged there and the buying on credit that often was necessary. The miners worked in a very dangerous environment and developed a strong feeling of cameraderie; also, families pulled together to help each other when disaster hit. By 1920 about 70 percent of the county's population lived in the coal camps.

Spring Glen, situated near Helper, and Wellington, east of Price, were the main farming communities of the county. At first, farmers there were banned from selling their products in the camps; but in 1912 some Helper merchants won a suit against Independent Coal and Coke Company that enabled the merchants to peddle their goods in Kenilworth and other coal camps of the county, which also helped the farmers achieve a measure of prosperity. Spring Glen farmers

were often seen in the camps of western Carbon County; farmers of Wellington took their crops to Sunnyside.

If the railroad could be said to have unleashed industrialization in the county, the coal mines changed its very nature. The mines needed great numbers of men, necessitating the recruitment of men from outside the state, including the recruitment of emigrants from Italy, Yugoslavia, Greece, and other countries. By 1920 the county was home to thirty-three different nationalities, with Italians and Greeks predominating. In 1920 there was a greater foreign-born population in Carbon County than in any other Utah county. More than 60 percent of Kenilworth's population were born in foreign countries or were the children of such people; most of the coal camps had from 30 to 50 percent of their population in the same category. Price and Wellington were the least affected: only a little over 20 percent of Price's population were foreign-born, and Wellington had few foreign immigrants. It would take decades before the newcomers and the longer-established families would adapt well to each other.

Coal mining was dangerous work. Miners were maimed, dismembered, and killed in explosions or other accidents common to their occupation. The most deadly explosion took place on 1 May 1900 at Winter Quarters, where 200 men died according to the official count. The Castle Gate mine explosion of 1924 left 172 men dead, including one rescue worker. Explosions continued to happen. On 8 February 1930 twenty miners and three rescuers died at Standard; and on 9 May 1945 Sunnyside No. 1 mine exploded, killing twenty-three men. Miners and their families always lived with the threat of death. Wives never knew if their husbands would come back to them at night. Women were left widows and children were left orphans. Cemeteries nestled close to the sides of the mountains give mute testimony to those events.

Because of frequent mining accidents, coal companies hired good medical personnel and provided them with facilities, including a small hospital. From the hiring of Dr. Andrew Dowd at Sunnyside in 1899 to that of Dr. J. Eldon Dorman at Consumers in 1938, the companies had a doctor constantly on call in the coal camps to treat the men and their families. In the 1920s a larger, more central hospital was needed; consequently, doctors built a small hospital in down-

town Price, where a larger hospital also was built a decade later. These hospitals were able to care for county residents outside the mining areas, providing county residents better care than that available in many other rural counties.

Miners at first mined coal as independent contractors, and the companies paid them according to the amount of coal they extracted. As the years progressed, mechanization occurred in the mines and the companies began paying wages by the hour. From 1914 to 1961 mines in Carbon County became mechanized, with a small team of men now able to mine hundreds of tons of coal a day.

Coal mining brought problems between labor and management that were noteworthy in Utah. Strikes peppered the history of Carbon County, with the largest occurring in 1901, 1902-1903, 1922, and 1933. Various men and women fought for unionization of the coal mines. Charles DeMolli and Mother Mary Jones appeared on the scene to help union organization in 1903 and 1904. During the 1920s and 1930s, a home-grown man, Frank Bonacci, became the leader in unionizing the coal mines. During strikes companies often evicted miners and their families from company houses. When forced out of their homes, wives felt a sense of despair at not being able to care for husbands and children within their own homes. Feelings ran high among both workers and supporters of management, and men on both sides were killed in a 1914 strike in Kenilworth and the 1922 countywide strike. During the 1933 strike, friction between the National Miners Union supporters and the United Mine Workers standardbearers brought conflict and street confrontations in Price and Helper. The strikes caused deep emotional wounds that would take years to heal.

There had been problems between immigrants primarily from southern Europe and longtime Americans in the preceding decades, but there also had been great cooperation. During World War I, people of all nationalities worked together for the war cause. People bought war bonds, war stamps, met extra goals in coal mining, and provided assistance to the Red Cross. Working together they had accomplished much; however, this sense of cooperation disintegrated with the 1922 strike. Led by foreign workers, the strike unleashed great antipathy for the foreign-born among native-born Americans

who blamed the new immigrants for the situation. Shortly after, the Ku Klux Klan began recruiting in Carbon County and harrassing immigrants with cross burnings and midnight marches. The foreign-born population fought back. Father Alfredo Giovannoni helped organize a chapter of the Knights of Columbus, and whenever the Klan would burn a cross the group would counter by burning a fiery circle as a symbol of unity and defiance. The Klan soon effectively disappeared in the county, but the lynching of Robert Marshall in 1925 could be seen as an after-effect of the Klan mania. Marshall, a black, killed J. Milton Burns, a deputy sheriff, and was hung by a mob east of Price after he was captured by officers.

Reconciliation among groups was gradually effected. The different groups frequented each other's mercantile establishments and found common meeting places at schools, athletic contests, baseball games, and clubs. Baseball players became the darlings of their respective towns. The camps loved their baseball teams, and games provided a great outing for many in the towns. National origin meant nothing to team managers—they only valued talent. Children of all groups met in schools, where they learned to cooperate with one another. In 1927 area Catholics established Notre Dame School, and it and the public schools worked to Americanize the county's schoolchildren. The Carbon High School band also became a source of pride for many people of Carbon County; director E.M. Williams was not concerned about national origin of band members. The educational system became an avenue for a better life for children of the foreign-born, with many of them going on to college to become professionals. Some returned to establish their practices in Carbon County.

Clubs, fraternities, and sororities provided a meeting place for socialization for many in the county. People of many nationalities composed the local Masons, Moose, and Elks fraternities as well as service and business clubs such as the Kiwanis and Lions clubs. The chamber of commerce and American Legion included people of all groups. Women also had their own groups including Sorosis, Business and Professional Women, the Woman's Club, and others. All contributed to the growing sense of cooperation and community identity.

During the Great Depression of the 1930s, area mines worked only a few days a week; but county residents pulled together for the benefit of all the people. The county started its own program to help out-of-work miners. After the government under President Franklin D. Roosevelt established its New Deal programs, county and city officials worked to obtain federal funds to help combat unemployment problems. Many businesses tried to work with their customers, and through cooperation a measure of relief was obtained. During the 1930s Carbon County voters swung in great measure to the Democratic party; and, unlike most other Utah voters, its voters have remained loyal Democrats.

In the first part of the twentieth century the county housed four major denominations: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS or Mormon), Catholic, Methodist, and Greek Orthodox. None was really dominant, an unusual situation in Utah, where Mormons generally dominated in all counties and most communities. All of these denominations built structures of worship. After 1930 other organized denominations slowly came into the county. Today there are at least fourteen religious denominations scattered among the communities of Carbon County. The mix of these religions and their teachings of tolerance and acceptance have played a valuable part in the county's history.

The many nationalities, the number of religions, the coal industry, and the labor problems have helped make Carbon County different from the other counties of Utah. Not even Salt Lake County with its much larger population could be said to have some of the variety that characterized Carbon County prior to World War II. The era from 1920 to 1940 had seen periods of conflict and of healing. After 1940 differences began to disappear among the peoples of Carbon County as the second and third generations joined together in schools, work, places of worship, and the marketplace. The creation of Carbon Junior College in 1938 helped that process. The college had its ups and downs; however, in 1953 when Governor J. Bracken Lee, a native of Price, proposed to dissolve the school as a tax-saving measure, county residents united to fight the plan. They won, and the school was saved. They organized, fought, and triumphed for a principle that was dear to their hearts: the right to edu-

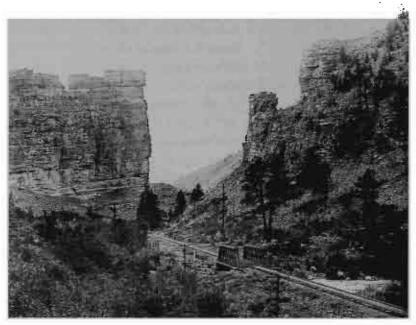
cate their children in the best schools the state could provide. The subsequent growth of the institution, now called the College of Eastern Utah, has vindicated their battle.

The beginnings and growth of the College of Eastern Utah Museum also have been of importance in the history of the county. Founded by a group of people who realized the importance of the natural and human history of the area, the museum has prospered and grown from a few display cases into two modern buildings housing dinosaur remains, early Fremont culture artifacts, and other natural history displays.

All of the old mines—Hiawatha, Castle Gate, Kenilworth, Spring Canyon, Sunnyside, and others—have closed their portals. The coal camps have disappeared except for those few such as Kenilworth and Columbia that have become suburbs of larger communities. The railroad is no longer centered in Helper, which has suffered a decline in population and prosperity. Presently coal mining is increasing, but the number of men employed in the process has declined drastically. Recent studies have concluded that there are possibly only a few decades left in which extensive coal mining in the county is possible. With mining drawing to a close, the county has had to seek alternative industry. The eastern part of the county has also lost population but has revived somewhat with a new power plant and a giant garbage dump. Helper has had difficulty reviving economically. The community started a historical museum in the mid-1960s, and it recently has attracted artists and playwrights to its beautiful setting. Price has remained a center of prosperity in an area of decline; federal, state, county, and city government agencies there, along with the College of Eastern Utah, have helped its prosperity. Today the city of Price, with over 9,000 residents, dominates Carbon County with its population of some 20,000 residents and its rich historical legacy.

THE LAND AND PEOPLE BEFORE SETTLEMENT

Geographically Carbon County is almost rectangular-shaped and is situated in the east-central part of the state. Most of the inhabited areas are situated along the Price River. Presently Carbon County has four major communities: Helper, located at the mouth of Price Canyon about six miles north of Price, an important railroad center throughout its history; Price, the county seat and home of the College of Eastern Utah; Wellington, primarily an agricultural community, located five miles southeast of Price; and East Carbon City, made up of the old communities of Dragerton and Columbia, located along the southern slope of the Book Chiffs some twenty-five miles east of Price in the southeastern part of the county. There are also three communities with smaller populations: Scofield, near the northwest corner of the county, situated in the western end of Pleasant Valley and adjacent to the Scofield Reservoir; Kenilworth, located just a few miles east of Helper, a former coal mining camp that has continued because the company allowed people of the community to purchase lots and houses; and Sunnyside, another former coal mining camp, almost an adjunct to East Carbon City. Spring



The Denver and Rio Grande Railroad track passes through Castle Gate. Photograph by William Jackson c. 1896. (Utah State Historical Society)

Glen and Carbonville, two unincorporated agricultural areas, are situated between Helper and Price.

Geographically Carbon County is composed of the Book Cliffs and Wasatch Plateau ranges and the northern part of Castle Valley, which runs south into Emery County. The Book Cliff range joins the Wasatch Plateau in the northwest portion of the county, then runs along the northern side of the valley, turns in a southerly direction at Sunnyside, and continues almost directly south. With the Wasatch Plateau running north to south on the west side of the county and the Book Cliffs running east along the northern side of the county before turning in a southerly direction on the eastern side of the county, Carbon County is surrounded on three sides by mountains which form the northern end of Castle Valley.

Pleasant Valley sits on the extreme western edge of the county, where much of the land is covered by the waters of Scofield Reservoir. Before the reservoir was completed in the 1920s, Fish Creek ran



Sawmill near Clear Creek, c. 1890. (Western Mining and Railroad Museum)

through this high, lush, grass-filled valley where thousands of sheep grazed during the summer.

Along the northern edge of the county is a valley-like depression in the Book Cliffs which begins east of Soldier Summit and is known as the Emma and Whitmore Park area. In pioneer times north-bound travelers used a road running through the park and then through Soldier Canyon to reach cities and settlements in the Utah and Salt Lake valleys.

Price River dominates the northern part of Castle (or Price River) Valley. Formed at the confluence of Fish Creek and White River, before 1879 it was lined with cottonwood trees, and when it flowed naturally it was the only river in the state to crest in May. Men have straightened the river, especially in the Helper and Price Canyon area. When Scofield Dam harnessed the river, water flowed into the Price River Valley continuously, except during dry years. The Price River is the lifeblood of the valley, with canals branching off the river to water crops throughout the county. The Carbon Canal winds thirty-five miles through the southern half of the county. Gordon Creek flows out of the Wasatch Plateau and into the Price River



The Utah Fuel Company Mine No. 2 at Castle Gate, c. 1938. (Utah State Historical Society)

between Helper and Price; Miller Creek flows out of the Hiawatha area and into the river south of Wellington. Some pioneers hoped to use Miller Creek for irrigation, but the creek was never dependable. A few smaller streams, mostly irrigation waste streams, flow from the Wasatch Plateau into the Price River, with Drunkard's Wash being the most distinct. Soldier Creek flows out of Soldier Canyon and into the Price River east of Wellington. Another creek of importance in Carbon County is Grassy Trail Creek, which comes from Whitmore Canyon, finally emptying into the Price River south of the Carbon County border. Generally, however, the area is rather barren, with dry washes being more characteristic than flowing streams. Indigenous flora and fauna generally are desert-adapted species that consume little water.

The geologic formation that has had the greatest impact on Carbon County is coal, a rock derived from wood and plant tissues. These plants flourished in swamps which covered the country several hundred million years ago. Most of Carbon County's coal had its beginning in the Cretaceous period. Generations of plants grew and died, then fell into the shallow waters where they underwent only partial decay. In most cases, plant debris in Carbon County accumulated until it was several feet thick. This debris was inundated with water and eventually covered with clay, sand, or lime mud. In time the plant debris was compressed by the mud, which became limestone, sandstone, and shale. The plant debris changed from peat to lignite to bituminous coal. Periodically the climate became wet and another swamp laid down another layer of coal-forming plant debris, and the process was repeated. Over millions of years the process formed a large coal area that excelled any other in the western United States.

Coal is found in the Blackhawk formation of the Book Cliffs and Wasatch Plateau. The coal in these mountainous areas ranges from three to twenty-five feet in thickness. The Blackhawk formation has six sections, or members. The Spring Canyon member includes three coal beds, with the most important being the Hiawatha bed, which ranges from a few inches to twenty feet in thickness in the Wasatch Plateau. The Aberdeen member has three mineable coals, with the most important being the Castle Gate A, which reaches a height of nineteen feet at Kenilworth. The latter three are the Kenilworth member, which also has a mineable seam at Kenilworth; the Sunnyside member, which is most prominent at Sunnyside; and the Grassy member, which has no mineable coal.²

Anthropologists have divided human occupation of eastern Utah into four general cultures. The first, the Paleo-Indians, existed from about 12,000 to 8,500 years ago. The Archaic peoples who followed are subdivided into several phases over a 7,000-year span from 8,500 to 1,500 years before the present. The Fremont people, who flourished in the area between A.D. 700 to 1300 are the best known of the prehistoric peoples who occupied Carbon County. The fourth group includes Ute tribes and other Numic-speaking Native Americans who occupied the area from the demise of the Fremont Indians to the arrival of nineteenth-century white settlers.

Although there is little evidence of human occupation in the Carbon County area during the times of the Paleo-Indian and Archaic cultures, projectile points from surrounding areas suggest that human beings likely passed through the area and possibly occupied sites there as early as 10,000 years ago.

While there is a dearth of evidence of occupation in ancient times, the Fremont peoples left dramatic evidence of their occupation in their rock art, stone houses, granaries, and other sites, revealing an advanced culture in the area one thousand years ago. The Fremont Culture appeared in Nine Mile Canyon about A.D. 950 and left some of the best examples of rock art in the western United States. The Fremont existed about the same time in Utah as the Anasazi to the south who occupied hundreds of places, including such well-known sites as Mesa Verde, Chaco Canyon, Hovenweep, and Edge of the Cedars. The Fremont and Anasazi were similar in many ways, but there were also distinctive differences. The Fremont Culture emerged as the hunter-gatherer Desert Archaic peoples became more sedentary, establishing villages and relying increasingly on farming to provide their food.

Four developments came to characterize the Fremont Culture. First was the cultivation of a strain of maize (corn) that was more resistant to drought and extremes of climate and only needed a short growing season. Second was the development of a thin-walled gray pottery. Third was the use of semi-subterranean timber and mud pithouses along with aboveground rock-walled houses and granaries. Finally, the prolific rock art left by the Fremont is an important but little understood part of their culture. All of these developments evolved over centuries, and Carbon County's Nine Mile Canyon was one of the locations most heavily occupied by the Fremont.

Several groups of Fremont inhabited Utah. The Nine Mile Canyon Fremont people were part of what archaeologists called the San Rafael Fremont, but they also were influenced by the Uintah Fremont, a group immediately to the north of them. The San Rafael group left more rock art than the other groups, and the walls of Nine Mile Canyon are filled with petroglyphs left by these ancient peoples.

The Fremont have certain distinctive characteristics; among them is the thin-walled gray pottery which is found at almost every Fremont site. They also used a one-rod-and-bundle basketry construction style which archaeologists use to distinguish Fremont sites. However, baskets are an easily perishable item and are found only in a few archaeological sites. A third characteristic is a type of moccasin constructed from the hock of a deer or a mountain sheep leg. Fourth are three-dimensional clay figures crafted with a gray coil pottery. The San Rafael Fremont area contains ornate examples of anthropomorphic figures, and the Pilling collection found in Range Creek, not far from the Nine Mile site, is such an example. The figurines are made of untempered and unfired clay. Fremont artisans formed the ceramics with well-molded facial features and with hairdresses, neck-laces, pendants, shoulder ornaments, and skirts or girdles. The Pilling figures retain painted decorations of red, yellow, and lime-green on both heads and bodies. The purpose of these figurines is not known, but they could have been used in fertility ceremonies.

The Nine Mile Canyon pit-house sites are surface structures rather than semi-subterranean lodges used elsewhere. The San Rafael Fremont used four central roof supports, plastered walls, a slab pavement in fireplaces, a frequent combination of stone masonry with adobe brick construction, and slab lining in their pit-houses. In Nine Mile Canyon most of the ruins are of stone masonry. Ceramics are almost exclusively Emery Gray, which is characterized by extensive use of surface modeling. Nine Mile Canyon ruins also have stone-slab-paved firepits with molded clay rims.

The Nine Mile Canyon site is especially known for its fine petroglyphs, where the images are cut or pecked into the stone. The canyon features some of the most spectacular rock art in the world.⁴ The Fremont created the rock art to endure. They chiseled the images on flat, perpendicular rock surfaces and cliff faces, sometimes under ledges where they would be least disturbed by the elements. The art depicted many types of objects including men and women, animals, weapons, pottery, and astronomical objects such as the sun, moon, stars, and planets. The art generally does not appear to be abstract, but there are also some examples of what might be maps that have an abstract character.⁵

The Fremont were also expert and prolific producers of arrowheads. In 1963 the Albert Jeanselme family found in the Gordon Creek area a cache of arrowheads which are described as preforms, artifacts that were not completely finished and needed to be notched and modified for their final specific use. Anthropologist Claudia Helm-Berry numbered and photographed the points and took them to Dr. Don Crabtree, a lithic specialist, who speculated that the preforms were made by one Fremont Indian from the same piece of rock and cached for future use.⁶

About A.D. 1250 the Fremont began to disappear, not only from the Carbon County area but from the entire Great Basin region. Archaeologists are not certain why the Fremont left or what became of them; however, some evidence suggests that climate changes forced these people to depend less on agricultural resources and more on hunting and gathering. Yet there had been such changes before which had not caused the people to change their habitation areas. At about that time, other hunter-gatherers came into the area from the southwestern Great Basin, apparently the ancestors of the modern Shoshoni and Paiute Indians. They perhaps intermarried with the Fremont or displaced them.⁷

Later, other Native American tribes penetrated the county and left some traces of their temporary settlements.⁸ Ute people certainly traveled through the area and hunted game in the mountains of the Wasatch Plateau and the Book Cliffs, but evidence does not exist of their extensive habitation of the Price River Valley. That development would occur in the latter part of the nineteenth century when white men would invade the area and establish towns along the Price River.

Endnotes

- 1. The next step is anthracite coal, which never developed in Carbon County.
- 2. Robert G. Young, "Stratigraphy of Coal-Bearing Rocks of Book Cliffs, Utah-Colorado," in Central Utah Coals: A Guidebook prepared For The Geological Society of America and Associated Societies (Salt Lake City: Utah Geological and Mineralogical Survey, 1966).
- 3. David B. Madsen, Exploring the Fremont (Salt Lake City: Utah Museum of Natural History, 1989), 3-12.
- 4. Jesse D. Jennings, "Prehistory of Utah and the Eastern Great Basin," *University of Utah Anthropological Papers* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1973), 184–85.
- 5. F.A. Barnes, Canyon Country, Prehistoric Rock Art (Salt Lake City: Wasatch Publishers, 1982), 35, 47.
 - 6. Pam Miller, notes, in possession of author.

- 7. Madsen, Exploring the Fremont, 13-15.
- 8. Kendell and Ona Barnett, oral interview by Eldon and Carole Miller, 12 November 1993, Western Mining and Railroad Museum, Helper, Utah.

THE FRONTIER AND SETTLEMENT PERIOD

The first Europeans into the area of eastern Utah came as part of a Spanish expedition under the direction of Don Juan Maria Antonio de Rivera. They left the Spanish settlements in New Mexico in 1765, journeyed through southwestern Colorado, and reached eastern Utah. Rivera traveled through the area where Moab would later be located, crossed the Colorado River, and went a few miles farther north before returning to New Mexico. In 1776 Franciscan friars Francisco Atanasio Domínguez and Silvestre Velez de Escalante led a group that crossed into the Uinta Basin and traveled as far north as Utah Lake, where they visited the Indian tribes. In 1825 General William H. Ashley, partner in an American fur trading company based in St. Louis, entered the region by sailing down the Green River. He cached his supplies at the mouth of the Duchesne River, which he called the "Tewinty," and then continued on down the river for some distance. He reported:

The whole of that distance (below the mouth of the Tewinty) is bounded by lofty mountains heaped together in the greatest disorder, exhibiting a surface as barren as can be imagined. This part of the country is almost entirely without game. We saw a few mountain-sheep and some elk, but they were so wild, and the country so rugged that we found it impossible to approach them.²

When Ashley was returning to the Duchesne River, he met a group of Ute Indians who confirmed his thoughts concerning the lack of game in the area. They told him that the Indians who lived in that country subsisted on roots, fish, and horses.

A year later Jedediah Smith, an employee of William Henry Ashley, left the trappers rendezvous at the south end of Bear Lake with a small party of fifteen men to search for beaver between northern Utah and southern California. Smith traveled south along the Wasatch Front until he reached Spanish Fork Canyon, where he and his men turned upcanyon to visit some Indians who were harvesting service berries. Smith then traveled up the south fork of Soldier Creek to Pleasant Valley, turned southward, and probably traveled along the summit valleys. He must have at least viewed Castle Valley from the heights, but he did not venture into the valley because of its barrenness. Later expeditions by Mexican and Indian traders crossed Castle Valley on the Old Spanish Trail, which ran just south of Carbon County.

In July 1847 the Mormon pioneers became the first permanent white settlers to come to the Great Salt Lake Valley in Utah. Brigham Young, their leader, soon sent Mormon settlers north and south to establish other settlements. Mormons first ventured through Castle Valley when Young sent what was called the Elk Mountain Mission to the Colorado River to trade and proselytize the Indians. In May 1855 this group of forty men left Manti and traveled southward through Sanpete Valley and through Salina Canyon, following the well-used Spanish Trail. They crossed the Green River at one of the few accessible crossings, near the present-day community of Green River. From there they turned south, following the general course of present Highway 191 to the Colorado River and Spanish Valley. In the summer of 1855 the small company established the Elk Mountain Mission (Moab) and set about building a small fort and planting and irrigating crops. At first the Indians were friendly, but in September hostilities broke out. The Indians killed three of the men, causing the

Mormons to abandon the mission. Most of the group returned to the Salt Lake Valley in September 1855 by way of the Old Spanish Trail, but President Alfred N. Billings, leader of the mission, sent three men back to Salt Lake by way of the Spanish Fork route. The small company traveled northwest from the Green River crossing for thirty miles through some very desolate country, following some faint Indian trails probably up Whitmore Canyon before returning to the Green River. They traveled northwest altogether for twenty days until they found Utah Lake.

During the Black Hawk War (1865-1868), Warren Snow took a group of 100 militiamen for the purpose of recovering cattle from the scattered settlements of the Sevier and Sanpete valleys. They pursued Indians who had stolen some of their cattle through Salina Canyon to Castle Valley. Another group of eighty men under the leadership of Reddick Allred crossed the Wasatch Plateau, probably by way of Cottonwood and Huntington creeks, and joined Snow's men at the Price River. There they divided up their small amount of rations and continued their pursuit to the Green River, where they debated about crossing and pursuing the Indians even farther east. Their lack of food caused Snow and Allred to abandon the hunt for their stolen cattle; they returned to Sanpete by way of Huntington and Cottonwood creeks.5 While pursuing Indians, Allred and Snow found signs of whites using the unexplored valley for gathering cattle. Rustlers apparently kept stolen cattle in crude corrals until they were able to dispose of them, probably driving them eastward to the railroad in Colorado.

The Mormons finally prevailed in the short but intensive war against the Indians, and within a decade after the conclusion of the Black Hawk War white men began settling Castle Valley, many being veterans of the Black Hawk War expeditions. The high plateaus of central Utah which stretch from Mount Nebo on the north to the Utah-Arizona border on the south presented a geographical barrier which delayed Mormon expansion into eastern Utah. There were some reasons for this: west of these plateaus the Mormons found hospitable valleys with good soil and, most importantly, scattered oases of water; the eastern area consisted of forbidding territory with few known sources of dependable water; and eastern Utah was criss-



Jefferson Tidwell Family. (Western Mining and Railroad Museum)

crossed with dry washes cut by infrequent but violent floods, featuring deep canyons and high bluffs and plateaus.

After peace was established with Black Hawk and other warring Utes, farmers of Sanpete County began trailing their collectively managed cattle and sheep herds into the mountains east of Sanpete Valley and into Castle Valley. These cooperative herds were part of the larger United Order movement initiated by Brigham Young in response to new economic forces brought to Utah with the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869. In 1875 Orange Seely trailed 1,400 cattle and a similar number of sheep from the Fairview and Mount Pleasant cooperative societies to Castle Valley. These cooperative herds spent the winter of 1875–76 in the vicinity of present-day Castle Dale and Orangeville.

In the early 1870s the Mormons began a cooperative, communal experiment called the United Order in which people in each ward or community cooperated in economic ventures or even lived in communities with all properties held in common. The settlement of the southern half of Castle Valley came at the end of this period. By the time the Mormons migrated into Carbon County, the United Order

movement was waning.⁷ The Homestead Act, passed in 1862 by Congress, allowed for settlement of Castle Valley by settlers who claimed, lived on, and improved the land.

Brigham Young, just a few months before his death in 1877, asked Jefferson Tidwell, a man who would be instrumental in settling Wellington and who had been into Castle Valley during the Black Hawk War, to explore the Castle Valley country regarding the possibility of settlement. The Tidwell party explored the area of Huntington, Cottonwood, and Ferron creeks and the confluence of the three streams forming the San Rafael River just below present-day Castle Dale. Tidwell described the land as excellent, although he thought controlling the streams would be difficult. Shortly after the Tidwell party exploration, Mormons began settling the southern half of the valley.⁶

The settlement of the northern half of Castle Valley, known commonly as the Price River Valley, took place within a few years of its southern settlements. Sometime in the late 1860s, William Price, LDS bishop of Goshen, traveled up Spanish Fork Canyon and down the White River, which would later bear his name. The look of the land probably did not concern him because he was on an explorative trapping venture, not a colonizing one. Price may have traveled all the way to present-day Wellington before returning to Goshen. As early as 1875 Nathan Galloway, a trapper and adventurer, began trapping on the Price River and built a dugout on the river in the vicinity of Wellington. Galloway, however, was never a permanent settler.

As good farmland became more scarce in western Utah due to an ever-expanding population, young men looked elsewhere for land to farm. The settlers of the Price River Valley first came from Utah Valley. In 1877 Abraham Powell and Caleb Rhoades, two hunters and trappers from Salem in Utah Valley, traveling the same trail used by William Price, entered Castle Valley by way of what would later be called the Price River. Rhoades built a dugout in a place later called Rhoades Meadow, which was well-watered from a brackish spring and located about two miles northwest of present-day Price. Powell built a cabin two miles south of Price. Rhoades and Powell returned to Salem that fall and did not return to Price River Valley the next year."

In 1878 James Davis Gay, a bachelor from Utah County and the area's first permanent settler, entered the Price River Valley and built a log cabin along the west side of the river at what would later be Spring Glen.12 Rhoades and Powell had frequently discussed settling in the valley with other family members and close friends; however, in December 1878, while on a hunting expedition with Rhoades and others on Mount Nebo, Powell was killed by a bear. Within a few weeks, with true pioneering spirit, Caleb Rhoades left the secure haven of Utah Valley. On 1 January 1879 Rhoades with his brotherin-law Frederick Grames and Frederick's brother Charles Grames crossed the Wasatch Mountains to settle in Castle Valley. Rhoades returned to the meadow he had visited two years previously, and the Grames brothers spent a few days with Rhoades helping rebuild the dugout. The brothers traveled farther downriver from Rhoades's place to where they found a smaller meadow with large cottonwoods. They settled there, just west of where the townsite of Price would be. Their homestead was near enough to the river that they were able to divert a small stream of water to irrigate their crops. During the first summer, the Grames brothers lived in a dugout located on the bank of the Price River. Later they built themselves a log cabin.13

In March 1879 a few friends from Spanish Fork including Levi Simmons, William Z. Warren, and Thomas Caldwell arrived in Castle Valley. On 12 March two of the extended Powell family arrived from Salem, Robert A. Powell and William Davis. During the first part of April, John A. Powell, Sarah Jane Powell, and Lyman Curtis also came from Salem to the valley. Sarah Powell was the first white woman to come into the valley. In June, Martha Powell Grames and her family and Rachel Davis Powell, wife of Robert Alonzo Powell, and their family came to the valley. Other families arrived in the valley that summer. All of these families were motivated by individual initiative and were not part of a Mormon colonizing effort that Brigham Young had been pioneering in the years before his death. These new arrivals settled along the Price River, where they established farms, planted grain, and drew water from the river. The harvest that year was small, but these hardy farmers were able to cut their grain and thresh it with the help of their oxen.14

It was not accidental that most of these early colonizers came

from Salem; many were part of the extended Powell family. Those from Spanish Fork had been influenced by their Salem neighbors. Some needed more land; others had the wanderlust and felt that there was plenty of virgin land to farm over the mountain. Some left fairly prosperous farms to establish homes in the Price River Valley. These new pioneers had the skills to irrigate and plow the land, a process they had learned from their experiences in Utah Valley. In Castle Valley the lack of available water limited the land that could produce crops and forced the first settlers to claim land near the river.

Sometime in 1879 the Whitmore brothers also moved into the northeastern part of Castle Valley, probably the Sunnyside region, to graze their cattle. Migrating from St. George to Castle Valley, they originally came from Texas. ¹⁵ Thereafter, more families settled in the valley; in 1880 the families of Green Allred, Blain Warren, George Downard, George F. and William F. Branch, Charles P. Johnson, J. Peterson, Jake Kofford, and William J. Warren settled in the valley. ¹⁶

In the fall of 1879, a group from Sanpete Valley—Jefferson Tidwell, William Averett, and thirteen others—homesteaded about four miles downriver from the Grames brothers at a place locally known as Dead Horse Point. They had crossed through the southern part of Castle Valley to reach the Wellington area. Tidwell and the others put in the first diversion dam across the Price River, and a few months later they left the Wellington area for their homes in Sanpete Valley. After returning early in the spring of 1880, they dug a 2.5-mile ditch from the south side of the river to their farms and built seven or eight dugouts where they lived while attempting to found a new community. Considerable plowing and planting of crops followed; but, because of the weakness of the dam and high spring runoffs, the ditch broke near the head and the newcomers lost all their newly planted crops. With the failure of the ditch, these pioneers left the area.¹⁷

In the fall of 1882, Thomas Zundell, Robert A. Snyder, and a few others returned. Zundell, determined to stay the winter, built himself a cabin. The following spring, Tidwell returned to join this small community. The old dam had washed out, so the group built another dam. Again the dam washed out, and with it the liopes of the community. The failure of the diversion dam meant no water to irrigate

their crops. Some of the group left, but a few hardy souls stayed. The next year those who stayed built a third dam. This time the dam held and they succeeded in diverting water to their thirsty farmland. The dam diverted water only to the south side of the river, but they flumed water across the river to the north side and successfully developed both banks of the river. With this success, other settlers soon followed.¹⁸

The settlers also organized efforts to secure much-needed food and took their wagons up Whitmore Canyon to hunt for deer. On at least one community deer hunt, the hunters bagged 120 deer. They hung the deer in Tidwell's granary where anyone could use the needed meat.¹⁹

In 1880 Teancum Pratt, after having tried on several occasions to be part of several united orders in central Utah established by the Mormon church, moved to Castle Valley to take up farming on the "new frontier." Pratt stayed at Pleasant Valley for a while and then went to Gordon Creek, where he remained only a few months. He did not like his neighbors, calling them "hunters, trappers, and soreheads," so he moved to the area of Spring Glen where Helper would later be located. Pratt made a small ditch in order to use the water from the river to irrigate the land and began to farm. He complained that he could not keep the cows from the plants because of the lack of fences. By 5 June 1882 he was ready to plant. He wrote, "Rose at 4 o'clock, put water on 4 different places, corn, sugar cane, potatoes, and bottom piece for corn. Found a way of letting out a small stream of water at any place along the ditch by putting in a board with a notch cut in the middle of the side and putting small rocks below for the water to fall upon. Sarah and Amanda [his plural wives] planted popcorn and beans, also some watermelons." Two days later Pratt planted white beans and harvested a crop of radishes and lettuce from an earlier planting. He later planted squash, cucumbers, lucerne, and cabbages and spent part of his time hoeing weeds.20

On 1 July Pratt recorded: "Having my crop planted and well started, I thought it would be wisdom for me to leave home and try to earn some money, as our provisions were getting low and we are pretty short in clothing." Pratt thus departed his farm to seek work and wages in the mines of Pleasant Valley. Finding no work, he



Bertaha Olson Warren and children in front of their 1880s log home in Price. (Western Mining and Railroad Museum)

returned to his home in the valley, but on the way back he was almost caught in a flash flood coming down the canyon. He saved his oxen, but his wagon was damaged in the flood. "When I got home, I was rejoiced to see that the flood had not injured my crop which was planted in a low river bottom." Pratt failed to say how much he harvested. His family still needed other food; in January 1883 he was hunting wild game. He continued the work of clearing the heavy sagebrush from his farm during most of the spring. Pratt continued a seasonal practice of farming and mining until 1901 when he was killed in the Winter Quarters Mine.²¹

In 1882 Ernest Horsley listed the families along the river and found that there were forty-three families, or approximately 200 people, along the Price River from the point where the river flowed out of the canyon all the way to Dead Horse Crossing. Other families continued to come; by 1885 the population had increased to 355 people.²²

The arrival of the first railroad in Carbon County in 1879 followed an unprecedented decade of railroad construction in Utah Territory which occurred after the Central Pacific and Union Pacific met to complete the first transcontinental railroad at Promontory Summit on 10 May 1869. During the first decade or so of Utah's railroad era, the Utah Central Railroad was completed between Ogden and Salt Lake City; also the Utah Northern was built from Ogden north to Brigham City and Logan, and then on to Franklin, Idaho, and Dillon, Montana. The Utah Southern ran south from Salt Lake City to Provo, Nephi, Milford, and Frisco in west-central Utah. Two smaller railroads connected Coalville and Park City with the Union Pacific line at Echo Junction. While all of these railroads in Utah served primarily the Wasatch Front along the eastern edge of the Great Basin, Milan Packard's Pleasant Valley Railroad Company, organized in 1877, marked the first attempt to penetrate across the rim of the Great Basin into the Colorado Plateau.

The discovery of coal, first in Pleasant Valley and later at Castle Gate and Sunnyside, encouraged railroad building in Spanish Fork Canyon and Castle Valley. Partners in development, coal mining and railroads were the most important economic factors in Carbon County development. By 1875 coal had been discovered in Pleasant Valley, and transporting it by wagon proved totally inadequate. So the coal mine owners including Milan Packard pooled their resources and organized the Utah and Pleasant Valley Railway, a narrow-gauge railroad, built between the mines in Pleasant Valley and Springville. There were several directors of the new railroad, but Milan Packard of Springville is generally most credited with aiding the success of this railroad venture. The new directors convinced Charles W. Scofield of New York to finance most of the construction. Railroad construction began in April 1877 and went up Spanish Fork Canyon to a side canyon by the name of Starvation Canyon. At that point, workers had to build a switchback in the road in order for trains to make the summit, just before descending into Pleasant Valley and the mine at Winter Quarters. The railroad was completed in November 1879. This line was often referred to as the "calico line" because Packard was said to have paid the workmen with products from his store, including calico.23

As the Denver and Rio Grande Western moved through the Rocky Mountains from Denver and across the Colorado Plateau, the Union Pacific Railroad, which had acquired the Utah Northern, Utah Central, and Utah Southern railroads, held a tight grip on railroad transportation both to and within Utah. Most Utahns looked to the Denver and Rio Grande Western as a savior from what they considered the rapacious monopoly of the Union Pacific. In 1881 the Denver and Rio Grande Western sent surveyor Ellis Clark through Carbon County to survey a proposed railroad from Denver to Salt Lake. Clark wrote to W.J. Palmer in the Denver office discussing his discovery of coal in Price River Canyon and the importance of using it for the railroad company's steam locomotives. He recommended that the company purchase the site in Price Canyon.²⁴

Responding to Clark's advice, in December 1881 the Denver and Rio Grande Western purchased the Utah and Pleasant Valley Railway, which included the Winter Quarters mine. The railroad company changed the road to avoid the grade and switchback as it entered Pleasant Valley and located a junction just east of Soldier Summit at a place called Pleasant Valley Junction, later Colton.

In 1882 the Union Pacific Railroad Company encouraged the Utah Central Coal Company to establish a coal mine to the east of Scofield where there was a twenty-foot coal vein. Two years later the tipple caught fire and set the mine on fire, killing John McLean and his son. The company tried to extinguish the fire but failed. In 1887 the Union Central Coal Company opened another mine nearby and shipped the coal over the D&RGW at high rates.²⁵

Even as new people coming from western Utah settled the area, the transportation and industrial revolutions were taking place, forever changing eastern Utah. In 1883 the new settlers welcomed to Castle Valley the Denver and Rio Grande Western railroad which had been constructed through the valley and up Price Canyon on the way to Ogden. The railroad company built the track both from Denver and from Ogden, and the railroad arrived in Price sometime early in May. On 17 May regular train service began between Ogden and Grand Junction. A few days before, the train crew gathered everyone they could find in the valley and took them from Price to Mounds and back, a trip of about thirteen miles, to the delight of all the riders. The river valley in 1883 was a settlement of scattered Mormon farmsteads located not too far from each other. The building of the



Helper railroad depot, built in 1892. (Western Mining and Railroad Museum)

railroad helped these new settlers obtain needed cash for their farms as they supplied their labor for the railroad's construction. The railroad also brought into the valley people of other religions.

When regular train service began, the railroad company located the depot in an old boxcar, and the railroad company also changed the name of the junction from Castle Valley to Price. People from far and wide came to see the trains. Area Indians would stand at a distance and stare at the blowing monster. It was reported that they could understand the engines pulling the cars, but they did not understand how the cars could pull the engine backwards when the train backed up. The townspeople's lives soon revolved around the train schedule. People looking for mail or supplies knew the train from the east arrived at 11 P.M. and the train from the west came at 5 P.M. This schedule varied depending on weather and other problems."

The railroad changed the very nature of the new settlements along the Price River. It brought business to Price, bringing hard cash to the community that had existed completely on the barter system. The barter system remained a dominant element in the economic sphere, but cash became increasingly demanded. The railroad established Price as the center of a transportation system to Huntington, Castle Dale, and Ferron, and it also brought wagon freighters who then took goods from the railroad to Duchesne and Vernal.

The railroad and the establishment of Fort Duchesne in the Uinta Basin in 1886 made possible the emergence of a lucrative freighting business that provided a tremendous boon to the local economy. Fort Duchesne was a considerable distance from supply points; so, in order to furnish the more than three hundred soldiers with needed provisions, the army had three possible options, two of which were almost certain to be closed part of the year by winter snows. The route from the west, leaving either Salt Lake City or Provo City, had to make its way across two mountain ranges, first through Parley's Canyon or Provo Canyon to Heber City and then through Daniels Canyon and the Strawberry Reservoir area before descending into the Uinta Basin. The route from the Union Pacific Railroad in Wyoming to the north via Fort Bridger and the Carter Military Road across the Uinta Mountains was used for a few shipments of supplies, but only the most heroic measures could keep this route open in the winter. The most likely option for a year-round road was to the south through Nine Mile Canyon to the railhead at Price; thus soldiers built a wagon road and telegraph more than one hundred miles from Fort Duchesne through Nine Mile Canyon and on to Price.28

Traveling the road from Fort Duchesne to Price took six days, and freighters traveled it with tandem wagons weighing four to six tons pulled by four- to six-horse teams. Some freighters tried pulling three or four wagons, but the rough road and sometimes poor weather conditions made that virtually impossible. The freighters soon established campsites about twenty miles apart. Some of these were farmhouses, and some farmers added saloons and small stores to accommodate the freighters. Various freighting businesses bid with the government to freight goods to Fort Duchesne. These outfits often brought in their own wagons and freighters but hired local people as they saw the need.

Government freight was only part of the freighting business for



Freighters operating between Price and the Uinta Basin. The buildings in the background are Fitzgerald & Co.—a saloon, the Eastern Utah Advocate building, and Price Trading. (LDS Church Archives)

the Uinta Basin. Ute Indians hauled in their own provisions, and the settlements in Ashley Valley used the Nine Mile route for their transportation needs.²⁹ These civilian needs encouraged private wagoners to venture into the freighting business. Some of them became subcontractors to stores in Price or Vernal that supplied the items.

Almost everyone in Price and Wellington owned a wagon to haul goods between Price and the Uinta Basin, and many Emery County farmers engaged in freighting as well. Wages were sometimes paid in store goods; but any income was helpful in this cash-starved society. Albert McMullin, the Mormon bishop at Wellington, earned most of his income as a freighter. Government freighters usually received \$1.12 per hundred pounds. Independent freighters received whatever they could get. They also had to stand the expense of feeding and even watering their horses. The freight agent in Price carefully weighed each parcel, and when the freighter arrived in the basin the agent at Fort Duchesne or Vernal also weighed the freight. If the item lost weight in the trip, the freighter stood the loss. In January 1899 freighters decided they needed more money and decided to strike for



Freighters on the Price Myton Road, c. 1900. (Western Mining and Railroad Museum)

\$2.00 per hundred pounds. Freight companies thought that they would easily be able to replace these rigs, but they failed to do so. Within two weeks the wagons were rolling once again and the freighters had won a substantial pay increase.³⁰

The road was heavily traveled. In 1887 freighters for the army hauled two million pounds of supplies to Fort Duchesne. In 1891 the railroad left over one million pounds at the depot in Price just during the month of December. In 1895, when there were only 132 soldiers at the fort, army freighters undertook nearly seventy trips over the Nine Mile Canyon road to haul 526,870 pounds of supplies to Fort Duchesne. Furthermore, as the Uinta Basin's gilsonite industry developed, a two-way commerce emerged; freighters could load their empty wagons with 200-pound burlap bags of gilsonite for the return trip to Price, where the bags were loaded onto rail cars and shipped east.³¹ A stage line also operated a daily run between Price and Vernal.

The road was always a concern to the freighters and the local residents. The Eastern Utah Advocate, the successor to the Eastern Utah Telegraph, continued to plead with the county and citizenry to

improve the road, and sometimes the county would send someone out to help smooth the roads or even shorten them.³² In 1905, in order to capture the gilsonite trade, the railroad built a spur from Mack, Colorado, to Dragon, Utah, which signaled the beginning of the end for the freighting trade through Nine Mile Canyon. Traffic continued on the Nine Mile route because the government had just opened the Ute Indian reservation to settlement; consequently, the stage operated for about another ten years. Thereafter, the railroad and the improved road through Strawberry Valley to Heber supplied most of the Uinta Basin's transportation needs. The postal service continued to serve the Uinta Basin through Carbon County; however, the mail was carried over the shorter route through Indian Canyon or Emma and Whitmore Park until the late 1930s.³³

Freighters also hauled freight and mail from Price to and from the southern Castle Valley towns. They hauled agricultural goods to Price and loaded them on the trains bound for Salt Lake City and Denver. There was also a daily stage line that operated as far south as Emery.

The railroad brought to Price a permanency and potential for prosperity that few other Utah communities enjoyed. Furthermore, the construction of first a bowery and then a log meetinghouse for religious, educational, and cultural activities helped develop a communal feeling and bring stability to the community. So too did a small but growing business district which served the settlers along the Price River particularly and Castle Valley generally. Price's commercial district began when Fred Grames sold for a dollar a small section of his land to the Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad on which to build a depot. Grames, an Englishman, local entrepreneur, and community leader, opened a store near the depot, hauled freight to the communities south of Price, served as the town's first postmaster, and was a precinct constable and Emery County deputy sheriff. Grames also built a bowery where early community events were held.

About the same time, Joseph and Dorothy Birch, originally from Lehi, established a cafe not far from the depot that catered to the passengers and railroad men who made Price their regular stop. The business district spread along the road just south of the railroad and finally east on Main Street. In 1885 David Williams from Winter

Quarters purchased Grames's store. Grames returned to farming until he sold the farm to James M. Whitmore and moved to Nine Mile Canyon.³⁴

It was the freighting business connected with the railroad that truly gave Price its beginning as the commercial and mercantile center not only of Carbon County but also all of Castle Valley. In 1887 the Gilson Asphaltum store opened and the Emery County Mercantile followed the next year. In 1890 Alpha Ballinger, J.M. Whitmore, Charles Taylor, and Carlos Valentine founded the Price Trading Company, which would become the mercantile establishment of longest standing in the community. These same men also purchased stock in the Gilson Asphaltum Company mercantile store and later merged that store with the Price Trading Company. By 1891, when the Eastern Utah Telegraph began its operations, Price had these three stores plus a smaller store, the David Williams Cash Store, and a number of other business establishments, including a coach line running north to the Uinta Basin and south to the Emery County towns. County towns.

The Gilson Asphaltum Store, the Emery County Mercantile, and the Price Trading Company had transportation contracts with Uinta Basin entities. In addition to controlling some of the freighting, they sold goods to the people of the Price River Valley and also to the towns of Emery County and the Duchesne area. A good example of the different products in stock was included in a 1891 Gilsonite Asphaltum store advertisement which listed hats, boots, groceries, tea, coffee, syrup, molasses, vinegar, flour, cornmeal, dried fruits, canned goods, confectionery items, tobacco, hardware, patent medicine, and many other items. If the stores did not have a needed product in stock, they depended on the railroad to transport the item into the area in a relatively short period of time. In April 1891 Gilson Asphaltum advertised that it had received a large shipment of clothes. The whole community must have been waiting, for in just two days the store sold over 300 pairs of pants.³⁷ Sam Gilson was heavily involved with his gilsonite business in Uinta; therefore, in a few years he sold his store in Price to Price Trading Company, giving it the competitive edge in Price. Alpha Ballinger was the successful man-



Price Trading Company Store, 1900. (Brigham Young University)

ager of Price Trading. Emery County Mercantile continued for another fifteen years before leaving Carbon County.

The railhead also brought in stockmen, including the Whitmore brothers and Reuben Miller. They grazed cattle on the mountains and the desert, and sold and shipped those animals from Price to the markets of the East and Midwest. In the spring of each year, sheepmen brought their animals to Price to be sheared at the shearing corrals near the railroad. In 1898 men in the shearing corrals of Price sheared 31,000 sheep, gathering 450,000 pounds of wool. Wool buyers from around the country gathered to bid on the local wool clip.³⁸

Three saloons were opened in Price after 1887 when the army awarded the contract for freighting of government supplies to the firm of Mulholland, Shaw, and Winston. Army freighters as well as cowboys, sheepherders, and miners, whose work required long periods of isolation and social detachment, needed a place for refreshment, socializing, and entertainment. Local entrepreneurs sought to meet their needs despite complaints from Mormon settlers about the noisy saloons and their unruly patrons."

By 1900 there were five prominent liquor houses in Price: the Senate Saloon, Magnolia Hall, the Oasis Saloon, the Magnet, and Fitzgerald & Company. The saloons sought to extend their clientele and thus became the best advertisers in the *Eastern Utah Telegraph*.

Fitzgerald advertised that he had liquors, wines, beer, cigars, and 95 percent alcohol, with a large stock to select from, and that he paid special attention to mail orders. The *Telegraph*, considering itself to be the spokesman for all of eastern Utah, carried news from Duchesne and southern Emery County as well as the Price River Valley. The advertisements were primarily from the Price commercial area, with the saloons dominating the newspaper.

Another feature of the commercial district, the post office, moved several times in the next few years. Fred Grames established the first post office at his house but moved it shortly to his store, which was located on Railroad Avenue, south of the depot. This building later became the Clark Hotel. When Grames's term ended, the post office moved to a building located just south of the railroad tracks on First West and Railroad Avenue. When Alpha Ballinger became postmaster in 1890, he moved the post office to his store, the Price Trading Company.⁴¹

By 1900 Price had become the metropolis of Carbon County, with Price Trading Company managed by Alpha Ballinger; Emery County Mercantile Company with L.M. Olson as its manager; Price Co-op managed by A.W. Horsley; three lawyers—J. Wesley Warf, L.O. Hoffman, and Mark P. Braffet; one physician, Dr. Frank F. Fisk; several livery establishments; J.C. Weeter Lumber Company; a millinery shop owned by Laura E. Armstrong; an insurance company; two hotels—the Mathis and the Clarke; several saloons; the Eastern Utah Advocate newspaper; two churches; a school; and a town hall. Growth and change in Price continued. In December the First National Bank, with J.M. Whitmore as the first president, was established. Alpha Ballinger, Dr. F.F. Fisk, and Honore Dusserre, among others, were the primary investors in the local bank. Fisk, the only doctor in town, had great business acumen and for a while owned the only car in town. Dusserre was one of the most prominent sheepman in the county. Within a few years the bank had built a new building on the corner of First East and Main Street. The First National Bank provided capital to help the area grow commercially. Nine years later a second bank, the Price Commercial and Savings Bank, appeared with N.S. Neilson as president. Price Commercial and Savings Bank advertised 4 percent interest on savings deposits.42

Price began as two communities. The commercial center of the town started on the western side of the community next to the rail-road depot. It was there that the wool buyers and other men of commerce stayed—in the Hotel Clarke and Hotel Mathis. It was there that the Price Trading Company, Gilson Asphaltum, and later the Price Co-op constructed their buildings. It was there that the freighters camped; and it was there that the saloons entertained visitors and community folks alike.

A couple of blocks east of the commercial district was the log church house. On that block in the 1880s the Price school district constructed a small adobe schoolhouse, and a decade later the town erected a town hall. With the business district being on the west end of town and the church, school, and town government being on the east end, the town was physically split. The two different districts of Price seemed united only by the trees running down the center of the street. The two sections of Price also were different in the types of people who frequented them and in their physical layout. The area on the west side of town was more haphazard, typical of a railroad town, whereas the eastern side of Price and along Main Street appeared to be a typical Mormon village, planned and laid out in a regular fashion.

In 1892 Alpha Ballinger and a few others began to agitate for a town government for Price. After a general meeting, Ballinger, Ernest Horsley, and Charles Taylor took a census and found 308 living within the proposed town limits. After forty-nine people signed the petition, the Emery County Court declared Price a town. In November the new townsmen elected J.M. Whitmore as president, Seren Olsen as trustee, and Alpha Ballinger as clerk and treasurer. The newly elected officers appointed Joe Hutchinson as the town marshal, but he was replaced by Ernest Horsley in only a few months.⁴³

Price was acquainted with many of the notorious outlaws of the day who visited its saloons; they included Joe Walker, Kid Curry, C.L. Maxwell, and Butch Cassidy. Some serious events also took place in the community. During the spring of 1885 a section boss named Bergen insulted a pioneer woman as she was walking along the railroad track to trade eggs at the store. In true vigilante fashion, a few of the men in the community forced the offender to run through

prickly pear cactus without his shoes, made him ride a rail, threatened to hang him, and finally made him leave town. That summer a couple of younger men whom Ernest Horsley called "roughnecks" rode through the log meetinghouse on their horses. Horsley recorded, "It cost them \$40 a piece for attending church in that way." The next year there was a disagreement between Christian Halvorsen and Caleb Rhoades over the fence line of a town lot. It ended when Rhoades came to town with his axe on his shoulder and his gun strapped to his side. He cut down the objectionable fence and threw it into the street.

The valley was newly settled and many different people including some criminal element traveled through it. In January 1887 a young man by the name of Louis Stein shot Homer J. Stone. A year later Matthew Simons was found dead of a gunshot wound. In July 1891 Benjamin Buchanan was murdered on his farm in Gordon Creek, six miles west of Price. William J. and Parley Warren found his body along with his two dogs in a shallow grave. The two men who killed him were later captured in Colorado with Buchanan's team and wagon.⁴⁵

In 1890 Price had a population of 209 people. Ten years later it had more than doubled its population to a total of 539, and by 1910 it again almost doubled its population—to 1,021. Being the county seat also benefited Price. It retained its railroad and stockmen's past and incorporated a mining and business future into its framework.

In 1883 the Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad had purchased a right-of-way through Teancum Pratt's property. As the railroad was changing to standard-gauge rails, railroad officials decided a freight terminal was needed in the area. Also needed was a center to attach additional locomotives or helper engines for the steep grade to Soldier Summit, and it was from those helper engines that the town of Helper received its name. By 1887 the railroad built twenty-seven residences, a bunkhouse, and used a narrow-gauge boxcar for a passenger station.⁴⁶

By 1893 the railroad had built a fifteen-stall roundhouse, a new depot, a reading room for employees, and a hotel. Helper now served as the railroad division point between Grand Junction, Colorado, and Ogden. ⁴⁷ During this period of time, there was a considerable amount



Denver and Rio Grande yards in Helper with the Y.M.C.A. building on the left, c. 1918. (LDS Church Archives)

of excitement about the new town in the Price River Valley, and several people from downriver traveled to Helper to purchase lots and establish businesses in the new town. 48 By 1893 Helper had the beginnings of a business district, with three saloons, one grocery story, and a clothing store. Two years later the shops and the D&RGW buildings had electricity and there were two reservoirs for water. By 1900 Helper had a population of 402, almost the same number as lived in Price. 49

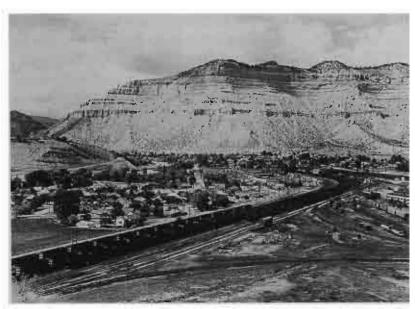
Perhaps no event better illustrated the clash between advancing civilization and waning frontier than the famous Castle Gate payroll robbery. Utah Fuel paid its men mainly in cash, and the company brought gold and silver by railroad to the camps, which was a temptation for outlaws. The story of the Castle Gate payroll robbery is well known, but there is still controversy surrounding who did it. As Charles Kelly tells the tale, for a week prior to the robbery Butch Cassidy and Elza Lay rode into Castle Gate and met the train. They knew the approximate time when the payroll would arrive, but not the exact day. This daily practice helped their horses stay calm near noisy steam engines. On 21 April 1897, about noon, paymaster E.L. Carpenter met the train and removed the payroll sacks from the

train. Cassidy met him at the staircase and relieved him of his money, about \$8,000. Within a short time, the Castle Gate men raised a posse which pursued the outlaws down the canyon by riding a railroad locomotive, but the outlaws were too far ahead, and the posse did not pursue them to Robbers' Roost.⁵⁰

As more people moved into the region, the one large community of the Price River Valley began to segment. In 1889 the Mormon church organized the Spring Glen Ward with about twenty families and a population of ninety people, and in 1890 the church set up a ward in Wellington. These ward organizations became the beginnings of small towns.

Spring Glen comprised all of the area from the mouth of the canyon to the area known as the Blue Cut. Its first settler was James Gay; Teancum Pratt and F.M. Ewell settled in the north part of Spring Glen a few years later, an area that would become Helper in the near future. In 1883 Sarah Ewell taught at the first school, which was at the F.M. Ewell home. By 1887 there were enough people located in the area that citizens formed a canal company. Work began immediately and water was flowing in the canal by April 1893. In 1888 Teancum Pratt surveyed the townsite.⁵¹

The people of Wellington had organized their own community earlier. In 1883 the settlers held a Sunday school, and the following year the leaders of Emery LDS Stake created a branch of the Mormon church under the administrative direction of the Price Ward bishopric, with Jefferson Tidwell as the presiding elder. In 1885 the settlers began a school in what was known as the "Old Stockade." In 1886 the townsmen surveyed for a cemetery, locating it on a hill near the town in order to protect it from floods that regularly swept through the town. Severin Grundvig and Frederick Hansen reportedly lost their crops several times because of floods. At one time they had to put their children on a bed to protect them from flooding water while they moved their furniture and belongings into a little house on the hill. In 1886 the townsfolk built a small log meetinghouse. When the presidency of the Emery Stake organized the Wellington Ward in 1890, they appointed Albert McMullin as the first bishop. Sometime after his appointment, McMullin and a few others chose the townsite on a bench above the river. William J. Tidwell,



Helper with the railroad dominating the city. (Western Mining and Railroad Museum)

deputy county surveyor, surveyed the site, a committee appraised the lots, and each man selected his lot by drawing a number from a hat. If they did not obtain the lot desired, the men had the option to trade with someone else. In 1892 the community organized a cooperative store in the home of Eugene E. Branch, who was the store's manager and clerk.⁵²

When the pioneers entered the Price River Valley, it was part of Sanpete County. In 1880 the territorial legislature organized Emery County, which included all of the land that comprises Carbon, Emery, and Grand counties today. Castle Dale, in the central part of Castle Valley, was selected as the county seat. After Grand County was established in 1890, Emery County still included all land between the Green River on the east and the Wasatch Plateau on the west, including Winter Quarters and Scofield in Pleasant Valley, the settlements along the Price River in the northern end of Castle Valley, and the settlements along the tributaries of the San Rafael River farther south in Castle Valley.

Discontentment developed as residents in the northern end of

the county believed that their interests were not being served. They resented the need to travel thirty or more miles to the south for county business. The southern end of Emery County differed drastically from the north—agriculture was the main economic foundation and it was dominated completely by Mormon settlers. The north was connected to the railroad, was commercially minded, and had various freighting enterprises. The north was also becoming industrial, with coal mines at Scofield, Winter Quarters, and Castle Gate. The new town of Helper and the coal communities also helped to diversify this end of the county socially and culturally. Citizens in the northern end of Castle Valley first tried to move the county seat from Castle Dale to Price. When this failed, petitions were circulated in 1894 calling for the creation of a new county. Alpha Ballinger was in the forefront of those requesting separation from Emery County; he proposed the name of Carbon for the new county. In February the legislature granted the separation, and Governor Caleb B. West signed the bill on 4 March 1894, making Carbon County Utah's twenty-seventh county—the last county established before Utah became a state.53

In May 1894 an election took place to determine which community would be the new county seat, and Price won this honor over Helper and Scofield. The new county electorate chose E.C. Lee and T.P. Gridley as selectmen, Harry A. Nelson as county clerk and recorder, D.W. Holdaway as assessor and collector, John Forrestor as treasurer, Joseph W. Davis as superintendent of schools, Thomas Lloyd as sheriff, L.M. Olsen as probate judge, and Alpha Ballinger as deputy clerk. These new officials took their oaths of office on 4 June 1894 and moved their offices into the Jones Building on First West in Price.

The organization of the county brought to a close the initial period of the settlement of the valley. When the first settlers entered the valley, the total area had been considered one settlement. Now it was subdividing into smaller towns and communities. The county government became the umbrella structure over these other governmental units.

ENDNOTES

- 1. G. Clell Jacobs, "The Phantom Pathfinder: Juan Maria Antonio De Rivera and His Expedition," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 60 (Summer 1992): 200–23.
- 2. As quoted in Dale L. Morgan, "Historical Sketch of Carbon County," Utah Historical Records Survey, March 1940, from Harrison C. Dale, The Ashley-Smith Explorations and the Discovery of a Central Route to the Pacific (Los Angeles: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1918), 139, 149.
- 3. Edward Geary, The Proper Edge of the Sky: The High Plateau Country of Utah (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1992), 29–31.
- 4. Elk Mountain Mission Manuscript history, LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah.
 - 5. Orange Seely, autobiography, LDS Church Archives.
 - Ibid.
- 7. For a more complete description of the United Order movement see Leonard J. Arrington, Feramorz Y. Fox, and Dean L. May, Building the City of God: Community & Cooperation Among the Mormons (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1976).
 - 8. Emery Stake Manuscript History, LDS Church Archives.
- 9. The story of William Price is the most undocumented story of the settlement of the valley. Price was an LDS bishop of Goshen, but there is no record that he traveled down the canyon that bears his name, and no one is certain as to the year he did so. Ernest Horsley, unofficial historian of early Carbon County, verifies that the river was named after William Price of Goshen, but Horsley did not arrive in the region until 1883.
- 10. Galloway explored the Colorado River and engineered a new boat which was called the Galloway boat. He later had a home in Vernal.
- 11. Centennial Echos from Carbon County (Price: Daughters of Utah Pioneers of Carbon County, 1948), 72.
- 12. Nancy Taniguchi, "Common Ground: The Coalescence of Spring Glen" (Master's thesis, University of Utah, 1981), 37.
 - 13. Centennial Echos, 74.
 - 14. Ibid., 74-76.
- 15. In November 1920 James M. Whitmore was crossing the track between his home and the First National Bank when he was hit and killed by a train. The Sun obituary stated that Whitmore had been in the valley as early as 1872. Frances Cunningham lists the Whitmores as arriving in 1879.
 - 16. Centennial Echos, 76.
 - 17. Ibid., 156-59.

- 18. Ibid. Sending water north of the river by the Tidwell Canal was never very successful. Later settlers made another canal to water the north side.
 - 19. Ibid.
- 20. Edna Romano, "Teancum Pratt, Founder of Helper," Utah Historical Quarterly 48 (Fall 1980): 330-38.
 - 21. Ibid., 331.
- 22. Price LDS Ward Minutes, vol. 8, LDS Church Archives; see also Sun Advocate, 2 October 1941. Both accounts were written by Ernest Horsley.
- 23. Allan Kent Powell, *The Next Time We Strike* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1985), 19.
- 24. Philip F. Notarianni, "Helper—the Making of A Gentile Town in Zion," in *Carbon County: Eastern Utah's Industrialized Island*, ed. Philip F. Notarianni (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1981), 154–55.
 - 25. Powell, The Next Time We Strike, 20.
- 26. Jean Westwood, "The Settlement of the Price River Valley," manuscript, 23, copy at Utah State Historical Society.
 - 27. Eastern Utah Advocate, 1 June 1899.
- 28. Indians used the telegraph poles for firewood. Soldiers later replaced wooden poles with iron poles. Soldiers at Fort Duchesne soon rounded up the responsible Indians, confining them to the guardhouse. Henry Flack, "Fort Duchesne's Beginnings," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 2 (1929): 32. Some of the iron poles were still being used as late as 1985. See *Sun Advocate*, 30 January 1985.
 - 29. Eastern Utah Advocate, 18 October 1900.
 - 30. Ibid., 26 January 1899.
- 31. Gilsonite was used for paint, varnish, and a variety of products. The mines were located in the Uinta Basin.
 - 32. Eastern Utah Advocate, 30 March 1899, 8 September 1904,
- 33. See Edward A. Geary, "The Carbon County Freight Road to the Uinta Basin," in Notarianni, Carbon County, Eastern Utah's Industrialized Island, 131-52.
 - 34. Centennial Echos, 71-92.
- 35. Price LDS Ward Minutes, vol. 8, LDS Church Archives; Sun Advocate, 2 October 1941.
 - 36. Eastern Utah Telegraph, 19 March 1891, 26 March 1891.
 - 37. Ibid., 9 April 1891, 16 April 1891.
 - 38. Eastern Utah Advocate, 21 April 1898.
 - 39. Westwood, "Settlement," 35.

- 40. Eastern Utah Telegraph, 22 January 1891; Eastern Utah Advocate, 3 May 1900.
 - 41. Centennial Echos, 103-8.
- 42. Eastern Utah Advocate, 23 August 1910; see also Utah State Gazetteer and Business Director, 1914–15.
- 43. Westwood, "Settlement." In an article compiled by Ernest Horsley and published in a joint *Sun Advocate* and *Helper Journal*, 2 January 1975 edition, he records that 108 persons signed the petition for incorporation of Price in 1892. In the earlier history, he records that forty-nine signed it.
 - 44. Price LDS Ward Minutes, vol. 1.
 - 45. Westwood, "Settlement," 39-41.
- 46. "Helper, in the Heart of Utah's Great Coal Fields," Denver & Rio Grande Western Magazine 2 (May 1926): 9–10; Notarianni, Carbon County: Eastern Utah's Industrialized Island, 157.
 - 47. Salt Lake Tribune, 1 January 1892, 1 January 1893.
- 48. Eastern Utah Telegraph, 28 August 1891, 24 September 1891; Eastern Utah Advocate, 17 February 1898, 25 August 1898.
- 49. Philip F. Notarianni, "A Tale of Two Towns, Helper and Eureka" (Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1980), 42–60.
- 50. See Lula Parker Betenson, Butch Cassidy, My Brother (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1975), 121–26; Charles Kelly, The Outlaw Trail: A History of Butch Cassidy and His Wild Bunch (New York: Bonanza Books, 1959), 133–39; Larry Pointer, In Search of Butch Cassidy (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1977), 120–23; Pearl Baker, The Wild Bunch at Robbers Roost (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1965), 231–43. There is some controversy whether Butch Cassidy participated in this robbery. His sister said that Butch told her that he wouldn't rob Castle Gate because he had too many friends who worked there. The robbery was definitely the mark of a professional outlaw.
 - 51. Taniguchi, "Common Ground," 37-46.
 - 52. Centennial Echos, 156-68.
 - 53. See Westwood, "Settlement"; Centennial Echos, 3-5.

AGRICULTURE

While the railroad and coal industry have dominated Carbon County's history since the early years of settlement, farming and livestock also have long been important to the economy and have helped to shape the county. County residents often crossed back and forth between mining and farming. Some worked as miners during the fall and winter when the coal mines operated at their peak, then returned to run family farms during the spring and summer. Others worked in the mines for a few years in order to obtain capital to invest in a farm or a herd of sheep and, for a good number of immigrants, a return to the agricultural life they had known before coming to America.

The coal camps became one of the primary consumers of the local farm produce. Local farmers sometimes became peddlers, going from coal camp to coal camp to sell their produce. A few dairy herds were established to supply milk to the camps. Some farmers developed extensive sheep herds and others operated cattle ranches. Before these complexities came to characterize agriculture in Carbon County, however, the area was first settled by subsistence farmers

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whose primary concern was to dig the canals and ditches and later build the dams and reservoirs that would provide a dependable water supply for their crops.

Water availability was very important to the settlers of the valley; however, water in the Price River varied a great deal from year to year. During the winter of 1879–80 Price and the mountains surrounding the valley received heavy snowfall. Two years later, however, the winter was very mild and water was very scarce, with none in Gordon Creek. Only the heavy rains of August saved most of the crop that year.

At first the early settlers farmed the lowlands along the Price River, hoping the river would not flood their crops. Realizing that they could not raise crops without water, Fred Grames, Caleb Rhoades, and others dug the valley's first canal, which they called Pioneer Ditch Number One. Later, Grames, Rhoades, Robert and John Powell, and William Z. Warren worked on Pioneer Ditch Number Two. These two ditches flowed through the Carbonville area to the west side of Price. The ditches were surveyed using a crude water level device consisting of a tube about three feet long and an inch in diameter. It contained a small lamp chimney placed at each end so that the surveyor could look over the top of the water.

In 1880 the early settlers started two ditches or canals about four miles above what was to become Price. Charles Johnson, a worker on the canal from Emery, lived for about six weeks on bread made with cottonwood ashes and water. That same year James Gay dug the Gay ditch, which irrigated the area of Spring Glen. Green Allred and George Downard also built a diversion ditch that watered some of the farms southeast of Price. All of these canals except the Tidwell Canal at Wellington carried water to the north side of the Price River. Wheat, oats, and potatoes were the principal crops planted by the early settlers.¹

The two ditches constructed earlier near Price helped water certain areas in the valley, but residents of Price and some other areas received no water from these canals. Settlers searched for a more permanent solution to their water problems, and on 4 February 1884 the Price Water Canal Company was organized with a capital stock of \$20,000—at one dollar per share. The shareholders wrote by-laws



Price River diversion dam, c. 1930. (Courtesy Mona Marsing)

and elected as officers four directors, a secretary, and a treasurer. The officers designed the canal to begin 4.5 miles upstream from Price and divert water at about the same place as did Pioneer Ditch Number One.² It would be several years, however, before the company finished the canal to the benefit of settlers on the north side of the river. The construction of the canal stalled for a time northwest of Price because of the tremendous work required to cut through a rock formation. Meanwhile, Price residents hauled water from the river to their gardens and kitchens in wooden barrels. By April the men of Mulholland, Shaw, and Winston, a freighting company, completed the cuts for the sum of \$9,000, paid in shares of stock in the canal company. During the winter of 1888, S.S. Jones shipped in a carload of lumber for men to construct the last necessary flumes and headgates. In May 1888 the canal was finished at a total cost of \$20,000.³

Water finally flowed to the Price townsite, and orchards and gardens were planted with the assurance that plenty of water would be available. On 13 July, however, a heavy rainstorm hit the small community. The rainwater flooded homes and cellars, drowned chickens,

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and caused severe damage to the recently completed canal. Price residents were forced to haul water from the river in barrels for another two years to water their small gardens and provide culinary water. Finally, in the spring of 1890, repairs on the canal were completed and a reliable system established to bring water from the river to the townsite. The remaining problem was to develop a consistent flow of water in the Price River that could be diverted into the canal. During some years, such as 1892, there was insufficient water in the river to irrigate the farms regularly, especially during the months of July and August. It was not until a dam was built in Pleasant Valley that the settlers could be reasonably guaranteed a reliable flow of water.⁴

Several dam proposals were put forward, including the construction of a reservoir in Kyune Canyon, a side canyon of Price Canyon.⁵ In 1896 the Mammoth Reservoir Company was organized to build a reservoir on Gooseberry Creek above Scofield; however, it was not until 1903 that the company was ready to build a large canal on the south side of the Price River and a large reservoir in the mountains. Ultimately the project failed because of a lack of capital to complete the ambitious undertaking.⁶

In 1906 an unnamed citizen of Price approached D.M. Landreth, who was promoting a water project at Green River, about the possibility of resurrecting the project of the Mammoth Reservoir Company. Landreth brought in a Mr. Fitzgerald from Chicago who helped in raising money from Chicago interests and local Carbon County men. After some consideration, Landreth purchased the rights, property, and equipment of the old Mammoth Reservoir Company. He then proposed the project to a group of Eastern capitalists, who organized the Utah Irrigation and Power Company to build the reservoir and canal—a project which they planned would cost over \$250,000 but which ended up costing about \$650,000.7

Work on the project began in 1907. The managers at first envisioned a canal that would start at Helper, and so they began their work there. By 13 June one hundred men and twenty-five teams were working on the canal, with more than fifty men driving a 160-foot tunnel. A second tunnel just over that length was also projected. During this time the company extended the work day to nine hours but did not pay the men for additional time worked. In August the

teamsters and laborers struck for more money, and the company agreed to the workers' demands. After September the work shifted to the Gooseberry Dam, located on a tributary stream of Fish Creek above Scofield—the dam being thirty feet high when the work stopped in the middle of November.⁶

Seeing water development opportunities elsewhere in the state, the Utah Irrigation and Power Company in December purchased property in Sanpete County, acquired an irrigation company in Emery County, bought the Abraham Irrigation Company in Millard, and took over the Irrigated Land Company of Moapa, Nevada. The company became overextended and had to reorganize into what was called the Irrigated Lands Company. Even with the financial problems, work continued on the Carbon County project, although the company decided to make the diversion dam at the Blue Cut instead of at Helper. The work on the canal resumed in January 1908 and the company pushed it on all fronts. By midsummer the men began working on the flumes, although the contractors put off work on the large tunnel until fall. In early October twenty-five Japanese men came from Salt Lake to work on the diversion dam. The Japanese workers mixed cement with gravel from the river bottom and then wheeled the mixed concrete across a cable bridge before dumping it into the forms for the dam.9 The dam was sixteen feet high and was twenty feet thick at the base. In December the Irrigated Lands Company claimed the work to be finished, and the city fathers of Price held a big celebration; but the company had not completed the work. Most of the Japanese laborers left in February 1909, although the last of the dam workers did not leave until April.10

The Japanese workmen knew how to build a solid dam. In August 1909 a large flood came down the Price River, destroying bridges and railroad tracks; experts estimated that 13,000 cubic feet of water per second swept over the dam, yet it held strong."

Company officials turned the water into the canal in May 1910. Greek and Japanese workers repaired the leaks as the water progressed. Water did not flow throughout the entire canal until August. When finished, the canal covered more than twenty miles and watered over 26,000 acres. It wound its way from the Price River through Miller Creek and ended just short of the Emery County line.

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The company had planned to build the canal into the northern part of Emery County but ran out of money for the project. It was not until 1913 that the company extended the canal into Emery County, a total of thirty-five miles from the diversion dam at the Price River to the last farm.¹²

Meanwhile, work proceeded on the Gooseberry Dam. In September 1908 twenty cars of concrete arrived at the dam site, which extended the concrete and earth dam to a height of sixty-five feet. The Gooseberry Reservoir when finished stored almost 25,000 acre-feet of water, and the new company hired a workman to oversee the dam, which everyone expected to be permanent. With expenses so much greater than anticipated, the old company went broke, and in December 1910 a new company, the Price River Irrigation Company, purchased the entire project. The people of Carbon County at last had solved their problems of storing water throughout the summer, and thus were able to claim more land to irrigate. The reservoir and canal project greatly helped farmers of the county.¹³ In extremely dry years, problems remained. The winter of 1914-15 saw very little snowfall in the mountains, which caused the reservoir to be extremely low the following year, and farmers throughout the county suffered for lack of water.14

The Price River Irrigation Canal Company promoted the area by planting orchards and especially oats, so people would be interested in settling permanently. The company managers planned that each forty acres would have an orchard of ten acres. About five miles south of Price they planted a hundred acres of various apple trees. A group of Colorado fruit growers bought 4,000 acres and planted all of its acreage into orchards. Everyone thought they would prosper, but the elevation and the early spring frosts worked against fruit growing in the Price River Valley.¹⁵

Because of the previous dry year, in 1916 the canal company decided to raise the elevation of the Gooseberry Dam five feet, allowing the reservoir to store more water for the dry years. The following year, the mountains had an overabundance of precipitation, and the company allowed the water to rise to less than a foot from the top. This was a mistake. On Sunday, 24 June 1917, while the caretaker was absent, the dam broke, sending thousands of feet of water into the

Price River Valley. The water swept through Pleasant Valley and roared through Price River Canyon. The Castle Gate tipple wavered with the force of the water but stood firm. The water picked up the Castle Gate railroad depot and smashed it against the tipple, completely demolishing the building. The crest of the flood reached Price at 11 o' clock Monday night. Almost the entire town was on the river's banks to watch the flood. A spectator on the side of the river proved to be the only fatality. Hattie Peacock was standing close to the bank, lost her footing, and slid into the oncoming water. Her body was found several days later about three miles downstream. The steel bridge of the county road at the south end of town stood firm against the water, but the water damaged the railroad bridge of the Southern Utah Railroad, making it unusable. 16

State engineer F.G. McGonagle and the Price River Irrigation Canal Company immediately undertook their own investigations of what caused the break in the concrete and earthen dam. McGonagle concluded that the flume portion of the spillway was improperly and inadequately constructed—the horizontal reinforcement of the core wall had to be stopped twelve feet above the base instead of being carried to the top. The bond between the older section of the wall and the five-foot raise built the previous year also was not very good, and management's permitting the level of the water to rise within ten inches of the top of the dam put too much stress on the dam. The company's report was not very detailed. It firmly believed that because of the absence of the caretaker, German saboteurs had planted explosive charges in the dam, and this had allowed the "aliens" to explode the dam. 17 The company was probably trying to protect itself against possible lawsuits, especially from the railroad company, which lost major portions of its line from Pleasant Valley to Price.

Less than a month after the dam broke, the county was discussing the possibility of rebuilding the dam at Gooseberry or perhaps building a new dam at the site where Fish Creek left Pleasant Valley; however, a dam at this site would flood all of the important hay-producing areas of the valley.¹⁸

In 1926, under the leadership of Arthur W. Horsley, area farmers bonded together for \$750,000 to build the dam at Pleasant Valley.

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This dam was called both the Scofield Dam and the Horsley Dam, and, although it helped the water situation greatly, it did not prevent dry years for some of the farmers.

On 20 May 1928 the watchman at the Scofield Dam noticed a leak and notified the county agent and the manager of the irrigation district. The manager immediately made a trip to the dam to assess the situation and requested that the authorities gather as many men as possible to prevent the dam from breaking. County officials sent 500 men the next day on a train which left Price at three A.M.; also, over one hundred men left by automobile. The county agent also was able to dispatch a train loaded with food and cooks to serve and prepare meals for the workers. Shortly after arriving, the workers began to mend the dam, and by using more than 80,000 bags of soil they successfully repaired the hole in the dam.¹⁹

The dam continued to be functional, but many feared it was defective. In 1943 the War Production Board approved the rebuilding of the Scofield Dam. The Case-Wheeler Act provided the money—not to exceed \$247,000—to be reimbursed to the federal government in forty annual installments. The new reservoir had capacity of 73,000 acre-feet, of which 65,000 acre-feet would be active and 8,000 would be inactive for the benefit of aquatic life. The Utah State Fish and Game Department paid \$31,000 toward the construction costs of this dam.²⁰

Cattle and Sheep

The open public range land was a resource not overlooked by early settlers in Castle Valley. The search for grazing land for the increasing herds in Sanpete Valley brought early visitors into Castle Valley, some of whom, as noted earlier, returned to establish permanent homes. The first domestic herds in Castle Valley were primarily cattle, though horse herds could be found, especially in the eastern part of the county where the large expanses of open land were well-suited for horses. While horses were valued primarily for transportation and farming purposes, cattle were important as a food source, and by 1902 those like the Whitmore brothers and Fred J. Thomas who had large horse herds had sold them off as pressure for rangeland by cattle and later sheep herds continually increased.²¹ Initially

cattle helped feed Utah's growing population, especially as the state's population became more urban and as Utahns took jobs in the coal and metal mines and smelters. Thousands of head of cattle were also shipped east to the slaughterhouses of Denver, Omaha, and Chicago for consumption throughout the rest of the nation.

By 1900 the area's two largest cattle raisers were the Whitmore brothers and the Miller brothers. The Whitmores ran their cattle on the north side of the river and in Whitmore Canyon, and the Millers had their cattle on the south and west of Price. The Millers also had a great number of sheep. In 1906 the Millers sold their ranch to a firm from Wisconsin. Another cattleman in the eastern part of the county was the legendary and elusive Englishman L.A. Scott Elliott, who was also heavily involved in sheep. He sold his Big Springs Ranch in 1894. In 1910 Yoder Marsh of Denver and Cheyenne, desiring to purchase cattle, hunted throughout the region of eastern Utah for 6,000 head of cattle, and a few of the large cattlemen, including the Whitmores, sold most of their cattle to Marsh.

Tax assessment records show the partial story of what was happening in the valley. In 1894 there were 1,282 horses and mules; by 1900 there was a total of about 930 horses and 872 mules. In 1894 there were 5,339 cattle; yet by 1900 there were only 2,207 cattle in the county. Swine in the county remained rather constant, with 255 hogs in 1894 and 211 in 1900.²²

By 1921 the largest cattleman in the county was Preston Nutter, with holdings in Nine Mile Canyon. Nutter had livestock in eastern Utah and in Arizona. He usually brought his stock from Arizona to Nine Mile Canyon in order to fatten them up just before he shipped them to market. In 1921 he told the assessor that he had 1,000 head of cattle and twenty horses, but the skeptical assessor made inquiries of his own and discovered that Nutter had many more. Nutter was assessed for 1,500 head of cattle and thirty head of horses; consequently, he took the case to the courts. The district court judge assessed him for 1,200 cattle, but the state supreme court overturned that judgment in favor of the county.²³

Cattle ranchers first ran short-horned Durham cattle in Carbon County. About 1920 the ranchers began to introduce Hereford cattle, which yielded more and better quality meat than the Durham. Cattle



Men on Horseback in Price, c. 1900. (Utah State Historical Society)

raising from 1920 to 1940 had its ups and downs economically. The market became very poor immediately after World War I, but turned better in the late 1920s. During the Depression the market became worse again, only to improve during the late 1930s.

Sheep came to dominate the livestock industry in Carbon County. Large herds, like those of the Star brothers of California and those of some locals, had begun the sheep industry in the county and eastern Utah. Sheep needed a summer and winter range with plentiful grass and water. The summer range of the sheepherders of eastern Utah was the mountains, usually west and a little north of Price, with the winter range being the valleys, sometimes as far south as the San Rafael Desert in Emery County. Finding water was always a challenge in the semiarid region, and during some extremely dry years the few springs and waterholes would go dry. During the winter of 1914–15 herders drove their sheep to the Green and Colorado rivers for water. In the early spring they drove their herds to the shearing corrals where the sheep were sheared and dipped to remove ticks.

Since Price was located on the railroad line, the sheepmen established their first shearing pens there. Wellington and Colton later

attracted the sheepmen for spring shearings. In 1915 sheepmen of the county organized a shearing company at Mounds, where they sheared 100,000 sheep annually. If sheep owners did not get a good price for their wool, they would store it for a few months. Some shearers were itinerant professionals working from Texas to Oregon; others were local men who supplemented their income by shearing in the spring. In 1906 the shearers went on strike for seven cents a head instead of the six and three-quarters cents they had been getting.²⁴

Sheepherders also sold "wethers," or male neutered lambs, which were bought in the fall for meat. The owners sold only a small number of sheep locally; most were for a national market. Sheep owners could make enough money to live quite well, but the life of a sheepherder was lonely and not as pleasant. Always threatened by nocturnal predators, sheepherders resorted to poison to protect their flocks. In 1915 Wallace Lowry purchased twenty-nine burros which he later killed, then poisoned the meat for bait against coyotes.²⁵

Some of the early sheepherders of the county were the Miller brothers, the Jensen brothers, and the Frandsen brothers; together they owned approximately 20,000 sheep. In the late 1890s a group of Frenchmen and French Basques began herding sheep in the area, and about a decade later Greek immigrants also began herding sheep. Some prominent men in the county connected with sheep raising included Carlos Gunderson, mayor of Price in 1914, and Pierre Moynier of Price. Moynier started herding sheep in 1898; by 1903 he had accumulated enough money to buy 1,000 sheep. Along with these large owners, there were hundreds of smaller sheepherders who, with their faithful dogs, managed their flocks.26 The number of sheep fluctuated because of market and the time of year the tax assessment took place. In 1894 there were over 53,000 sheep assessed by the county. Four years later the number of sheep dropped to 37,653 according to the county tax assessor, who assessed the sheep in the county at a value of over \$70,000. By 1911 the number of sheep in the county rose to over 60,000.27

Economically, the best time for the sheepmen was during World War I, which created a great demand for wool; the disruption of the war also drove up the price. After the war, however, prices began to

fall, forcing many sheepmen out of business. In the latter part of the 1920s the market improved, but the Great Depression of the 1930s again caused great economic turmoil, forcing many of the old herders out of business, with many leaving the Castle Valley area. The Taylor Grazing Act of 1934 restricted use of public lands and forced sheepmen to lease or purchase land, especially summer range. Just prior to World War II sheep ranching brought a brief return to prosperity for some sheepmen in the county.

Overgrazing by both cattle and sheep caused serious environmental problems. The Taylor Grazing Act limited the number of animals on public lands and also established the Bureau of Land Management to manage public lands. Thereafter, the number of grazing animals decreased drastically throughout the county. N.S. Nielson told the WPA federal writers project that the Depression affected him a great deal because "the price dropped out of everything." The Marsing brothers mentioned that "from 1929–32 were worst years, lowest prices."²⁸

Dairy cows existed on farms and in town from the beginning of settlement, but a dairy among nonagricultural people in the county was uncommon. In 1914, with the encouragement of the mine officials, J.R. Sharp, manager of Consolidated Ranches, established a dairy near Hiawatha to furnish the camps of that region with fresh milk.29 The Big Springs Ranch had a dairy that furnished milk for Sunnyside. In February 1915 the Eastern Utah Advocate advertised the sale of what it termed the only dairy farm in the county, which had 120 acres and 100 cows in the summer and plenty of alfalfa, timothy, and wild hay as feed. In 1916 Lenard Grundvig, a farmer in Wellington, started a dairy, but this dairy ceased operations when Grundvig was drafted for the First World War.30 A few years later Lars Gunderson started a large dairy west of Price. Nelson Larsen of the new Nelson Larsen Creamery told the News Advocate that the creamery was willing to do everything it could to increase the dairying business in eastern Utah. A good cow cost eighty dollars, but the creamery was willing to ship in as many as 500 animals if there was sufficient demand. By that date there were only two herds, with fortythree cows, that furnished milk to the entire county.

By 1926 nineteen commercial area dairies were milking 432 cows.

Most of the dairies catered to the coal camp population and delivered milk daily by wagon or truck to that segment of the county. The county agent periodically took tuberculosis tests on these local herds, which over the years cut down the number of herds producing milk commercially. The federal government, using a variety of tests on raw milk, also encouraged a better quality of milk. During the next two to three decades, the largest dairies in the county were the Millerton Dairy, which supplied Hiawatha with milk, and the Blue Hill Dairy at Spring Glen, neither of which sold grade A milk. Only James Henrie of Wellington, president of the Dairymen's Association, sold grade-A milk to an outside milk firm, the Hyland dairy. ³¹

Other stock animals were also raised in the county, including goats. In 1902 Frank Cavello began a goat ranch near Castle Gate.³² Lamb meat and goat cheese were staples in the diet of Greek immigrants; consequently, much of the goat cheese and lamb produced in the county was consumed locally. However, some of the cheese went to places outside of the state, even as far away as Louisiana.³³ There were several thousand goats in the county by the mid-1920s, but grazing restrictions brought by the Taylor Grazing Act in 1934, along with other measures, reduced the number drastically. County farmers also raised hogs and poultry, but these were primarily for a local market.

Several small farmers in Wellington and Price established bee colonies and produced honey, primarily for local consumers. The number of bee colonies in the county fluctuated considerably. In 1894 there were 295 bee colonies; by 1900 there were about 200 colonies. Foul brood, a bee disease, caused a decline in bee colonies—from 528 in 1911 to 282 in 1915. Thomas Chantry of Wellington and Herman Horsley of Price attempted to eliminate this disease, and by 1921 Carbon County had 587 colonies producing 35,220 pounds of honey. In that same year beekeepers got together throughout the state and formed an association. Caleb Rhoades, who started the honey industry in Carbon County, wrote a column about beekeeping in the Eastern Utah Advocate for a number of years. Later, Herman Horsley became a very influential beekeeper; in 1904 he sold beeswax to a Denver firm for twenty-five cents a pound. Farmers in Emery and Duchesne counties also produced substantial amounts of honey,

reputed to be the best in the state. Because of the railroad, Price became the great transportation center for shipping honey from eastern Utah; for example, in January 1911 the railroad shipped twenty railroad carloads from Price.

Sugar Beets and Other Produce

By 1905 farmers were raising many types of grain, wheat, oats, barley, alfalfa, potatoes, and corn—with potatoes being their primary cash crop. Oats, surprisingly, became more popular and more productive than wheat in Carbon County soil. Farmers also raised garden crops, but mostly for home consumption. Most people, including the people of Price but excluding the coal camps, had good-sized lots where they raised garden products, utilizing water from irrigation canals.³⁶

In addition to potatoes, sugar beets became an important cash crop in Carbon County. By 1900 some county farmers were raising sugar beets (although not in large quantities) and probably shipping them to Grand Junction, Colorado. Eight years later several farmers wrote to the Western Lands and Sugar Company at Grand Junction, asking for a contract with the company; the following year the sugar company contracted with the farmers for beets from twenty-five acres of land, primarily in the Wellington area. Even though 1909 was a rather dry year, county farmers were successful in raising sugar beets. In 1910 S.F. McLeon from the sugar company contracted with a number of farmers to plant 225 acres in sugar beets; and that fall the farmers shipped four railcars of sugar beets to Grand Junction. Also in 1910 the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company (U-I) came into the county and committed other farmers to raise beets the following year for its Lehi factory.³⁷

The two companies continued to contract with sugar beet growers in the county until 1915 when George Austin, one of the big ranchers on the south end of the canal and the representative of the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company, campaigned throughout the county to contract over 300 acres of beets to the U-I firm. That year was again dry, resulting in a decline in the yield of sugar beets in the county. The following year U-I promised the farmers of Carbon and Emery counties that if they committed 7,000 acres to beets, the company



Sugar beet workers topping beets in a field between Price and Wellington, c. 1930. (Western Mining and Railroad Museum)

would build a factory and a railroad from Price to the south end of Emery County. Farmers in both counties signed up in great numbers, and before the end of June they had committed 7,500 acres to the raising of sugar beets, with Carbon County's commitment a little over 600 acres. By the end of the summer, however, the company decided not to build the promised sugar beet factory. Consequently, the railroad company declined to build the railroad south to Emery County.³⁹

In Carbon County foreign-born farmers who needed a cash crop were more inclined to grow sugar beets than were American-born farmers. In 1915 Y. Kagatani committed twenty acres; Y. Yaschokochi, seven; Gus Augikoshi, forty acres; and Pedro Barnajo, ten acres.

In the summer of 1920, farmers of the county planted 200 acres of sugar beets. The next year the railroad raised the shipping rates, forcing Carbon County farmers to discontinue raising sugar beets. In 1922 Ray Branch, a Wellington farmer, wrote to the Western Lands and Sugar Company located in Grand Junction. He was answered by a representative of Holly Sugar Corporation, which had bought out Western Lands. Branch was employed as the field man for the company, and by the next year Branch had 250 acres in Carbon County

committed to sugar beets, the harvest of which averaged seven tons per acre, for a total of 1,750 tons. The sugar company had only a limited interest in the Price River Valley because of the few available farm acres that the area had. With the building of Horsley Dam in Pleasant Valley that situation changed, and Branch negotiated contracts throughout the county. About 1940 the county raised over 1,000 acres of sugar beets. Because of the introduction of disease-resistant varieties of seed, better fertilizers, and machinery capable of doing much of the work, the yield rose to twelve tons per acre. The company also constructed a modern beet dump at Wellington, with sugar beets being dumped mechanically into railroad cars. The sugar beet industry continued into the late 1950s, at which time international developments in the sugar industry brought a quick end to Carbon County's sugar beet industry as well as to other marginal beet-growing areas in the state.

Carbon County's coal camps provided a lucrative market for much of the agricultural produce of Carbon and Emery counties. Milk, cheese, butter, eggs, honey, meat, fruits, and vegetables were all desirable commodities to the hard-working miners and their families. However, it was not until 1912 that farmers obtained direct access to the coal camps. Before that time farmers either sold their products in Helper, Price, or Scofield or shipped them out of the county. Sometimes farmers were able to contract with coal companies to provide fresh produce for the company stores where miners were obliged to trade. In 1912 Helper and Spring Glen merchants won a court case against Independent Coal and Coke that allowed the merchants and farmers to sell or peddle merchandise in the camps.

Women were heavily involved in peddling produce in the coal camps, and this was one of the few acceptable economic activities in which immigrant women could engage. Gabriella Clerico, wife of Battista Clerico, would load her wagon with produce and journey to the coal camps around the Helper area, and she would not return until she had sold everything in her wagon. In the 1920s Pete Jones, who ran the Whitmore ranch below Sunnyside, made his living catering to the needs of miners in the town. Farmers from Carbon, Sanpete, and Emery counties found a ready market for their products in the coal camps. Many farmers from Emery County spent the

night at the Draper farm in Wellington as they traveled to sell their farm goods in Sunnyside.⁴³

In 1912 Frank and Ralph Saccomanno purchased a farm in Spring Glen from their brother Pete when he left to return to Italy. Ernest Saccomanno, a son of one of the original purchasers, regularly hauled coal from Kenilworth to a macaroni factory in Salt Lake City, arriving late at night. Early the next morning he would visit the produce markets, buying all types of vegetables and fruits. Once Saccomanno arrived home in Carbon County, he would peddle the produce to his regular customers.⁴⁴

Many area miners turned to farming. Some immigrant miners who were black-listed by coal companies because of their activities in the 1903–1904 strike turned to farming. James Rolando, an Italian immigrant, originally worked in the Castle Gate mine; but, following the 1903–1904 strike, he purchased property in Spring Glen, where he became a respected farmer. Emile Bovier bought a farm in Cleveland where he mainly raised garden produce for the miners. Bovier later went back to work in the Mohrland and Blackhawk mines to supplement his income. LeRoy Livingston, who came from Emery County, worked in Mohrland for several years but finally bought a farm in Miller Creek, where he turned primarily to dairying and raising alfalfa for his stock. Some men worked their farms during the summer, returning to the mines each winter when steady work was available.

Many farmers in the county experimented with different crops, hoping to obtain higher yields from the soil and better prices from the big processors. The farmers acted as independent businessmen but helped each other with ideas to improve their crops; they also sometimes provided extra labor when their neighbors needed work. Cooperation, trading work, and helping each other were natural parts of farming. Marie Auphand Fidell said that her father and Battistia Clerico cleared her father's land, then Edward Davis and his sons, who were carpenters, helped him build his house.⁴⁷

Because of some price-fixing by food processors, who also took advantage of some of the people's lack of education and English-language skills, county farmers organized themselves into cooperatives. In 1911 Wellington farmers organized a grower's union; that same

year a farmer's institute was held in Price. Boys in high school agriculture programs volunteered to help farmers, especially in pruning fruit trees. Farmers also drew upon the expertise of the Utah State Agricultural College in Logan. Periodically, professors and others from the agricultural college offered lectures in the high school auditorium on different aspects of agriculture. In February 1915 a professor from the college traveled throughout Carbon and Emery counties giving expert advice to the farmers on growing profitable crops.⁴⁸

In 1915 the agricultural college sent R.H. Stewart to the area as a county agricultural agent. At times he was the agent for Carbon County, and sometimes he was the agent for both Carbon and Emery counties. Under Stewart's urging, farmers organized the Carbon County Farm Bureau, which helped them unite to improve their situation. In 1920 the farm bureau built a large warehouse in Price to store local crops until they could be sold at higher market prices.

The county agent also helped publicize Carbon County products and helped farmers learn better agricultural methods. In August 1915 Stewart arranged a tour of some nine farms throughout the valley by twenty-five businessmen from the county. The group stopped at farms from Spring Glen to Wellington, discovering that the most popular crops were wheat, alfalfa, barley, oats, sugar beets, and potatoes. One of the farms was run by Japanese farmers who had planted mainly potatoes and sugar beets. The Sun commented, "The Japanese are great farmers and many Americans might well profit from their methods of handling the land and the harvests therefrom."49 The visitors reported that the crops were doing fine; but 1915 was a dry year, and the farmers probably harvested only a small crop. The next year Stewart organized an automobile excursion to Sevier County. Over 150 people from Carbon and Emery counties visited some of the most prosperous farms from Salina to Richfield. Undoubtedly, this trip helped the farmers in Castle Valley learn new methods and programs to make their farms more successful.50

John A. Widtsoe, president of Utah State Agricultural College, promoted dry farming, or farming without irrigation, throughout Utah. Many Carbon County farmers were not convinced that they could raise crops without irrigating them, but the Whitmores tried

it. In the fall they planted thirty acres of winter wheat in Whitmore Park, a mountainous area northeast of Price, and in the spring they reported harvesting a successful crop. Farmers also tried to raise crops with dry farming in Clark's Valley, but were not successful. Although some Castle Valley farmers tried dry farming, most were unsuccessful because the ground moisture during the critical winter months was never sufficient for winter wheat. Most Carbon County farmers preferred planting spring wheat, which required extensive irrigation to yield a good crop.

Extension service personnel in the county continued to educate farmers, housewives, and children through various programs. They taught adults in the county about gardens and cooking, and they taught youth through the 4-H program. County extension agents continued to be the instrument of change and improvement in the field of agriculture. From 1927 to 1934, the college's extension office ran a Carbon County Experimental Farm. Its purpose was to find the most suitable crops for the county, investigate the agronomic problems of this section of Utah, investigate the possibilities of the soil, and demonstrate to farmers the importance of good farming, which included irrigation techniques and alkali control. The experimental farm, located about four miles south of Price, consisted of forty acres of land, a small portion of which was shale and alkali land. When originally rented, all of the farm's acres were planted in alfalfa. The first year the superintendent plowed under twenty acres of alfalfa and planted wheat, oats, barley, potatoes, corn, and sugar beets. He manured half of each variety and left the other half unmanured, and, as expected, the manured ground outproduced the unmanured land. In order to determine the best crop variety for the soil of Castle Valley, the superintendent tested varieties of each crop and also experimented with different fertilizers. He cultivated and irrigated the soil at certain times, except in years when there was insufficient water. Except for the superintendent's family garden, the farm raised no garden products; however, the farm later grew peas, beans, flax, sorghum, and sweet clover.51

Because the farm only existed for a few years and there was a lack of water during some of those years, the experimental farm study had few strong recommendations. It did note that the soil was deficient

in humus and phosphorus, and the addition of barnyard manure and phosphorus fertilizer helped correct that. Corn was a good crop, yet the study expressed doubts that it could ever be economically successful in the area. Potatoes produced well, but the soil produced larger tubers than many desired. Sugar beets produced as high as 15.7 tons per acre, with a 17.5 percentage of sugar. Alfalfa did well, but the superintendent never raised it on the best producing soil. Barley, oats, and wheat also did well, but the best variety of wheat was not the turkey red wheat that local farmers desired. The study also noted that asparagus did well in the alkali soil of the farm. In 1934, at the end of the fiscal year, the farm was discontinued.⁵²

Kiz, located in Clark's Valley which is bounded on the east by East Carbon City and Sunnyside and on the west by Soldiers Canyon, was the last agricultural area to be cultivated in the county. Clark's Valley, semiarid and relatively flat land, was first settled in the 1890s by two ranchers. They did not stay long and were probably forced to abandon their homesteads because of drought. In 1906 Orson Dimick and John Higginson settled the area; later, Nephi Perkins, Ephraim Dimick, and his wife joined them. In 1910 Gratien Etchebarne, a French sheepherder, became interested in the land and in 1916 filed a homestead claim on a small area. Other settlers also arrived, and in 1914 they constructed a small irrigation reservoir even though there was no ready access to a stream in the valley. The only way to farm Clark's Valley was by dry farming.

In 1921 the American Legion announced that the valley was available for settlement, especially to veterans of World War I. The notice mentioned that the area could be easily watered by an extension of the Spring Glen Canal system, something that never happened. It is not known how many new settlers this announcement influenced to locate in Clark's Valley. By 1924 there was a measure of prosperity, as Gratien Etchebarne provided a building for a school, and the district employed Mary Tidwell of Wellington to teach. Because of a leaky roof, this building was later abandoned and the Dimick granary became the school building. Etchebarne later rented a much nicer building, which was also used as a church, to be used for the school. Tidwell became discouraged, however, and left before the end of the school year. Vivian Norton, an eighth-grade student,

- 5. This proposal envisioned stocking the reservoir with trout for recreation purposes. See Eastern Utah Advocate, 8 May 1902.
- 6. Eastern Utah Advocate, 12 February 1903, 19 February 1903, 3 March 1903, 26 March 1903.
 - 7. Ibid., 30 May 1907; Sun Advocate, 19 June 1947.
- 8. Eastern Utah Advocate, 6 June 1907, 13 June 1907, 15 August 1907, 29 August 1907, 26 September 1907, 17 October 1907, 14 November 1907.
- 9. George Washington Waterman,"My Story, Water-Man, Personal History George Washington Waterman," 21–22, copy in possession of author.
- 10. Eastern Utah Advocate, 29 December 1907, 22 February 1908, 27 February 1908, 16 April 1908, 11 June 1908, 15 October 1908, 11 March 1909, 26 May 1910.
 - 11. Ibid., 26 August 1909.
- 12. It was not uncommon for outside developers to become interested in developing canal and agricultural land projects throughout the West. See Marshall E. Bowen, Utah People in the Nevada Desert: Homestead and Community on a Twentieth Century Farmers' Frontier (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1994); Robert Alan Goldberg, Back to the Soil: The Jewish Farmers of Clarion, Utah, and Their World (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1986).
 - 13. Eastern Utah Advocate, 11 March 1908, 26 May 1910.
 - 14. Ibid., 9 July 1915.
 - 15. Ibid., 20 July 1911.
 - 16. Sun, 29 June 1917.
 - 17. Ibid., 13 July 1917, 10 August 1917.
 - 18. Ibid., 27 July 1917.
- 19. Carbon County Extension Report, 1928, Utah State University Archives and Manuscripts.
 - 20. Carbon County Extension Report, 1943.
 - 21. Eastern Utah Advocate, 11 December 1902.
 - 22. Tax Assessment Records, 1894, 1900, Utah State Archives.
 - 23. Ibid.
 - 24. Eastern Utah Advocate, 26 April 1906.
 - 25. Sun, 21 January 1915.
- 26. Carbon County, Grazing Notes, Utah State Historical Society Library; Pierre Moynier, "Sheep Industry of Carbon County," *Centennial Echos*, 57.
 - 27. Tax Assessment records, 1894, 1911, Utah State Archives.

28. WPA Grazing Notes, Utah State Historical Society Library.

- 29. News Advocate, 20 August 1914.
- 30. Wellington, City on the Move (n.p., n.d.), 51
- 31. Carbon County Extension Report, 1926 and 1960, Utah State University Archives.
- 32. Eastern Utah Advocate, 3 April 1902; Philip F. Notarianni, "Italianita in Utah: The Immigrant Experience," in Peoples of Utah, 320.
- 33. Joseph Cannariato, oral history, interviewed by Philip Notarianni, 14 June 1972, Manuscripts, Marriott Library, University of Utah.
- 34. Eastern Utah Advocate, 4 October 1900, 16 June 1904, 10 December 1908, 29 January 1914, 11 December 1919; Utah State Tax Assessment Records.
 - 35. Eastern Utah Telegraph, 26 March 1891, 9 April 1891.
- 36. Fullmer Allred, "The History of Carbon County Agriculture," in *Centennial Echos*, 59–62.
- 37. Eastern Utah Advocate, 5 November 1908, 14 April 1910, 13 October 1910, 27 October 1910, 19 January 1911, 19 February 1911.
- 38. Ibid., 26 March 1915; Ray Branch, "History of Sugar Beet Industry in Carbon County," *Centennial Echos*, 67–68.
 - 39. News Advocate, 6 March 1919, 21 April 1921.
 - 40. Ibid., 21 April 1921.
 - 41. Centennial Echos, 68-70.
- 42. Margaret Turcasso, "Gabby—The Go-Getter," Carbon County Journal 2 (Fall 1983): 6-12.
- 43. Asa Draper, oral history, interviewed by Ronald G. Watt, 7 July 1993, LDS Church Archives.
- 44. Ernest and Gladys Saccomanno, oral history, interview by Nancy Taniguchi, 1 May 1979, Utah State Historical Society.
- 45. Nancy Taniguchi, "Common Ground: The Coalescence of Spring Glen" (Master's thesis, University of Utah, 1981), 77–79.
- 46. Albert Bovier, interview, with Ronald G. Watt, 1 June 1994, in possession of author.
- 47. Marie Auphand Fidell, oral history, interviewed by Frances B. Cunningham, 17 February 1979, Cunningham personal files.
 - 48. Sun, 12 February 1915.
 - 49. Ibid., 13 August 1915.
 - 50. Ibid., 11 August 1916.
- 51. Carbon County Experimental Farm. Extension Records, Archives and Manuscripts, Utah State University.

- 52. Ibid.
- 53. "Kiz," Centennial Echos, 171-72.
- 54. Sun, 8 July 1927, 11 November 1927, 1 September 1932, 8 September 1932, 19 January 1933.
 - 55. Salt Lake Tribune, 17 July 1979, C1.

COMMUNITY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Price

By 1900 Price had developed a busy commercial area fed by the railroad, freighting, and sheep industry. There were saloons, general stores, and a newspaper, the *Eastern Utah Advocate*. In 1907 J. H. Nelson and Carl R. Williams began another newspaper, the *Carbon County News*. The town fathers believed in promoting Price's growth and boosted its advantages. In 1908 local merchants organized the Price Commercial Club to promote the town and encourage other businesses and people to move into the community. In 1910 one of the first chain stores, a Golden Rule store, which later became a J.C. Penney store, moved into town.¹

In 1910 the local small frame railroad depot burned to the ground. Shortly after the fire, Mark Braffet, Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad attorney and former citizen of Carbon County, purchased property adjacent to the north side of the tracks, just east of what would become Carbon Avenue. He persuaded the D&RGW to build its new station on his property, but some Price businessmen



Pensione Italiana, built by Joe Bonacci, c. 1920 and located on First South in Price. (Western Mining and Railroad Museum)

opposed the new location, desiring to rebuild the station at its old location. Railroad officials met with all those involved and convinced them, some unwillingly, that the depot should be built on Braffet's recently acquired property. Braffet made a liandsome profit on his property, selling a portion of it to the railroad for the new depot and then building a hotel and tavern to the north of the station. The relocation of the depot made moving to the east side of town necessary for the businesses of the community.²

Among the businessmen were several recent immigrants. The Vatalaro brothers ran the Italian European Bakery and Grocery Store; Frank Fosso advertised that his Garden Store sold fruits, vegetables, cheese, and ice cream. The Parthenon Saloon and rooming liouse opened on First West. Lowenstein's Mercantile moved into Price during the 1910s, locating its first store just south of the tracks and employing as its manager Sam Stein, the nephew of owner Louis Lowenstein. A Russian Jew, Lowenstein had been a traveling salesman before he established a store in Helper which antedated his store in Price. He became convinced that Price needed a good hotel and so he



Price Main Street c. 1920. (Utah State Historical Society)

helped finance the building of the Hotel Savoy, located on Main and First West next to Lowenstein Mercantile.³

In 1912 Price was large enough to become a third-class city, and the town's citizens elected W.F. Olson as the new mayor. The mayor-city council system replaced a town president and board of trustees. By 1912 the city also had installed a municipal lighting system, established a city park, and constructed sidewalks in the main part of the city. The county built a new courthouse on First East and Main in 1912 and moved its offices there from the west side of town. In 1914 the new city government also built a library near the town hall. Mary Mathis, the new librarian, went door to door asking people to donate books and even had a book shower.

Construction on Main Street continued. In 1914 Pietro Silvagni, an Italian businessman who spent most of his time in Las Vegas, Nevada, built a new multilevel building on the corner of Main Street and Carbon Avenue. This building also housed the Bonita Theater, a cinema, which rivaled the Eko Theater just to the west.

In 1919 Mayor George A. Wooten obtained permission from the city council to pipe water from Colton Springs to the city of Price to provide a better supply of drinking water. Before completion of the new system, residents had relied on the Price River for water. The city awarded contracts for the laying of the pipeline to Sylvan Staes, George Zeese, and Angelo Raikos, and the contractors had finished the pipeline by the end of the year; however, minor work on the line the following two years hampered the flow of fresh water into Price for a while.

Before the beginning of World War I, two Frenchmen—Eugene Chatlin and Pierre Jeanselme—began the Farmers and Stockgrowers Store, a business that rivaled Price Trading Company. The competition nearly forced Price Trading into bankruptcy, but other businessmen in the community convinced Honore Dusserre to put pressure on Chatlin and Jeanselme to sell their store to Price Trading Company. Chatlin and Jeanselme eventually agreed, and after the merger of the two stores Price Trading hired Gomer Peacock to be the new manager. Peacock had the business acumen to make Price Trading Company prosper.⁷

By 1920 Price had grown to a city of 2,364 people. In December 1919 the Sun listed most of the establishments in Price—three banks, three physicians, one hospital, one optician, two plumbers, three dentists, three bakeries, six contractors, one brickyard, four stage lines, one chiropractor, four barber shops, two photographers, three lumberyards, three machine and blacksmith shops, five grocery stores, seven garages, five restaurants, two paint shops, one music store, one harness maker, one large general machine shop, thirteen hotels and rooming houses, various pool halls and refreshment parlors, two tailors with pressing and repair departments, one auto accessory and electric appliance store, and several other establishments. Price also had a Mormon church tabernacle, an elementary school, a high school with dormitories which had once been a Methodist school, the Price Academy, a Methodist church, and the Greek Orthodox Church of the Assumption, built in classic Byzantine style.

Helper

Helper became a town with a mayor and town board in 1907. The board passed ordinances, the mayor enforced them and also was



Main Street, Helper, c. 1900. (Western Mining and Railroad Museum)

the executive in charge of police, parks, and other elements of town government. In 1915, when Helper became a third-class city, the city government structure remained essentially the same. Within a few years, the mayor had organized the city into various departments and had a budget of \$83,582.26.9

Helper prospered because of its railroad station and railyards and because of the city's location in the center of the regional coal fields. Helper appropriately proclaimed itself to be the "Hub City"; the spokes from its center extended north to Castle Gate and the mines in Price Canyon, east to the Kenilworth area, west into Spring Canyon, south to Spring Glen, and southwest to the mines in the Gordon Creek area. In 1912 Helper had twenty-two business establishments; ten years later the number had more than doubled. The population increased from slightly more than 900 in 1910 to over 1,600 people in 1920. By 1920 the city had six hotels, four restaurants, three grocery stores, a bank, a weekly newspaper, a telephone connection company, a dentist, a doctor, a chiropractor, a lawyer, two barbers, and several substantial stores, including Lowensteins, Helper Mercantile, Helper Lumber Company, and O.H. Wilson Selling Company. Helper was anchored in its business district by as many



By 1920 Helper was the center of the county coal industry and rivaled Price as the commercial center of the county. (Western Mining and Railroad Museum)

as twenty-six saloons that catered to its diverse population. It also had a Catholic church and an elementary school.

Along with this prosperity came tragedy, Before midnight on 19 May 1919 a fire started in the rear of a bakery owned by Peter Bosone, and before it was brought under control more than three hours later almost \$100,000 worth of property had been destroyed. The fire first destroyed the bakery and four houses owned by Bosone and then a rooming house and some buildings owned by Antone Labori. Three buildings owned by Baptist Flaim burned to the ground, as did a four-story hotel with a store owned by M.P. Bergera, valued at \$25,000 with merchandise worth \$20,000. About 2:00 A.M. the fire truck from Price arrived, saving the rest of the business district; and, sometime after 3:00 A.M., the fire was finally extinguished. Fortunately, no one died or was injured in the blaze. The Black Hand, a secret extra-legal organization, was blamed for the blaze, but nothing was ever proven.12 A few days later the Helper City Council paid fees for fire watchmen, then Councilman Greenhalgh moved and Councilman Vignetto seconded the motion that the city purchase



East side of Helper Main Street, 1932. (Western Mining and Railroad Museum)

750 feet of fire hose, a hose cart, and two nozzles. Two months later the council named three firemen and voted to install water mains in the Bryner and Sheya additions to the town, which would also facilitate fire control elsewhere, if necessary.¹³

Wellington

Residents of Wellington were primarily farmers. Never being able to finance themselves completely by farming, many residents raised stock as a sideline and later worked at the coal mines, farming only as a part-time occupation. Severin Grundvig farmed in Coal Creek one year but lost his crop because of insufficient water. To earn enough money to provide for his family, Grundvig hauled cedar posts that year. After discovering coal in Dead Man Canyon, he ran a wagon mine there for eight years. Peter Liddell farmed, trapped, and prospected in order to support his large family. The George Hill family survived by delivering milk to Sunnyside and Columbia. Walter Draper's farm was the stopover for peddlers coming from the farms of Emery County, who were able to buy hay and grain for their animals and also purchase eggs, meat, and butter which they sold in the coal camps. ¹⁴

Some Wellington farmers trailed sheep from the mountain to the

desert or to their own farms, depending on the season of the year. William A. Thayn had a ranch on the east side of Wellington; and he and his sons eventually owned over 3,000 head of sheep, pasturing them in the winter on their land south of Wellington known as Joe's Hole and trailing the animals northeast to the mountains in the summer. Farea sheep owners even operated a shearing corral in Wellington for several years; in 1915 over 20,000 head of sheep from the area were sheared. Many larger sheep owners trailed their sheep through Wellington before taking them into the desert for winter grazing.

Very few Wellington residents owned mercantile businesses, but there was always a small general store in the town which sold essentials. For most purchases, the people of Wellington traveled to Price.¹⁷

Wellington was the last community on the Price River. Castle Gate, Helper, Spring Glen, and Price all used the river water for culinary, agricultural, and industrial purposes before the water arrived at Wellington. With the number of communities above Wellington on the river, the water that reached the town was usually insufficient and often times polluted. Two efforts by county residents upstream helped Wellington citizens. First, in 1909, entrepreneurs built the Carbon County Canal, which took water out of the river by a dam about four miles above Price and sent it southward about thirty miles through the uncultivated lands south of Price. At one point the Carbon County Canal came close to Wellington, and Wellington farmers built ditches from this location to bring water to the farmlands on the south side of the river. Second, in that same year, the Price Canal Company extended its canal 5.5 miles to supply water to most of the Wellington land. No longer needed, the Wellington Canal fell into disuse and the Wellington Canal Company thereafter bought water from the Price Canal Company.18 The extension of the Price Canal did cause some conflict between Wellington and Price when Price users took more water than they were allotted. In 1915 the farmers in Wellington complained that Price water users had not left sufficient water for their needs.19 This uneasy dependency on its larger sister community upstream would continue for most of Wellington's history. The town's water supply improved in 1919 when Wellington decided to connect to the Price water system which piped water from Colton Springs. The town board raised the money for laying the pipe by utilizing a bond and a loan from its own citizens at an 8 percent rate of interest.²⁰

In 1907 Wellington incorporated and became a town with an elected president and a board of trustees. The positions of president and councilmen were primarily volunteer positions. In those years the town filled most of its needs with a labor tax or with volunteer labor, much of which was done by the board of trustees. In 1914 every man paid his road poll tax by working with his teams to improve the roads in Wellington.²¹

World War I brought the expansion of the county's coal industry to one of the largest in the western United States. Established mines more than doubled their output and new mines opened. Price and Helper became even busier commercial centers of the county, and everyone hoped the county's businesses would continue to expand after the end of the war. Instead, the economic picture in the county turned sour. Many mines cut back to working only two or three days a week rather than the six- or seven-day schedule during the war. Without the prosperous mines, area farmers could not peddle their produce in the camps. In the 1920s farmers throughout the United States experienced economic difficulties. This, coupled with the decline of coal mining, meant a serious threat to the economic prosperity of Carbon County. One economic exception was the sheep industry, which continued to prosper even though the great days of sheep herding had passed. The business districts of Price and Helper appeared to be prosperous, although in 1927 the Price Co-op closed its doors.

The fall of the stock market in 1929 signified the beginning of the Great Depression. The coal industry continued at a slower pace than the previous decade, and farmers' economic condition for the early part of the Depression remained the same. The market for sheepmen also collapsed during the Depression.

By 1930 the county had four banks: the First National Bank, the Price Commercial and Savings Bank, the Carbon Bank, and the Helper State Bank. In the 1920s the Helper State Bank and the Price First National Bank had shared the presidency of Joseph Barboglio, who would spend mornings working in Helper and afternoons in Price. The two banks remained separate, but they were run by the

same man, who knew the interactions of both banks. In 1931 the Carbon Bank of Price and Emery County Bank began to discuss a merger, which finally culminated in February 1932 with the new Carbon Emery Bank. Three months later Price Commercial and Savings Bank and Carbon Emery Bank merged under the latter's name, thus forming the largest bank in eastern Utah, with assets of \$1,250,000. This bank consolidation in Carbon County created a sound economic foundation in the county, with three secure banks which would take the county through the Depression. No bank in Carbon County failed or even threatened failure during those eventful years.²²

In December 1932 the Sun and the News Advocate newspapers merged, forming the Sun Advocate, which was housed in the Sun's building. Both newspapers had struggled for several years and had been dependent on whichever political party was in power to gain printing business. In the 1920s both newspapers had become more neutral in their political leanings and decided that a merger was in their best interest.²³

Several stores made improvements during the period. In April 1933 Price Trading Company began remodeling its store and, with its new air conditioning, advertised itself as the "coolest place in town." The next year the Safeway grocery store moved to a new location on the west side of North Carbon Avenue; five years later the company built a new store across the street. Keller's, another grocery store, opened in Safeway's old location. In 1934 John Littlejohn built the Bonnie Theater in Helper. In 1935 the Diamond Market opened in Price with Steve Diamanti as the manager. Carbon Dioxice and Chemical Company began operating in Wellington. Dinosaur Super Service added on to its building. Slim and Ross Motor Company opened an automobile agency, selling DeSotos and Plymouths, joining the agencies of Standard Motor, Price Motor Company, and Redd Motor Company. These were signs of some prosperity even during the dark days of the Great Depression.

Automobiles and Roads

Among the factors contributing to economic growth of the area was the advent of the automobile and the location of Price and



Service station and commercial building in Martin built by Italian stone mason, Felice Giliotti. (Western Mining and Railroad Museum)

Helper along the transportation corridor that reached from Salt Lake City and points north to southeastern Utah and east into Colorado. Rail passenger service gave Carbon County an initial advantage over other areas of the state; but, just before World War I, the automobile emerged as an important part of America's transportation future. Boosters traveled the county urging locals to support road constuction initiatives, especially where the new roads could become part of a national network.

Dr. Frank F. Fisk was one of the first people in Carbon County to own an automobile, which he used to make house calls. In December 1907 Thomas Fitzgerald built a new barn to accommodate his roadster. The roads were rutted and in rainy weather were muddy, making for very slow traveling either with a carriage coach or a new automobile. People could not travel by car to Provo or Salt Lake City because there was no road up Price Canyon. The route through Price Canyon resembled a horse trail and was at best a rough wagon trail. All of this began to change early in 1913 when the Indiana Auto Club proposed that the national "Midland Trail" pass through Carbon



Early road construction crew laying the road base for the Sunnyside road, c. 1900. (Western Mining and Railroad Museum)

County. Designation would become a reality only after local and state authorities ensured that the automobile road would be constructed. Consequently, county residents organized a local Midland Trail Association with Arthur W. Horsley as president, James M. Whitmore as vice-president, and George Nelms as secretary and treasurer. Clarence H. Stevenson was the road's most ardent promoter. The state estimated that \$100,000 would be necessary to complete the road to Salt Lake City, with most of the construction costs needed in Price Canyon. By 30 January 1913 Carbon County people had raised \$50,000 in work pledges, the Salt Lake Commercial Club raised \$25,000, and the state legislature appropriated the remainder.

By the middle of June, the Utah State Road Commission was busy constructing the Price Canyon road. The people of Carbon County wholeheartedly supported the road and contributed manpower and teams to its construction. By the end of June, ninety men and teams were working furiously on the road. Additional teams were needed, so twelve men and eight teams left Wellington to work on the canyon road; others left later in the week. The road was barely finished before representatives of the Indiana Auto Club arrived on 16 July. They were given special attention, with speeches and banquets.

They then tried out the new canyon road. The Indiana Auto Club members sent back some of their reactions to the trail through Price. At least one thought the road up Price Canyon was fairly good but was too narrow and needed a little more grading; but the same reporter said that the road from Grand Junction to Price across the desert was very poor. The *Midland Trail Tour Guide* of 1916 advised drivers not to travel on the Price Canyon road when it was wet and to "drive slowly, sounding horn frequently on turns. The next nine miles should be run at not more than ten miles per hours." 25

The fury of road construction encouraged Carbon County residents to purchase automobiles and, in 1914, to organize a Price Auto Club. The Gutheil-Broecker Company opened a garage in temporary quarters in a section of the Mint Saloon in Price and also established a passenger line to Emery County towns. In February, A.G. Gutheil drove a Model B Ford from Price in two hours and five minutes to three miles south of Ferron to pick up Dr. Andrew Dowd. He returned in two hours and eleven minutes in order to get the doctor to the railroad on time.²⁶

On Sunday, 24 May 1914, the Price Auto Club members journeyed as a group to Emery County. Cars from Castle Gate, Helper, and Price joined in the festive occasion, with 150 people crowding into forty automobiles. They left about 8:00 A.M., traveling over dusty, unpaved roads, and arrived in Emery at 10:30 that morning. When the procession passed through Huntington, people lined the streets to greet them. A band met them in Castle Dale, where every car in the town joined the caravan. In Ferron the streets were also lined with people, and the young girls of Ferron presented the entourage with flowers. Not to be outdone by Castle Dale, the Ferron band escorted the group through the town. The road between Ferron and Emery was one of the best that any of the drivers had ever experienced, and some of the cars were able to cruise along at fifty-two miles an hour. In Emery townspeople held a reception for the visitors and, on their return trip, Castle Dale did the same. All participants enjoyed the day; no one complained about the dirt and grime.27

Improved roads, some of them all-weather thoroughfares, along with the development of buses, auto stagelines, larger vehicles, and improved gasoline engines, encouraged travel; and the private own-

ership of automobiles grew tremendously. By 1915 there were two automobile companies in Price—the Gutheil-Broecker Company sold Buicks and Fords, and the Price Auto and Stage Company sold Studebakers, Overlands, and Dodges. Determining how many cars were sold in those early years is difficult; but, during July 1915, Gutheil-Broecker sold six Fords and four Buicks and had a difficult time keeping cars in stock. The company received from Ford Motor Company a motion picture showing the assembling of Ford cars, and it rented the Eko Theater to show it to prospective customers. These companies also employed mechanics who serviced the cars.28 With an increased demand for automobiles, Utah-Idaho Motor Company established a business in Price selling Oldsmobiles and Buicks, while Redd Motor Company and Gutheil-Broecker sold Fords and Dodges, respectively. Prices of the cars varied, including \$750 for an inexpensive Oldsmobile and \$1,758 for an eight-cylinder Oldsmobile sports model.

One of the best-known names in the Carbon County automobile business was John Redd. In the early 1900s he operated a livery stable, and, in 1914, shortly after cars appeared in Carbon County, he opened an automobile company, selling several models of cars. He sold that business in 1920, built the local J.C. Penney store, and also managed the grocery department of Price Trading Company. In 1925 he sold the Penney building and returned to the automobile business, purchasing a building at 129 West Main Street. Redd's business became the agency for Oldsmobiles and Chevrolets. In 1935 he built a service station adjoining the automobile company.²⁹

Another part of the automobile revolution was the establishment of passenger and freight service, using mechanized vehicles instead of the stagecoaches and wagons of an earlier era. In 1915 Gutheil-Broecker received the contract to operate a stage line to Emery County. The Duchesne Stage and Transportation Company operated from Colton to the Uinta Basin. Instead of using the traditional freight wagon road through Nine Mile Canyon, the company opted for the higher road through Indian Canyon and boasted that their vehicles could complete the trip in much less time than could a wagon. Freight from the Uinta Basin to Carbon County was



Utah Highway 10 about 3 miles south of Price, c. 1930. (Courtesy Mona Marsing)

unloaded in Colton and shipped to its destination in the county on the railroad.

Many people in the coal camps also wanted to take advantage of the easier access to Price and Helper that motor vehicles could provide. In May 1918 the Public Utilities Commission granted to the Arrow Auto Stage Line the right to operate an automobile stage line between Price and Sunnyside and granted to Spring Canyon Auto Line the service between Helper and Rains. A year later residents of Helper demanded similar service between Helper and Price; consequently, J.F. Hansen began operating an auto stage between those two communities. Later, the utilities commission granted the Arrow company permission to operate a line from Hiawatha to Price and from Kenilworth to Price; in 1927 the Arrow company also operated between Hiawatha and Mohrland. In July 1931 Salt Lake and East Utah Stage Lines began operating a daily passenger line between Moab and Salt Lake City, with two buses leaving daily from Price to Salt Lake City.

All of these transportation companies were dependent on good



Automobile crushed by a rock fall in Price Canyon during the 1920s. (Western Mining and Railroad Museum)

roads, something that was extremely difficult to maintain, especially in inclement weather. Voluntary efforts like Good Roads Day on 30 April 1915, when citizens turned out to work on the roads, were not enough. Road construction and maintenance came to demand more and more attention by government officials and increasing tax dollars. One of the first major contracts for road construction was awarded to Matthews and Eggleston Construction Company of Denver, Colorado, in 1915 for work in Soldiers Canyon and on the Sunnyside road. Near the end of August, the company had thirty-four teams and thirty-six men working on the road in Price Canyon just above Helper. In 1921 the state appropriated \$420,000 to pave the road between Price and Castle Gate, creating a cement highway between Price and Helper.³²

In 1927 the state made major road changes in Price Canyon, detouring traffic up Willow Creek Canyon for over one hundred days. Work graveling all of the heavily used roads in the county proceeded over the next few years, including roads to the coal camps. In 1931 contract crews built a tunnel through a side mountain, rerouted the road around the town of Castle Gate, extended the main road

over Nickerson Hill at the east end of Price, and made a cut through the hill. The *Sun* commented, "The new road will cut through the hill at the end of Main street and will continue straight on for three quarters of a mile. From there it will turn off in a southerly direction and cross the present highway at the point of the curve three quarters of a mile from Price. The new road will follow the railroad track south of the present highway to Wellington." ³³

Roads have come and gone. The road to the Nine Mile Canyon area is now paved up to the coal mine; thereafter it remains the unimproved road it was at the turn of the century. The road to the coal camps in Spring Canyon is still there, but the county has little demand to maintain it. The main road through the county since 1948 bypasses the Helper business district, dividing the city of Helper. This four-lane highway has been the site of many accidents in Helper. Because the road widens, motorists have a tendency to speed along that section of highway; thus cars crossing the highway are at risk in the intersection. To combat the problem, the highway department installed flashing red lights and signs. They also lowered the speed limit, but accidents continue to occur at the crossing. The school district considers the crossing to be so dangerous that it busses all students across the road to their schools. Only an overpass would alleviate the problem.³⁴

In the 1960s the Utah Road Department straightened the road from Helper into Price Canyon. In 1966 it finished a new road in Price Canyon, making the road as straight as possible and thus less dangerous. In order to accomplish this, traffic was detoured for two years up Willow Creek and through Emma's Park, connecting with the main highway east of Colton. In 1969 the state highway commission proposed a new four-lane highway bypassing Price and Wellington. Wellington people objected on the basis that the road was too far from their town and that their streets were wide enough to handle the traffic. The only objection from Price residents was that the First North access would bypass merchants on Main Street to First West.

During the 1970s the state road commission finished the fourlane highway, bypassing Carbonville and ending on the west side of Price. A two-lane highway follows the Price River south of Price, meeting the old highway to Wellington east of the city. The state planned to complete the four-lane highway around Price to the county line, but to the present (1997) this has not been done. The exit from the new highway into Price travels into the city on First North, thus bypassing Main Street. Price's Main Street is much less traveled than it once was, but cars and trucks are able to travel much faster around the southern part of Price. Businesses have sprouted along the highway exits, including fast-food restaurants, hotels, and a hospital. Shopping centers have been built on both the west and east sides of the city. The county also has built new roads to connect subdivisions in the county to the main roads. Carbon County remains a center of road transportation in the state.

Air Travel

Not far behind the automobile in its arrival in Carbon County was the airplane. In August 1917 the *Sun* reported that observers in Price had sighted airships doing stunts over Price, flying about 600 feet above ground in a southerly direction. In 1919 Price built a landing field to provide for the new means of transportation. In 1920 a plane in which L.E. Whitmore was riding hit high-voltage wires at the Salt Lake airport, cutting Whitmore's chin and wrenching his back. The impact broke the propeller and landing gear and burned two brace wires completely through. Whitmore had decided to leave Price when the pilot offered him a ride. After the accident, he returned to Price by railroad but continued to fly whenever he had an invitation.³⁵

The small airfield was not sufficient for long; in 1933 the county built a field nearby on a bluff south of Price just above the Price River. It was dedicated on 23 November 1933. The new airfield had a hangar for five planes, one 2800-foot runway, and two 1500-foot runways. The community established an aviation school, which began with eighteen students. Two months after the airfield dedication, a fire destroyed the hangar and three airplanes. Three youths later confessed to starting the fire when they attempted to steal gasoline from the hangar. A few months later, the county rebuilt the buildings at the airport with private donations and a grant from the federal government. The county also purchased several fire extinguishers for the

airport in case of another fire. Within a short time, as at many other communities throughout the United States, the airport was staging airshows with stunt planes, racing, bombing, and sky-writing acrobatics. Hopes were raised, but not realized, that Price would become part of an air-mail route between Salt Lake City and Pueblo, Colorado.³⁶

One of the first men in the county to become excited about the air transportation field was R.J. Schultz of Latuda. He went to Long Beach, California, in the early 1930s, took flying lessons for two years, and convinced J.R. Lund, a mechanic and instructor, to return with him to Carbon County. Lund sponsored a flight school, and both men went throughout the state with other pilots giving demonstrations. The county also made Lund the manager of the airport.³⁷

The threat of war in the late 1930s brought a new location for the city's airport. Officials wanted to include the Price airport as part of a national defense system, but when authorities for the Civilian Aeronautic Authority (CEA) visited Price they found the airport location south of Price was not suitable. Community leaders immediately began to search for a better location and decided on Wood Hill; but the CEA also vetoed that site. A site near Dead Man's Canyon, about two miles north and east of Price was then proposed, and the CEA accepted this possibility. With help from the CEA, construction began, but the new airport was only large enough to land small planes. However, J. Eldon Dorman recalled an unexpected and unpublicized visitor to the airport near the end of World War II:

On a Saturday afternoon 1 was at the airport and was surprised toward evening to have a P-51 fighter plane come in from the south and land. The pilot was ferrying the plane from some-place in Texas to the air base at Mountain Home, Idaho. The weather was marginal, and he had become lost in the vast deserts of the Four Corners area and was just about out of gas. He was overjoyed to locate the Price Airport, which had a runway long enough for him to land his plane.

The pilot crawled out of the cockpit and told me that this particular P-51 was an experimental plane and one of a kind. . . . It was a super-secret aircraft and needed to be guarded with great care. It was too big and cumbersome to get in the hanger, but 1

posted a Civil Air Patrol guard to keep the public away. . . . I took the pilot into town where he could stay overnight and also explain his situation to higher ups via telephone. The next day a D-C4 tanker plane flew in with a load of proper aviation fuel for the P-51. Of course, the pilot buzzed the field when he left, as he was sure as hell glad to be on his way again.³⁶

After World War II, the county renewed its efforts to enlarge the airfield, constructing, with federal help and matching funds from state and county, a new runway and extending the other runways so larger planes could use the facility. In October 1948 construction crews finished the new runways and over 5,000 people attended the dedication ceremonies. An airshow sponsored by the Carbon County Commission featured planes from the U.S. Air Force, Castle Valley Flying Service, and Carbon-Emery Flying Service. The ceremony featured an airshow with parachute jumps over the field, speakers including gubernatorial candidate J. Bracken Lee, and a number of courtesy flights over Castle Valley.³⁹

A little over a year later it became necessary to widen the taxi strip to the hangars as a safety measure in handling large planes. By 1951 the county had opened an airport in East Carbon for a short time. For several years the county leased the Price airport to a manager, who received his compensation from fees obtained through airport business. For many years, E.L. "Buck" Davis promoted and ran the airport, also making sure that taxi drivers did not charge travelers exorbitant fees for the trip from the airport to Price, a distance of two miles.⁴⁰

After Davis retired, Richard Keppler took over. Soon the county was in the midst of an energy boom that placed unusual demands on the small airport, including use by corporate jets. Some local businessmen also began chartering flights and taking flying lessons. The Carbon-Emery Aviation Company purchased two new airplanes for charter and rental, hired a chief pilot and a flight instructor, and began a modest advertising campaign. Chief pilot Glen West commented that he never knew until he arrived at the airport each morning what he would be doing, whether it would be making routine flights to Salt Lake City or landing on a desert strip somewhere. Laird Peale, the flight instructor, had a class of thirty students which

included miners, businessmen, and housewives. Trans West Airline wanted to expand its air services, including passenger service, to the Price airport. Keppler told the county commission that his facilities were too small and that he needed a commuter terminal. All of this activity stopped with the end of the energy boom, however, and the airport settled down into its former routine.⁴¹

Following World War II, county officials had recognized the need to diversify the economy. Mechanization in mining required fewer coal miners and an effort was launched to attract new businesses and companies to the county. Price was the most successful city in bringing new jobs into the county. In 1968 the Pro-Carbon Development Company convinced Koret to establish a clothing factory south of Price. Businessmen and citizens of Carbon and Emery counties pledged more than \$70,000 for the new plant. When the plant opened in August, ninety women were employed in the plant.⁴²

Price, being the county seat and the commercial center for the county, recently has added a number of new commercial establishments. On the west side of the community is the Castle Valley Hospital, a hotel, and a new shopping center anchored by City Market and K-Mart stores. Walmart and Smith's Food and Drug Center anchor a new shopping center on the east side of the city. Because of Price's location, the town has become the center for governmental agencies in Castle Valley. Besides the city and county offices located in Price, the city also contains federal and state offices. Twenty-five different state offices are housed in Price, including the District Four office of the Utah Department of Transportation, the Seventh District Court office, a Utah Highway Patrol office, the Price Communications Center, several offices of the Utah Human Services Department, and a few others. There are seven offices for the federal government, including the Manti-La Sal National Forest office and Bureau of Land Management and Mine Safety and Health Administration offices.

Helper has struggled economically since the shutdown of coal mines and the closure of the railroad facility in the 1970s. Nevertheless, Helper has expanded retail operations with the addition of the Castle Gate subdivision near the mouth of Spring Canyon. Martin, a small farming community to the north of Helper, also

recently has been included. The community of Helper has also taken great pride in its mining and railroad heritage. In 1964 a group of citizens led by city attorney S.V. Litizette proposed to the Helper City Council that the city establish a museum for the purpose of attracting tourists. The city appropriated a room in the civic auditorium to be used for exhibits. From this small beginning came the present Western Mining and Railroad Museum. William Branson first took over running the small collection; however, within a short time, Fred Voll, who had retired after fifty years of working for the railroad, took over the project. Voll later commented, "I opened my big mouth and got the job, and here I am today." Voll attracted artifact and photograph donations which represented both mining and railroading. In 1982 Frances Cunningham, president of the Carbon County Historical Society, stepped in to help, making regularly scheduled museum hours a top priority.

By January 1985 the museum needed more space, whereupon the city council provided the Railroad Hotel, a three-story structure on Main Street, as a new home for the museum. After months of cleaning and renovating, officials moved the museum into the former hotel. Cunningham created a museum of which the community could be proud, with several floors for exhibits of Carbon County memorabilia, a gift shop, a small lecture room, and a work space. Margaret Garavaglia and Carolyn Birch kept the museum open and staffed, including many generous senior citizen volunteers to welcome and show visitors around. The museum has become a popular place for tours from the local schools. Its exhibits include many displays of the history of Carbon County: a company store interior replica, early dental equipment, and artifacts and pictures from many other segments of life in the county, including a model railroad on the first floor and a mine-shaft display in the basement.

Sam Quigley of Andalex Resources was instrumental in acquiring pieces of mining machinery and railroad equipment that can be seen in the outdoor display at the side of the museum. Through the efforts of Brian Matsuda, city councilman in charge of the museum, a large grant was obtained from the Utah Community Impact Board. The grant enabled museum board members Pat Kokal and Laine

Adair to acquire, paint, and build a mining display at the rear of the museum.

Shortly before Frances Cunningham left her post, she brought aboard retired teacher Madge Tomsic to catalog the artifacts and photographs and create a computerized list of them. Student volunteers from Carbon High School helped with these projects during the summer. A grant from the Utah Centennial Committee in 1996 funded an archivist to catalog the archival material in the museum, including a collection of several hundred oral histories.

The city council, under the direction of Mayor Mike Dalpiaz and Frank Scavo, councilman in charge of the museum, has given financial support for a full-time director and for the acquisition of two large signs to be placed along the highway to attract tourists. Consequently, visitation has increased from 1,000 annual visitors to over 11,000 a year in the 1990s.⁴⁴

During the 1980s and 1990s Helper became interested in improving areas of the city. In 1988 city councilman Brian Matsuda proposed a Price River Park and Walkway. The project took a few years to develop, but in 1992 the Economic Development Corporation of Utah gave Helper City a grant for the walkway. By the end of November 1989 Ron Cooper informed Mayor Mike Dalpiaz and the city council that he had received the final grant from the Utah Parks and Recreation Department. Today the beautiful walkway along the Price River provides an example for other riverside communities.⁴⁵

Recently Helper has attracted art studios along Main Street, and an annual arts festival has been established to help bring tourists to the community. A professional theater group is also being established in town. 46 The historic cityscape of Helper and the Western Mining and Railroad Museum have helped to attract new groups interested in making the city a regional center of art and theater.

East Carbon is an example of new life for an old coal camp. The people of Dragerton and Columbia had become discontented with the services provided by the county. These communities were more than twenty miles from the county seat, and their need for better services led to the incorporation of East Carbon City. A special election was held in July 1973, and residents of the two communities of

Dragerton and Columbia voted to incorporate as East Carbon City, with Gordon Parker elected as the first mayor.⁴⁷

In November 1973 John W. Galbreath and Company made an agreement that turned over to the new city \$615,000 worth of assets which included a set of deeds, bills of sale, and quit-claim deeds for nearly 120 acres of land, the present water and sewer systems, \$250,000 worth of water rights, equipment and vehicles, and a home for city offices and a fire station. A week later U.S. Steel donated an estimated 700 acres of land which included a large part of the city's water supply. All of this helped establish the city on a firm financial foundation.⁴⁸

East Carbon City was born just as an energy crisis developed throughout the world. Once again coal mining boomed to meet a new demand. By the early 1980s, however, the situation had reversed again, with the mines cutting back and people moving from the area.

Sunnyside's tar sands held promise of economic potential as a source of crude oil. In the past the tar sands had produced asphalt for road paving. In 1982 Chevron Oil Company and GNC Energy Corporation unveiled plans to develop the tar sands, and East Carbon residents were elated. This development undoubtedly would bring into their community new people and prosperous conditions; but the development never materialized. The issue dragged on until 1985 before both corporations withdrew their earlier plans. Arvetta Satterfield, compiler of the East Carbon City scrapbook, wrote, "We are getting good vibes on the tar sands from time to time. But we have had that happen before, so we are skeptical until we see jobs materialize." Later she editorialized, "The tar sands yo-yo finally came to an untimely end—so they tell us." 50

In 1983 Kaiser coal mine shut down for a while, and the community quickly felt the economic impact of it. Dale Andrews, mayor of East Carbon City, estimated the area jobless rate at 50 percent or more. The Kaiser coal mine in Sunnyside first slowed down, then stopped for ten months, before going into bankruptcy. Finally, Sunnyside Reclamation and Salvage secured the property through the bankruptcy court and reopened the mine. No one felt the reopening would be permanent, however; and a feeling of instability and eco-

nomic insecurity prevailed. The mine was worked for another few years and finally closed.

In 1991 Environmental Power Corporation announced it would establish a power plant in Sunnyside under the name Sunnyside Cogeneration Associates and would sell power to Utah Power and Light Company. The company planned to employ between I00 and 150 people in building the facility throughout the twenty-sevenmenth construction phase. After completion, the \$110-million plant would employ thirty-five to forty permanent full-time employees. It would use for fuel the waste coal that had been accumulating for over fifty years from the old Sunnyside mine. There was no opposition to this proposal, and the plant became operational in 1993.⁵¹

Another possibility for economic growth was a garbage landfill which would seek business outside the state. This proposal, however, divided the East Carbon community. In the late 1980s discussion of an East Carbon Development Corporation and the establishment of a solid-waste disposal site began. The site would be a large landfill for solid, nontoxic wastes, located just within the city limits. The proposal had the backing of the county commission and the city council. Emma Kuykendall, one of the county commissioners, reasoned, "If Utah can accommodate the need without damage to the environment, then bring on the garbage." 52

In 1991 a group from East Carbon became concerned about potential environmental hazards from the landfill and organized the Citizens's Awareness Now (CAN) group. Those favoring the landfill continued to state the economic benefit to the area while CAN focused on environmental concerns. Arvetta Satterfield accurately assessed the situation: "There are two groups, pro and con about the dump. Both groups have the best interest of the city at heart." Another resident commented, "We love East Carbon City. It is our home. It's a nice place to raise our four children. . . . We are against building a solid waste dump in East Carbon. This facility is too close to our city. It will contain asbestos and caustic kiln dust, which eats, burns and destroys tissue." "

The East Carbon Development Corporation (ECDC) held public meetings to discuss the landfill. Officials stated that the landfill would be an excellent facility that would exceed the current Department of Health regulations and recently published EPA guidelines. In 1992 the ECDC landfill became a reality. The ECDC continued to assure residents that no hazardous or radioactive material would be placed in the landfill, but CAN members were skeptical. A small amount of radioactive material was discovered in some material sent from Northwest Pipeline Corporation. ECDC officials reassured everyone that this was not purposeful and promised that they would do everything possible not to have it happen again. There was a movement to turn the dump over to the county, but East Carbon city officials reminded citizens that the city then would lose to Carbon County the fifty cents per ton tippage fees. Citizens of the town voted to continue the landfill within the city limits on a referendum on the issue in 1994. Tippage fees provided added revenue that could be spent for improvements in the city.⁵⁴

Other issues arose for the residents of East Carbon City involving natural gas installation and improvement of water and sewer lines. At the end of 1994 Satterfield journalized, "This year ended with a community cohesiveness that has been missing since the land-fill came into being. Everyone is looking forward to new streets, curb and gutter plus water, sewer, and gas lines. We should be one of the most up-to-date towns in the state. Hopefully townspeople will all join in to make East Carbon the model area it once was." 55

In 1950 the population of East Carbon was about 5,500 people. By 1970 it had fallen to 2,199, and it continued to decrease by the year 1990 to 1,609. Without some type of new industry the area of East Carbon would have slowly died. Only the future will tell whether the landfill will solve that problem.

The College of Eastern Utah Prehistoric Museum

One of the most unique and popular programs of the College of Eastern Utah is the Prehistoric Museum, housed in a modern building provided by Price City. The museum had its origin in 1960 when geology instructor Donald L. Burge came to Carbon College. A group of "rock hounds" convinced him to teach evening classes in aspects of geology. During one of the classes, Burge told his students: "You live in a geologic paradise here in Eastern Utah. Those geologic formations are all exposed, as an open book, by erosion for you to see.

... Why don't we do something; why don't we start a Geologic Museum."56

Burge and his students finally decided to venture into the museum world. They obtained a few artifacts, a room in the Price city hall, and exhibit cases from the old Castle Gate store. Dr. Eldon Dorman, an ophthalmologist, with the help of Hollie Bryner and others, labeled all the specimens. People like Dr. Dorman and Dr. Quinn Whiting purchased many of the needed supplies. Jim Diamanti donated \$100, and the Price Chamber of Commerce gave \$1,000, which was the financial beginning of the museum. When John Tucker became the president of the college, he gave the museum all the help he could. The museum did not have much to exhibit until Judge Fred Keller was persuaded to loan his collection of Anasazi pots. About the same time, Dave Nordell of Nine Mile Canyon and Keith Hansen of Sunnyside also donated their personal artifact collections to the museum.

At one of the museum meetings, Dr. Whiting, chair of the museum board, told Dr. Dorman, "You are now in charge of the archaeology; you are responsible for finding out all there is to know about this stuff." Dorman contacted Dr. Jesse Jennings, head of the anthropology department at the University of Utah, who later came to Price with a couple of archaeologist friends to meet Dorman for lunch. Dorman reflected, "They didn't pay much attention to me, they talked about archaeology in China and all this stuff. The salad was brought in and Dr. Jennings said to me, 'Well now, you've got a Museum here in Price. How many people have you had see your socalled museum?' I said, 'Fourteen thousand.' He damned near choked to death on the big hunk of lettuce in his salad. So, I took him up to the Museum and he was absolutely amazed."57 Thereafter, Jennings supported the museum all he could. William Lee Stokes of the University of Utah also aided the museum, helping it obtain an allosaurus skull.

The museum originally had one room on the second floor of the city hall. In 1971 Price City leased the old gymnasium located in the municipal building and remodeled it to house the early collections. In the early 1980s the museum added an upper floor to the gym to be used as a gallery for displaying the arts and crafts of prehistoric

humans in Utah. The museum added to the exhibit a mural painting by Lynn Faucett from the University of Utah of the Barrier Canyon pictographs. Later it added other significant specimens and artifacts, including a large stegosaurus excavated from the Cleveland-Lloyd Dinosaur Quarry and an exhibit devoted to the prehistoric Fremont Indian Culture. The CEU museum purchased the old Job Corps gymnasium three miles south of Price to prepare exhibits and to store specimens. The museum presently has a small full-time staff supported by a large number of volunteers. 59

Along with a small annual budget, the museum has been very successful in securing grants from various sources. Whereas most museums make plaster casts of actual bones, the CEU museum has the actual petrified skeletons of four dinosaurs because two people from the museum worked on the digs at the Cleveland-Lloyd Dinosaur Quarry about thirty miles south of Price. Displays in most museums have dinosaur skeletons consisting of 30 percent real bone, but most of the CEU museum's dinosaurs have 50 to 70 percent real bone. The museum often receives requests to make casts of bones for other museums. The museum has also received various gifts and loans from several foreign countries.

The CEU museum provides a wide variety of community education programs, including lectures and tours. During August International Days the College of Eastern Utah sponsors a museum day. On that day in 1988 Franzez Sorensen and her family shared their Paiute heritage through dances, recited myths and legends of the Paiutes, and demonstrated arrowhead and bead making and hide tanning. The following month Polly Schaafsma and J. Eldon Dorman conducted a seminar and tour of rock art sites in the San Rafael Swell. The education program has raised money from the local people, and the museum has become well known outside of the area. Many tourists are amazed that Price with its small population has a museum of this quality. In October 1985 Utah Senator Orrin Hatch visited the museum after a town meeting in Price. He declared, "This is one of the best kept secrets in Utah."

In 1987 the Price City Council approved expansion plans for a hall of dinosaurs for the museum, with full access to the upper floor for the physically impaired, allowing all visitors to view the skeletons from above. In 1989 the city completed the museum addition and two years later remodeled the old gym for a hall of archaeology. The museum received a grant of \$4,000 from U.S. West Foundation to exhibit features of the Huntington Canyon mammoth and other Ice Age mammals found in the area. 2

In 1988 a construction crew working on a dam at Huntington Reservoir discovered the bones of a prehistoric Columbian mammoth. Archaeologists recovered over 95 percent of the skeleton, and it was transported temporarily to the University of Utah. An immediate battle began over where the skeleton would be housed. Emery, Sanpete, and Carbon counties as well as the University of Utah wanted the bones. Some speculated that with all the infighting among Utah's communities, the bones might end up at the Smithsonian in Washington, D.C. The newly approved addition to the CEU Prehistoric Museum helped convince professionals that it could house the mammoth. State paleontologists and Don Burge from CEU proposed that the mammoth be housed in the CEU museum, and their proposal was accepted on the condition that the museum become accredited. In 1991 the American Association of Museums accredited the museum, only the fourth museum in the state to achieve that distinction. After the accreditation, the mammoth was brought to the museum in Price, and the staff placed the bones in an environmentally controlled storage area. The staff assembled a cast for exhibition purposes and gave it a prominent place in the hall of archaeology.63

The museum and the college have continued sponsoring scientific studies of eastern Utah and accepting specimens and artifacts. In 1991 a joint research team from CEU and Dinamation discovered near Arches National Park the bones of a Utahraptor, a predator dinosaur that had 15-inch talon claws. In 1991 a nodosaur which came from the same site was donated to the museum. Don Burge, director of the CEU museum, was especially excited because the sacral shield of the creature was found and donated to the museum. In the spring of 1995 the nodosaur was named *Gastonia burgei*, in part for Don Burge. The acquisition of the nodosaur brought to nine the number of dinosaur skeletons held by the Price museum. In 1992 the museum received the skeleton of a giant sloth that stood thirteen

feet tall, with claws on its front feet so long they curled under, forcing the now-extinct animal to walk on its front knuckles.⁶⁴

Don Burge, who teaches at the college and has served as the museum's only director, has been the museum's inspiration and constant promoter. He has also built a fine staff to support the collections of the CEU museum, one of the finest natural history museums in the state. In 1997 the museum's annual budget was a little over \$100,000. Although very modest, the budget was nearly three times what it had been ten years earlier. Today, over 60,000 people visit the CEU museum yearly. The museum is not only a part of the CEU campus but also a community effort, housed in Price City buildings. It is a symbol of the pride of a community in its geologically rich locale, and it reflects a harmonious relationship between the college and the community.

Art and Literature

Many visitors to the prehistoric museum are enthralled before they ever set foot inside by the life-like bronze statue of two camposauri. The statue, located at the north entrance to the museum, is the work of Gary Prazen, who has developed a national reputation for his bronze statues depicting Native American, western, and mining themes. Prazen grew up in Carbon County and helped his father at his welding business. He successfully tried his hand at sculpting birds and other objects with an arc welder and determined to try bronze sculptures. His first sculpture was taken from a scene of John Wayne in the movie, *True Grit.* When that turned out successfully, he decided to sculpt full time and has become very successful.⁶⁵

Lynn and Dean Faucett are the county's best-known artists. They first received awards for their artistic work while they were students at Carbon High School. In the 1930s Dean Faucett made a statue of a pioneer woman that the city placed in Pioneer Park. In 1940 the two brothers exhibited many of their paintings on the second floor of the city hall. That same year Price City commissioned Lynn Faucett to paint murals on the walls of the municipal building depicting the founding of the town.

Art instructors at the College of Eastern Utah have helped to bring art into the lives of their students and the community. Carl Olsen began evening classes for college and community art students and taught sign, oil, watercolor, and landscape painting and clay modeling. In 1953 he exhibited a mural at the Utah State Fair of scenes as people enter Price on Utah Highway 10, south of Price. James Young teaches art at the college. He was a student at Carbon College, received a Bachelor's degree from Brigham Young University, and a Master's of Fine Arts from Utah State University. Young has done sculptures of mining objects and some abstract works.

When the Italian and Greek immigrants from southern Europe came to the United States, some brought with them their trades as stone masons. They built many houses, rock buildings, walls, barns and outbuildings. Coal camps such as Spring Canyon and Hiawatha had an abundance of stone houses and buildings constructed by Italian stone masons such as John Biscardi, Felice Gigliotti, and Joe Borzaga. Helper still has remnants of the work of Biscardi, Jim Bianco, Herman Plaga, and Pete Borla. Some of these artisans taught others. Paul Liapis, who immigrated to Carbon County from Greece, trained his son Harry as a stone mason. Harry Liapis helped build and maintain the coke ovens at Sunnyside and later worked for the state road commission on highway beautification projects. Before his untimely death, Harry Liapis was instrumental in the construction of several historical monuments in commemoration of mine disaster victims, including those at Scofield and Castle Gate.⁶⁷

Another talented local man was Calvin Jewkes. He played a trombone in the big band era of the 1930s and during the same period sang in a quartet that performed during intermission at the Price Theater. He continued to direct bands and musical groups throughout his life, including singing at more than 2,500 funerals. In 1971 the Carbon Masonic lodges honored him with their George Washington Award for his devotion to his fellow men. The Elks Lodge presented him their Outstanding Citizen Award, and the American Legion gave him its Outstanding Citizen medal.⁶⁸

The county has had a newspaper for over one hundred years. Today's Sun-Advocate has a rich heritage and was preceded by such newspapers as the Eastern Utah Telegraph, Sun, News Advocate, Carbon County News, Eastern Utah Advocate, Helper Times, and Helper Journal. These local newspapers have had varying political

biases and published some lurid and descriptive tales of events as they transpired. They have also described in detail important events and activities of people in the county.

In literature, Carbon County native John D. Fitzgerald is well known for his books *Papa Married A Mormon, Mamma's Boarding House, Uncle Will and the Fitzgerald Curse,* and his Great Brain series. The books are fictional, but Fitzgerald adapted many of the characters from Carbon County's history. Fitzgerald would have readers believe he is writing about southern Utah near St. George, but many of the facts lead to Price.

In 1962 Robert D. Mullins, Price area correspondent for the Deseret News, received a Pulitzer Price for his reporting of a kidnap and murder at Dead Horse Point the previous summer. He filed daily accounts via radio and telephone to keep his newspaper readers informed throughout the fruitless search for the victim. In May he appeared on the nationally televised show To Tell the Truth broadcast by CBS from New York City. In 1968 Forest S. Slaugh from Price published a novel entitled Arabian Fires, with its setting in Arabia.

In 1946 the Daughters of Utah Pioneers published Centennial Echos from Carbon County, compiled by Thursey Jessen Reynolds, the first attempt at capturing the county's multifaceted history. In 1972 Richard G. Robinson, an East Carbon High School history teacher, wrote a book entitled Castle Country: A History of Carbon County.70 In 1980 Edna Romano edited and published in the Utah Historical Quarterly portions of Teancum Pratt's journal, which chronicled his early experiences in the area of Helper. In the 1980s the Carbon County Historical Society published the Carbon County Journal, which contained various articles by different authors about the history of Carbon County. Charles Zehnder wrote Coal Camps and Ghost Towns, a short synopsis of area coal camps and the farming community of Kiz. In 1990 Frances Cunningham wrote Driving Tour Guide, Selected Abandoned Coal Mine Sites, a history of most of the coal camps in the county. Five years later Dr. J. Eldon Dorman authored Confessions of a Coal Camp Doctor, a delightful and refreshing autobiographical collection of stories primarily about his experiences in Carbon County.

John Jensen, a retired auto mechanic who lives in Carbonville,

writes nostalgic and descriptive poetry describing the earlier days of the county. Jensen did not begin to write poetry until middle age, but since that time has published over twenty poems. In 1978 Albert Fossat won honorable mention from the Utah State Poetry Society for his poem "Among the Windrows." Later that same year he won an award in an Arizona state poetry contest.⁷¹

Historian and author Helen Zeese Papanikolas was born in the coal camp of Cameron in 1917. Although her family moved to Salt Lake City while she was still a girl, much of her writing deals with Carbon County. Her first historical piece, "The Greeks of Carbon County," was published in 1954 volume in the *Utah Historical Quarterly*. The article not only marked the beginning of her career as an ethnic historian, but, in the words of her biographer, "the beginning of an important new phase in the writing of Utah history that came to full fruition in the 1970s and 1980s with the publication of numerous works on ethnic history and folklore." Her works include *The Peoples of Utah* (1976) and *Emily-George* (1987), a biography of her parents, which is perhaps the best account of twentieth-century immigrant life in Utah.

ENDNOTES

- 1. Eastern Utah Advocate, 10 March 1910.
- 2. Ibid., 23 June 1910, 17 August 1911, 24 August 1911, 30 November 1911.
- 3. Ibid., 3 September 1908, 29 July 1910, 25 February 1911, 13 April 1911, 6 July 1911.
- 4. Carbon County News, 22 March 1912, 23 July 1914; Sun, 12 February 1931.
 - 5. Eastern Utah Advocate, 22 October 1914, 19 November 1914.
- 6. Sun, 7 February 1919, 14 March 1919, 4 July 1919, 11 December 1919, 1 July 1920, 17 March 1921, 2 June 1921; Sun Advocate, 30 June 1935. Gomer Peacock said that he was the head of the water committee and he and a group of men investigated all the possible springs in the mountains before deciding on piping Colton Springs for Price's water supply.
- 7. Sun, 6 December 1918, 2 January 1919; Gomer Peacock, interviewed by Carol and Kendra Tomsic, n.d., Western Mining and Railroad Museum, Helper, Utah.
 - 8. Sun, 11 December 1919.

- 9. Helper City Council minutes, 23 December 1926.
- 10. Eastern Utah Advocate, 25 August 1904, 22 September 1904, 15 February 1906.
 - 11. Polk's Gazetteer, 1922-23, 85-86.
- 12. "Helper Centennial Edition," Sun Advocate, September 1981, 13; Sun, 22 May 1919. Clara Ruggeri states that the Black Hand was active in Carbon County and left the outline of a black hand on her family's door a few times. See Clara Ruggeri, oral history, interviewed by Philip Notarianni and Kent Powell, 27 August 1975, Utah State Historical Society.
 - 13. Helper City Council minutes, 26 May 1919, 14 July 1919.
- 14. Asa Draper, oral history, 7 July 1993, interviewed by Ronald G. Watt, LDS Church Archives.
- 15. Thelma Pierce, "W.A. Thayn and Sons Sheep Co.," paper in possession of the author.
 - 16. Draper, oral history; Sun, 30 April 1915.
 - 17. "Wellington," Centennial Echos From Carbon County, 162.
- 18. Eastern Utah Advocate, 4 September 1904, 6 October 1904, 21 February 1907, 29 April 1909.
 - 19. Sun, 6 July 1911, 9 July 1915.
 - 20. Draper, oral history, 89–92.
 - 21. Wellington, City on the Move, 89.
 - 22. Sun, 25 February 1932, 19 May 1932.
 - 23. Sun Advocate, 8 December 1932.
- 24. Ibid., 22 June 1933, 20 July 1933, 1 November 1934, 28 February 1935, 7 November 1935, 26 December 1935; *Helper Journal*, 27 July 1934, 12 October 1934.
- 25. Carbon County News, 21 October 1913; Midland Trail Tour Guide 1916 (no publisher listed).
 - 26. Eastern Utah Advocate, 12 March 1914.
 - 27. Ibid., 28 May 1914.
- 28. Sun, 25 June 1915, 5 March 1915, 2 July 1915, 9 July 1915, 23 July 1915.
 - 29. Sun Advocate, 27 June 1935, 26 December 1935.
- 30. All Arrow auto stages came to the Savoy Hotel located on First West, then the center of the Price downtown area. The stage left Price for Hiawatha at 9:00 A.M. and 3:00 P.M. every day. News Advocate, 3 May 1918, 28 March 1919, 20 June 1919, 19 August 1920; Sun, 4 November 1927.
 - 31. Sun, 25 June 1931.

- 32. News Advocate, 30 April 1915, 11 June 1915, 6 August 1915; Sun, 7 February 1919, 28 July 1921, 20 August 1921.
 - 33. Sun, 7 May 1931.
- 34. Salt Lake Tribune, 23 November 1984, B2; Deseret News, 12 February 1987.
- 35. News Advocate, 12 June 1919, 18 September 1919, 15 April 1920, 11 November 1920.
 - 36. Sun, 26 May 1921.
- 37. Hal Schultz, oral history, interviewed by Madge Tomsic, 13 October 1993, Western Mining and Railroading Museum; Carbon County Commission minutes, 22 January 1934.
- 38. Allan Kent Powell, *Utah Remembers World War II* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1991), 134–35.
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- 41. Ibid., 18 April 1978, 25 July 1979; Salt Lake Tribune, 31 July 1977, C25.
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 - 46. Salt Lake Tribune, 10 March 1996.
- 47. East Carbon City scrapbook, 1973, East Carbon City offices; East Carbon Chronicle, 2 August 1973, 9 August 1973.
 - 48. Sun Advocate, 8 November 1973, 15 November 1973.
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 - 53. East Carbon City scrapbook, 1991.
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 - 56. Salt Lake Tribune, 29 May 1977.
 - 57. Sun Advocate, 28 May 1991.
 - 58. Ibid., 13 February 1982.
- 59. Dr. J. Eldon Dorman, oral history, 4 February 1994, interviewed by Madge Tomsic, Western Mining and Railroad Museum, 51–52.
- 60. Salt Lake Tribune, 16 November 1985, D4; 15 March 1986, D1; 25 July 1988, 10A.
 - 61. Sun Advocate, 12 February 1987, 2 February 1990.
 - 62. Alumni News, Summer 1993, College of Eastern Utah, Price.
- 63. Sun Advocate, 5 January 1989, 16 May 1989, 28 September 1989, 31 March 1992, 4 May 1993; Deseret News, 26 November 1988.
 - 64. Sun Advocate, 16 May 1991, 24 December 1992.
- 65. Gary Prazen, "A Statement in Bronze, An Ancient Tradition, Original Creations Showcase," 1–2, pamphlet in author's possession.
 - 66. Sun Advocate, 20 November 1947, 27 August 1953.
 - 67. Salt Lake Tribune, 30 March 1985, D1.
 - 68. Sun Advocate, 26 January 1980.
 - 69. Ibid., 10 March 1962; 17 May 1962.
 - 70. Ibid., 1 February 1968; 25 April 1968, 1 March 1972.
 - 71. Ibid., 1 July 1978, 29 November 1978.
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THE COAL INDUSTRY

The significance of coal to the Carbon County area is reflected in the choice of Carbon—the primary element of coal—for the name of the county. Coal fueled the early industrial development of the United States and was a much sought-after resource by Brigham Young and other leaders of pioneer Utah. Coal would heat homes, businesses, and public buildings. It would power Utah's railroads, and, if a high enough quality could be found and turned into coke, coal would also fuel the smelting and refining of the state's iron, copper, and other mineral ores. Without coal, there was little chance for Utah to develop industrially or, in the era that preceded natural gas and electricity as sources of heat, to provide adequate heat for Utah's increasing population.

The history of coal mining underlies the development of Carbon County in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. On the threshold of the twenty-first century, the importance of coal has not greatly diminished. Because of its complex history, the story of coal mining in Carbon County is not easily told; therefore, in this and the three chapters that follow, four major themes are examined. First, in this

chapter, is the discovery of coal, the story of the coal companies that operated mines in Carbon County, and the amount of coal that they produced. The second theme to be examined is the development of mining techniques, methods, and technology and the dangerous working conditions inside the mines as reflected in the mining disasters that are an important but tragic part of Carbon County's story. Third, the story of labor relations and confrontations between miners, their unions, and the coal companies is considered. Finally, a discussion of the social and private lives of miners and their families, especially those who lived in the many coal camps located throughout the county, provides a conclusion to this vital part of the county's history.

The story of Carbon County coal began in Sanpete County, as the search for a good coking coal led to the discovery of coal in several locations throughout that county. In 1854 Mormon pioneers found coal on the east side of Sanpete Valley; this led to the founding of the community of Wales. The miners of Wales shipped a few wagonloads of coal to Salt Lake, but transporting it over 100 miles proved too difficult. Because of the poor quality of coking coal in the mines of Wales, the search for a good quality coal field continued. In May 1874 the Fairview Coal Mining and Coke Company began mining in Coal Canyon near the head of Huntington Canyon and founded the small community of Connellsville, named for an important coke-producing location in Pennsylvania. The company, expecting great things, built eleven coke ovens; however, the Connellsville mine was never successful because of the transportation expense and the poor quality of the coking coal.²

The search for coking coal led groups east from Connelsville nine miles into Pleasant Valley, a high mountain valley, located in what is presently the northwestern part of Carbon County. On the surface Pleasant Valley appeared to have much more potential as a source of timber or as a summer pasture for cattle, for which it had been used beginning about 1870. In 1875 David Eccles built a shingle mill on the north side of the valley, near two existing sawmills; however, Pleasant Valley's destiny did not lie with cattle or lumber mills but with the element that men had mined at Connellsville—coal.

Coal was discovered in Pleasant Valley in the early 1870s, perhaps

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by some of the miners from Connellsville. About 1875 Milan Packard of Springville organized the Pleasant Valley Coal Company (PVCC) with a four-man board of directors. In late 1875 John Nelson and Abram Taylor, who were securing mineral claims in Pleasant Valley for the company, spent several months (including the winter) in the valley. Their winter sojourn led to the naming of the location Winter Quarters. In 1876 the company constructed a road up Spanish Fork Canyon to the coal mine, and, the next year, Peter Moran and four-teen other men opened the Winter Quarters mine—Carbon County's first coal mine. The men had not intended to work the mine all winter, but they were caught at the mine by heavy snowstorins. When their food supply was nearly exhausted, they hiked twenty miles to Tucker, a sawmill camp in Spanish Fork Canyon.

Pleasant Valley coal proved to be a good source of heating fuel for residents of Utah and Salt Lake valleys; however, it was not of sufficient quality to produce coke, so the Pleasant Valley Coal Company continued its explorations, finally meeting with success near Castle Gate, not far from the mouth of Price Canyon where there was also easy access to the newly constructed Denver and Rio Grande Western railroad line. The Castle Gate mine had a good quality coking coal, and, by 1896, the PVCC had constructed 104 ovens. Because the company could not remove all the coal in Castle Gate from one mine opening, it operated three mines in the area.⁵

In 1887 the D&RGW organized and incorporated the Utah Fuel Company in New Jersey. Corporations in that day believed they needed to control all the raw materials and processes involving a final product. The Denver and Rio Grande Railroad, with its subsidiary railroads and coal companies, not only had coal-burning locomotives but also a smelting company in Pueblo, Colorado. It engaged in other activities as well, including contracting with Anaconda Smelting Company in Butte, Montana.⁶

In 1899 the Pleasant Valley Coal Company and Utah Fuel Company consolidated under the name of the Utah Fuel Company. That same year Utah Fuel also opened up a coal mine in Clear Creek south of Scofield and looked to expand its Utah coal operations even farther. Utah Fuel representatives began prospecting for more coal lands in the eastern part of Castle Valley, an area that would prove to



Workers including young boys at Castle Gate. (Western Mining and Railroad Museum)

have the best coking coal in Utah. A potentially excellent coal field was discovered in Whitmore Canyon; however, undertaking basic mining operations in the field required ownership by Utah Fuel Company of at least 2,000 acres. According to the provisions of the National Mineral Act of 1873, a person could only file on 640 acres of coal acreage. With this legal roadblock in place, Utah Fuel Company officials resorted to subterfuge beginning in 1898 to acquire what they considered the necessary amount of coal lands. Robert Forrester, geologist for the Pleasant Valley Coal Company and agent for Utah Fuel Company, was the apparent mastermind who directed the coal-lands scheme in the East Carbon area. Robert Kirker and George Holladay claimed some of the coal lands in the canyon, and Forrester persuaded both of these men to sell their claims to his company. Forrester later hired his mother, his wife, the Tidwell family from Wellington, and others to claim other areas of the canyon until he had enough land to begin the Sunnyside Mine. Forrester's actions were not without controversy and legal challenges. In 1904 lawsuits were filed against Utah Fuel Company for illegal

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Coke ovens at Sunnyside, 1919. (LDS Church Archives)

acquisition of land. The suits continued for five years, with judgments going against the Utah Fuel Company. Utah Fuel appealed the case to the Supreme Court but finally settled out of court. The company paid \$200,000 in fines and damage claims but retained title to the Sunnyside lands.⁷

Utah Fuel also tried to purchase the Whitmore water rights. When the Whitmores refused to sell, Utah Fuel began to use the groundwater above the springs, causing the springs to go dry. When the Whitmores brought suit against Utah Fuel, the court ruled in favor of them and Utah Fuel had to obtain water from wells above the ranch in Range Creek and from the mine land itself.

After the beginning of coal mining in Sunnyside in 1899, the Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad built a spur from Mounds to Sunnyside called the Carbon County Railway. At first, shipping the Sunnyside coal to Castle Gate to be coked was more convenient for Utah Fuel, because the company had more than 200 coke ovens at Castle Gate. It was not long, however, before the company built coking ovens in Sunnyside, and in 1905 Utah Fuel closed its coking ovens in Castle Gate. By 1917 the Sunnyside Mine had 800 coke ovens situated near it.

Legal difficulties, mine disasters, and labor strikes were only hurdles for the Utah Fuel Company to overcome as it expanded its Carbon County operations and boasted to the nation of the excellent quality of its Utah coal. In 1904 the Utah Fuel Company sent a large, pyramid-shaped piece of coal three feet square at the bottom, six to eight inches square at the top and about eight feet high, with no impurities, to the St. Louis World's Fair.⁸

One important consequence of the coal lands fraud cases was to effectively halt the acquisition of additional coal lands by the Utah Fuel Company and to end what had been a monopoly of Carbon County's coal industry by the railroad. Until 1906 essentially all development of coal in Carbon County had been done by the Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad. The company owned the means of conveyance and, through its subsidiary, the Utah Fuel Company, it also owned the mines. When Utah Fuel effectively halted in its plans to open other areas of the county to coal mining and with both the national Republican and Democratic parties calling for trustbusting measures and effective regulation of business as part of the era's Progressive Movement, independent coal operators could now undertake operations in the county with some assurance that they could coexist and effectively compete with the much larger Utah Fuel Company. Beginning in 1906 and for the next two decades independent owners opened mines at Kenilworth, Hiawatha, and Wattis, as well as in Spring Canyon and the Gordon Creek area.

Because these independent companies were obligated to transport their coal to markets outside the county on the Denver and Rio Grande Western railroad, some people feared that the D&RGW would try to drive the new companies out of business. The Denver and Rio Grande Western, however, still smarting from the coal lands fights, understood that it was being closely watched and that there were those who could seek more extensive federal regulations to address alleged railroad abuses. The railroad company therefore cooperated somewhat with the new independents, negotiating shipping agreements and agreeing to supply coal cars to them. While there were few charges of discrimination regarding freight rates for shipped coal, the D&RGW was constantly criticized for failing to provide independent coal companies with enough coal cars to fill their orders. These shortages occurred even though the Utah Fuel Company, with the exception of the heavy demand years during

World War I, always had enough cars to ship the coke and coal from the railroad's mines.9

The first of the independent coal companies, the Independent Coal and Coke Company, was organized by a group of businessmen in 1906. The company commenced mining at Kenilworth and in 1907 shipped its first coal over its small railroad between the mines at Kenilworth and the Rio Grande Western line at Spring Glen. This railroad line, even though only three miles long, was steep with sharp curves and required a special locomotive called a shay to pull the heavily loaded coal cars. This line remained in operation until 1926 when the Denver and Rio Grande Western replaced it with a new line north of Helper.¹⁰

Mining in the Kenilworth area began with two small mines—the Aberdeen Mine developed by the Price Trading Company and the Bull Hollow Mine operated by Heber J. Stowell. In December 1904 Stowell brought Arthur A. Sweet and Henry Wade, his father-in-law, to his mine. After this first encounter, Sweet began purchasing Stowell's land in the area to develop a coal mine. In 1906 Independent Coal and Coke Company incorporated in Wyoming; but Sweet was not a member of the board of directors although he held stock in the company. Later the company reincorporated and included Arthur and Frederick Sweet and Henry Wade on the board. In 1906 C.N. Sweet, a brother to Arthur, leased the Aberdeen Mine; a year later Independent Coal and Coke purchased it. In that year coal was in great demand; but a year later a financial panic cut the demand for coal. Nevertheless, Independent Coal and Coke continued its development of its new mine. Located high on the mountainside 700 feet above the soon-to-be constructed tipple, the location of the coal seam caused some concern about building an incline to bring railroad cars to the tipple. Arthur Sweet thought a couple of kegs of powder would be enough to blast an incline for the mine's railroad. His calculation was grossly underestimated, and the incline finally cost \$35,000.11

The Sweet brothers—Arthur, C.N., William, and Frederick—all had a part in developing many independent coal mines of the county. Arthur and William Sweet became interested in developing coal lands on Miller Creek on the Wasatch Plateau southwest of Price. In 1906

Arthur Sweet acquired a school section and William obtained the water rights. In 1907 the Department of Justice filed suit against the Sweets, claiming the land had been illegally acquired since it was a state school section. The Justice Department claimed that Utah illegally held title to the land, but the Sweets appealed the decision. Instead of waiting for the judgment, the Sweets proceeded with what would later be the Hiawatha Mine. While the courts were deciding the case, LeRoy Eccles filed a federal claim for the Hiawatha land. In 1908 Consolidated Fuel Company, owned by the Sweet brothers, opened the Hiawatha Mine. The Castle Valley Fuel Company under James H. May opened mines shortly after that at Black Hawk and Mohrland, both near Hiawatha.¹²

Consolidated Fuel Company discovered coal in Miller Creek Canyon in the southwest part of Carbon County not far from the Emery County line. Consolidated Fuel organized the Southern Utah Railroad to haul coal from its mine at Hiawatha to Price. As work progressed on the new railroad line, the Castle Valley Coal Company began to develop coal at its location in Mohrland, just across the county line in Emery County. Castle Valley Coal built a small railroad line that connected to the Southern Utah Railroad at Castle Junction. Since the mines were so close, the two companies decided on a joint operating agreement—sharing track from Price to Castle Junction, a distance of seventeen miles. Japanese, Greek, and South Slav workers built these two railroads. In 1912 the United States Fuel Company, which ran a smelting plant in Midvale, succeeded in acquiring a controlling interest in both Consolidated Fuel and the Castle Valley Coal Company.¹³

In 1912 the courts ruled that the state of Utah had no right to claim the land at Hiawatha and that the Sweets held an invalid title to the property. The Sweets appealed the decision, and an appellate court overturned the ruling. By this time Arthur Sweet had died and his brother Frederick continued to pursue the litigation while developing the mine. The case continued until 1918, when the Supreme Court upheld the original verdict, giving the land to the United States. Eccles now had the claim to the land, and U.S. Fuel had to purchase the property from him. 15

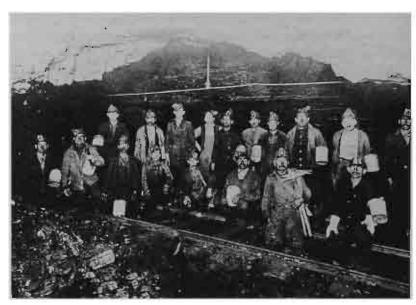
The Southern Utah and Castle Valley Railroad line was inade-

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quate for U.S. Fuel; comsequently, the company began construction of a new railroad line, called the Utah Railway. U.S. Fuel planned to build this new line from Mohrland and Hiawatha along the west side of the valley all the way to Utah Valley. The Utah Railway started when A.B. Apperson, general superintendent of the D&RGW, had a dispute with railroad president H.U. Mudge. Apperson convinced U.S. Fuel Company to build a railroad from its mine in Hiawatha to Utah County as a competitor railroad to the D&RGW.¹⁶ In 1912 Utah Railway had succeeded in building a small part of the road up Spanish Fork Canyon and from the mines to Helper when the Denver and Rio Grande Western approached Utah Railway about sharing tracks through the canyons and jointly operating the line between Springville and Castle Gate. The new railroad agreed. In return, the D&RGW completed double-tracking in the canyons and rebuilt its line between Thistle and Castle Gate. The Utah Railway still did not have enough coal cars and locomotives, and therefore allowed the D&RGW to use the Utah Railway line to Hiawatha. In 1917 the Utah Railway purchased ten locomotives and 2,000 cars and notified the D&RGW that it had enough for its own line. The Southern Utah Railroad, which ran to Price from Hiawatha, continued to function until July 1917, when the Mammoth Dam break wiped out its bridge at Price, ending its days as a functioning railroad.17

In 1917 U.S. Fuel, with its slogan "King Coal," combined the mines and the communities of Black Hawk and Hiawatha. In 1935 U.S. Fuel closed Mohrland and mined coal from the Hiawatha Mine. The need for coal fluctuated upward from the opening of the first coal mine in Carbon County in 1877 until the Panic of 1907–1908. By January 1908 the Pleasant Valley and Castle Gate coal mines began cutting the work week and laying off 15 to 35 percent of the work force. Coal production in Utah decreased 6 percent, and, because smelting and iron production were drastically reduced, Sunnyside coke production decreased 60 percent. Not until the following winter did the mines resume production at their previous levels. 18

In 1911 the Panther Coal Company began developing a mine located in Price Canyon, just north of Castle Gate. The company had to tunnel through eighty feet of outcrop before reaching commercial coal. John Crawford was the first superintendent of the mine. U.S.



Carbon County coal miners, c. 1900. (Western Mining and Railroad Museum)

Fuel later purchased it and began shipping coal from it in 1914. The coal camp community associated with the mine was known as Panther but was later renamed Heiner. Frank Cameron, who helped develop Heiner, also began the mine just north of Castle Gate which Royal Coal Company later took over. Located in Bear Canyon, it started with a force of thirty-five men. In 1919 Royal Coal Company sold all of its properties to Spring Canyon Coal Company.¹⁹

One of the largest and most profitable coal beds in all of Utah was located in Spring Canyon, west of Helper. In 1912 Mormon businessman Jesse Knight of Provo and his Knight Investment Company purchased land in Spring Canyon and began to develop it for coal mining. William F. Olson from Price filed on forty acres at the site of the new camp, Storrs. Since there was a small outcropping of coal exposed in an area, Olson claimed it was coal land and thus federal property. Knight had purchased the land from the state for his company camp site, unaware that he might have to purchase it from the federal government. Knight plunged ahead with development. In 1916 Knight finally received a decision from the General Land Office

which ruled that Knight had purchased the property in good faith as non-mineral land. Since the purchase was not fraudulent, Knight was able to keep the land where he built his company town. ²⁰ A few years later the company opened a second mine. The Spring Canyon Coal Company was one of the most successful in the area, and by 1946 the company had mined over eleven million tons of coal. ²¹

After reinvesting money he had made in the sale of the Hiawatha Mine, Frederick Sweet purchased land in Spring Canyon and in 1913 incorporated the Standard Coal Company. The company built a tramway that brought coal a mile from its mine's entrance to the floor of the canyon and extended the railroad two miles farther up the canyon from the Knight mine. At the base of the tramway Standard Coal Company built a reinforced concrete tipple, the only known tipple of this type. This mine, about a mile north of the community of Standardville, mined two coal seams, each about eight feet thick. By 1932 the mine was producing 2,000 tons a day.²²

Leon F. Rains had worked for Standard Coal Company as its general manager and had been part of the development of Standard. As a result, the temptation to claim land for his own mine was too great. While working for Standard, Rains appropriated surveys of water locations belonging to Standard Coal and filed for water rights in his own name. Still employed by Standard, he did preliminary work on the land, including surveying the mine portal and clearing the brush. In 1914 Rains, after encouraging L.R. Wattis to join him, organized Carbon Fuel Company and began mining in Spring Canyon, establishing the coal camp of Rains. Sweet took Rains to court; but Sweet lost all except a few water shares.²³ Carbon Fuel Company started mining in an area with an eighteen-foot seam of coal. The Rains mine at one time was capable of producing from 1,800 to 2,000 tons per day.²⁴

In 1914 the Liberty Fuel Company opened the Latuda Mine, another mine in the Spring Canyon district, with a seam that varied from six to nine feet. The mining camp that sprang up around the mine was first called Liberty and then later renamed Latuda. The mine started out using small wooden mine cars, a wooden tipple, and an average of 110 men. By the 1920s it had modernized with

mechanical drillers and loaders. In 1927 Liberty built a steel tipple and could then produce 1,000 tons of coal per day.²⁵

Each coal company built a short railroad line to the main line; the D&RGW then purchased each spur a short time later. Because the D&RGW was having financial difficulties and not servicing the Spring Canyon mines very well, the owners of Spring Canyon, Peerless, and Standard Coal companies incorporated the Utah Terminal Railway in May 1920. It ran through Spring Canyon and connected to the Utah Railway to be a competitor to the D&RGW. Thereafter the Utah Railway constructed the remaining railroad track up Spring Canyon and operated it as a branch until a year later when it purchased the track.²⁶

From 1910 to 1920 the Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad had major economic problems. The company also had some logistic problems because it was never able to supply the mines with enough railcars. Both the Utah Public Utilities Commission and the federal Interstate Commerce Commission held hearings on the lack of cars. Their findings pointed out that the D&RGW did not have enough resources to furnish a sufficient number of cars for the various coal mining companies in the county. It was discontent over the problem that drove Utah Railway to take over completely its own line in 1917 and also encouraged the organization of the Utah Terminal Railway in 1920. Utah Railway actually built the road and operated it until it purchased the company a year later.

In 1914 Canadian coal began to threaten the Utah coal markets. From 1 January to 1 May, Canadian coal companies shipped 38,000 tons of coal into the American Northwest. Australian coal also began to be shipped to the United States. In the same year a general dislocation reduced the employees at Bingham Copper Mine and Garfield Smelter in the Salt Lake Valley. The railroad accordingly reduced its coal orders by 100,000 tons. Both of these factors affected the production of coal, with the result that Utah coal mines laid off men and cut production.²⁷

By 1916 increased demand in smelters and sugar factories effected an increase in the mining of coal. During the world war, the United Kingdom needed Australian coal for its war effort, and Australia diverted its coal to Europe. At the same time, the copper



Castle Gate coal mine, 1940. (Western Mining and Railroad Museum)

industry revived, and coal companies sent coke to the smelting operations. Coal production in Carbon County increased until the county's mines were almost at full production.

When the United States became involved in World War I in 1917, the Federal Trade Commission investigated the bituminous coal industry. Within months of the investigation the federal government had fixed coal rates, sent Wyoming coal to the East Coast, and given coal cars priority over all other shipments except livestock and perishable freights. The government was using all the coal from the area's large mines for the war effort, and by December 1917 only the local wagon mines supplied the people in Carbon County.

The Carbon County coal business boomed, with old mines increasing their production and new mines opening. In 1917 the Sweet brothers began the Peerless Coal Company, with its mine located at the mouth of Spring Canyon. The Peerless coal vein was a little over four feet thick. William Lawley developed a wagon mine in Hardscrabble Canyon, just north of Spring Canyon. After his railroad line had connected with the Utah Railway, William H. Wattis opened a new mine four miles north of Hiawatha, built a short spur to the

Utah Railway, and began shipping coal in 1918. In 1919 Wattis sold the mine to the Lion Coal Company, and in 1921 Utah Railway purchased the spur.²⁸

On 11 November 1918 the world war came to an end. Local coal production dropped from 6.0 million tons in 1920 to 4.7 million tons in 1923; but this was not enough to discourage the opening of other mines in Spring Canyon, Columbia, Gordon Creek Canyon, and Price Canyon.²⁹ In 1920 the Mutual Coal Company started a mine at the farthest end of Spring Canyon. This mine had three seams with a combined width of twenty-nine feet. In 1922, because of the continued need for good coking coal, Columbia Steel Company developed the Columbia Mine, which was located a few miles south of Sunnyside. This mine was later purchased by U.S. Steel Corporation. In 1922, Columbia Steel, needing rail transportation to its properties just south of Sunnyside, incorporated the Carbon County Railway, which had the same name as the Denver and Rio Grande Western's railway that ran to Sunnyside in 1900. The new line connected with the D&RGW's line at what would become Dragerton. Maple Creek Mine, owned by Greek- Americans, opened in 1926, with Emanuel Fragekakes (Mike Francis) organizing it using limited capital. The coal was reached through an 800-foot rock tunnel. In 1931 fire destroyed the wooden tipple, forcing the company to build a new tipple.31

In 1920 A.E Gibson, superintendent of the Spring Canyon Coal Mine, obtained an analysis of the coal in the Gordon Creek district, and in the spring of 1922 he discovered a nine-foot vein. Gibson leased 1,480 acres and interested Donald E. Jenkins and J. Tracy Wootton in developing this area. Together they organized the Consumers Mutual Coal Company, later named the Blue Blaze Company. Jenkins, the largest stockholder, became president; Gibson, vice-president; and Wootton, secretary and treasurer. In 1925 the new company started to build a railroad line to the properties; it was not completed until the following year. The coal camp was at first named Gibson but later was renamed Consumers. In the mid-1920s the controlling stockholder in the company was a Mr. Raddits. Later, Terry McGowan acquired the mine and was superintendent until the Blue Blaze Company was discontinued.³²

The National Coal Mine was another coal mine located in the Gordon Creek district. The land was first purchased by a man named Williamson, but he met with little success in his prospecting. Fred Sweet later purchased the land and incorporated the property into the National Coal Company development in the 1920s. William Sweet, Fred's brother, secured a lease on land near National Coal Company land; there the Sweets Mine was later located. In 1924 the Utah Railroad agreed to build a railroad to the Sweets and National mines, provided each mine operator would contribute his share of the expense.33 In 1921 the National Coal Railway had begun constructing a railroad up Gordon Creek to the National, Consumers, and Sweets mines. After completing the line, the National Coal Railway sold its stock in 1925 to the Utah Railway, thus consolidating all the smaller lines on the west side of the valley into one railroad. In 1926 the Denver and Rio Grande Western built a new railroad line to Kenilworth from Helper, thereby eliminating the steep grades and sharp curves of the older Kenilworth and Helper line which ran through Spring Glen.34

The other mine in Price Canyon, the New Peerless, only operated from 1930 to 1931. Robert Howard supervised the mine operation. New Peerless had a tipple that handled 2,000 tons a day and spanned the highway; however, the mine had several problems. The coal seam was about 2,000 feet below the portal entry. Water in the mine needed to be pumped to the surface, and in March 1930 a gas explosion killed five men. New Peerless also began its operations as the industry started on a downward trend in the production of coal.

Coal production continued to drop until 1934, when it reached 2.1 million tons.³⁵ In 1921 the selling price per ton was \$3.35, but it declined thereafter until the 1930s when it was a little more than \$2.00 per ton. The 1922 strike and the decline of other industries such as sugar refineries which used coal reduced the demand for area coal. Beet sugar production had expanded during World War I, with coal fueling the sugar refineries. After the war, however, European sugar entered the American market, causing a decline in American refineries. In May 1920 the price of sugar reached 23.57 cents a pound; but by December 1921 the price had fallen to 1.81 cents a pound. The need for coal in the sugar industry plummeted.³⁶

Railroads and even homes turned to oil, natural gas, and even electricity as fuel sources.

The 1930s saw the slowing down and even closing of some of the county's coal mines. At Sunnyside Utah Fuel closed down the coke oven operation in 1927; by 1933 the mine employed only forty-six men.37 The first mine in the county, Winter Quarters, which had been fully operational since the late 1870s, closed in 1928; the Maple Creek Company, always lacking capital, closed in 1937. In 1938 Mutual closed down, but the Panther Mine continued its operation until the late 1930s. The Sweets Mine closed for a few years after 1937 but reopened during World War II. National continued mining coal until the late 1940s. Sunnyside Mine, which had been the area's largest coal mine, employing several hundred workers with more than 2,000 people living in the community, declined drastically until only about 400 people remained during the Depression. Standard Coal Company did not meet its payroll in January 1939; consequently, the miner's union stepped in and worked out an agreement for the company to pay the men 50 percent of the back pay immediately and 50 percent in the future. In 1939 Blue Blaze Coal Mine went into receivership due to delinquent back taxes in the amount of \$16,000.38

In 1939, to counteract this slowing down of the mines, Carbon County began a statewide marketing campaign termed "Build Utah—Burn Coal" led by businessmen and governmental workers in Carbon County. At first the group tried to pass a bill in the state legislature to put an excise tax on all natural gas, but, by a vote of thirteen to ten, the bill failed to pass the state senate. The group then concentrated on educating the Utalı population about the economic benefits of burning coal."

Some mines did not transport coal to Utah and national markets, instead supplying only a local market. These were called wagon or truck mines. The Arronco Coal Mine, situated in Cordingly Canyon not far from Kenilworth, was just such a mine; but it had been closed for several years until about 1939 when John Arronco took it over. Wayne, Orson, and Golden Day and Mike Golden owned and operated the Day Mine. Located in Spring Canyon, this wagon mine opened in 1942 and closed in 1957. In 1916 the John G. and George Diamanti families leased property in Hardscrabble Canyon from

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Helper Coal Company. During the 1930s John Diamanti and his sons Steve, Jim, and Chris secured a lease and formed the Hardscrabble Coal Company. After World War II this wagon mine continued to expand, and when the Carbon Fuel Company which operated the Rains Mine in Spring Canyon disbanded the Diamantis took over the name of Carbon Fuel Company.⁴¹

World War II changed the economic slowdown in the mines. Production boomed once again, and some coal mines that had closed reopened. Statewide the production of coal reached over 7 million tons in 1944. Carbon County mines accounted for approximately 90 percent of the state's coal production. When Kaiser Steel Corporation expanded its steel mill in Fontana, California, it leased Sunnyside No. 2 Mine, later purchasing the mine. In order to benefit from the good coking-quality coal on the east side of Carbon County, Geneva Steel Company opened up a mine just south of the county line at Horse Canyon for its new plant in Utah Valley. Geneva established the community of Dragerton in Carbon County for workers at Horse Canyon. In 1943 the Defense Plant Corporation added a sixmile extension to the Carbon County Railroad line to service the new mine at Horse Canyon.

The boom years of the war carried over into the postwar period, and a few small mines were able to profit from the high production levels. William Shield had worked Soldier's Canyon Mine mostly by himself until 1945 when he sold his lease to Andrew Marinoni. Marinoni then profited considerably from the economic prosperity immediately following the war.

After the war, tonnage fell gradually; but it climbed again within Carbon County to 6 million tons in 1953 during the Korean War. Thereafter production fell dramatically until 1974 when it reached a low of 2.75 million tons. After the world war, some companies had turned to coal for the production of electricity. In the 1950s Utah Power and Light Company built a steam electric generating plant at Castle Gate fueled by coal coming primarily from either the Castle Gate or Kenilworth mines. By the 1950s, however, most of the energy needs of the United States had become filled by natural gas or oil. Most of the nation's oil supply came from the Middle East. In the 1970s, when Middle Eastern countries raised the price of crude oil, it



Coal cars leaving the Standardville mine, c. 1945. (Western Mining and Railroad Museum)

affected not only the gasoline industry but also industrial and domestic use. Industrial companies began to seek other energy sources, and some of them returned to coal. The increased use of coal during the 1970s saw county production climb to 6.2 million tons.⁴³

Carbon County people began thinking about using natural gas, which was cleaner and could be piped directly to houses; but in 1962 Carbon County commissioners opposed a resolution for a natural gas franchise to operate in the county. Frank Stevenson, district president of the UMWA, estimated that allowing the use of natural gas in the county would cost 150,000 tons of coal a year, \$375,000 in wages, and 14,000 man days of labor. In 1966, however, the Price City Council unanimously voted to allow Mountain Fuel Supply Company to begin distributing natural gas in the area. By the end of the year, Mountain Fuel built a pipeline from Clear Creek to Price. Three years later Helper voted to hook on to the natural gas pipeline.⁴⁴

Some of the mining companies consolidated their activities. In 1951 Independent Coal and Coke Company purchased the Castle Gate and Clear Creek mines from Utah Fuel. Ten years later the company spent over \$40,000 connecting Kenilworth and Castle Gate mines with a tunnel. Once it was completed, the company sent all of its coal from Kenilworth to the washer and preparation plant at Castle Gate.⁴⁵

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Beginning in the mid-1960s, many of the mines, for various reasons, began to shut down. Some of the mines ran out of mineable coal; in others the coal was too deep within the mountain, making it no longer economically feasible to mine. In the 1950s and early 1960s Royal, Peerless, Clear Creek, Rains, Mutual, Consumers, National, Sweets, Latuda, and Wattis mines closed their portals. Kenilworth and Standardville mines closed in the 1970s. In 1970, because of increased labor costs and new mine safety laws, Spring Canyon Coal Company closed its last mine, the No. 7 mine, terminating the employment of thirty-seven men. Just a few months previously, the mine had employed eighty men. With the closure of the mine, no mining or railroad activity remained in Spring Canyon, a canyon that had once had as many as seven coal mines in operation.⁴⁶

The Utah Railway at present no longer hauls coal from Hiawatha. In 1984 Carbon County Railway, which ran eleven miles from Horse Canyon and Columbia to the Denver & Rio Grande Western at East Carbon City, ceased its services. When the Horse Canyon Mine suspended coal production in October 1982, it laid off all but superintendent Larry Stella and general foreman Harold C. Reynolds. Stella had forty-one years of service, and had started on the railroad as a gandy dancer, tapping ties when he was sixteen. The little railroad had fifty employees after World War II. At that time employees sometimes worked seven days a week with both day and night crews to keep up with the coal mines. Today the Denver and Rio Grande Western and the Utah Railway are still operating, hauling more coal tons than ever before; but since the mines have closed, small railroads to the various coal mines have been discontinued.

In the mid-1970s rising crude oil prices from Middle Eastern countries stimulated coal production in Carbon County. An oil embargo by Middle Eastern countries increased the demand for Utah Coal. The Clean Air Act of 1971 mandated low sulfur emissions from industrial stacks, and this also increased demand for Carbon County's low-sulfur coal. Price and Helper became boom towns. New

miners rented every possible rental property, and trailer houses took up almost every available space. State employment officials estimated that over 4,000 miners would be working in the county within the next five years.

Promising events continued to happen during the economic boom period of the 1970s and early 1980s. During the mid-1970s McCulloch Oil Company, which now owned the Castle Gate Mine, began contract negotiations with American Electric Power Company, which desired a low sulfur coal for environmental reasons. The two companies finally agreed on a twenty-five-year contract. American Electric, realizing that the Carbon County coal was more expensive to mine, planned to transport the coal to the Midwest and mix it with high sulfur coal to produce electricity, thus helping them meet environmental regulations while also reducing their costs. Nevada Power Company contracted with United States Fuel Company for Hiawatha Mine to produce over 7 million tons of coal. U.S. Fuel was even looking at the possibility of opening a second mine in the county. Because of increased production, members of the state legislature contemplated a severance tax on coal, and the industry even discussed constructing a slurry pipeline from Utah to California; but such a pipeline proved impractical because of its high demand for water.

Some experts believed Carbon County coal was too expensive. Carbon mines also needed more experienced men because coal mining had become very technical. Men now needed to know how to run longwall mining equipment. By 1980 the bubble had burst; Middle Eastern oil prices had stabilized, and industries had gone back to oil as an energy source. Carbon County coal remained expensive to mine and transport. In December 1980 Kaiser idled ninety-six workers at Sunnyside, and Price River Coal at Castle Gate laid off one hundred miners at the end of the month.

In April 1983 Spanish Fork Canyon at Thistle experienced a gigantic mud slide which covered railroad tracks and roads, creating a lake where the town had been. Carbon County coal mines could no longer ship coal to California. The railroad examined options and decided to create a new route by tunnelling through the mountain-side above the newly created Thistle Lake. The tunnel was not completed until July. The Utah Department of Transportation surveyed

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a new road route around Thistle Lake, which resulted in the removal of a large section of mountainside; but the road was not finished until the following January. Thistle Lake thus slowed Carbon County coal production even more.

Major energy companies had begun to purchase various coal sites. In 1967 Plateau Mining, a subsidiary of Getty Oil Company, purchased Wattis and reopened it. In 1968 American Coal Company acquired Kenilworth, and, five years later, it purchased Castle Gate Mine. California-Portland Cement took over Soldier's Creek Mine in 1974. Braztah Corporation, Swisher Coal, Quaker State Oil Company, and United States Steel Company all had major holdings in the county by 1980. Some of these companies were simply subsidiaries of a larger company; for example, General Exploration Company of Dallas owned Swisher Coal, and American Electric Power owned Braztah Corporation. Not one of these mining companies was a Utah firm.

In the early 1970s federal energy and environmental legislation calling for low sulfur emissions from electricity-generating plants created a great demand for low sulfur Carbon County coal. In 1985, however, federal air quality standards required the removal of 85 percent of the sulfur in coal instead of setting a ceiling on emissions from a generating plant. Removing sulfur from an already low sulfur coal was more difficult than removing it from coal with high sulfur content, thus decreasing the demand for Utah coal.⁴⁹

Improved transportation methods encouraged greater efficiency in coal mining. In 1985 Kaiser Steel Company began using a "unit train," devoted solely to hauling coal from Sunnyside to its steel plant at Fontana, California. The success of unit trains resulted in Carbon County coal being shipped to Pacific Rim nations.

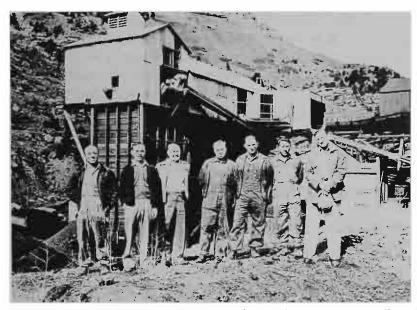
In 1985 U.S. Fuel at Hiawatha laid off 130 workers, about half of its work force. That same year Kaiser Steel's coal division reported a loss of \$12.6 million. Kaiser also idled some miners but continued to struggle on. The coal division went into Chapter 11 bankruptcy protection, then tried to develop another part of its coal resources for longwall mining. The Mine Safety and Health Administration (MSHA) ordered that portion of the mine closed, insisting that Kaiser, which only had two entries, needed a third entry in order to

develop that part of the mine. Because of the recent Wilberg mine disaster, new regulations had made that a mandatory provision. Kaiser officials claimed that their two-entry system was safer than a three-entry mine, but MSHA accused Kaiser of violating safety standards. Kaiser officials laid off all the miners pending a court appeal. The mine reopened a few weeks later only to shut down shortly after that. In the early 1990s Sunnyside reopened for a short time again but finally closed. In March 1989 the Mine Safety and Health Administration cited Castle Gate Coal Company for hazardous coal and rock bursts along the face of a longwall section. Castle Gate Coal Company notified its employees that it would close the mine in sixty days, laying off almost 200 employees. The company had some plans to reopen the mine, but it never did.

In 1991 U.S. Fuel ran into some poor quality coal which forced the company to lay off its miners, and Hiawatha Mine concluded its mining activities after eighty-four years. On the last shift, the superintendent offered miners the option of working the eight-hour shift or not working and being paid for four hours. All decided to receive pay for four hours. A few men, with the company's permission, took small souvenirs with them when they left. Keith Barker left with the company-owned tape measure he had used since he started work many years before. Don Hatch took his name tag off the metallic board and commented, "I'm going to take that with me. I've turned that over for a lot of years." Hatch had a small farm, but he knew he could not support a family on that. He said, "This is scary after eighteen and a half years. I don't know how to look for a job." Many of the closed mines had been producing since the early 1900s, and Castle Gate and Sunnyside had been major coal mines since the late 1800s.

A few mines went through a slowdown period, laying off some of their miners, but were able to continue strongly thereafter. Plateau Mining at Wattis was one of these. Its prosperity was based on contracts with foreign countries. Plateau was able to be cost-efficient in its production with its longwall miner and its experienced work force.⁵³

Carbon County coal has been challenged by all other forms of energy, such as oil and natural gas, but it is also challenged by other coal companies. Strip mining is more cost efficient than production from the depths of a mine. Strip-mined coal is generally of a lower



Supervisory Staff at Peerless Coal Mine. Left to Right: James L. Ori, Albert Fossat, Evan Jones, Charles Jones, Henry Draper, Vic Fossat, and Louis Vuksinick. (Western Mining and Railroad Museum)

quality, but the cost savings can outweigh that factor for many consumers. The decrease in the number of operating coal mines in the county is reflected in the number of employees in the mines. In 1951 area coal mines employed a total of 3,869; thirty years later that number had decreased to 1,094. By 1991 there had been a slight increase to 1,307.54 A tremendous rise in the amount of coal mined in the state of Utah during the last twenty years has been a result of technology rather than manpower. In 1970 Utah coal mines produced 4.7 million tons; in 1990 over 13.2 million tons were mined, and in 1990 that figure rose to over 22 million tons.55

Only five active coal mines are left in Carbon County as of this writing (1997): Plateau, White Oak, Skyline, Aberdeen, and Soldier's Creek Canyon. Early in 1996 Plateau Mining Company announced that it was going to open a new mine near the old Castle Gate mines in Willow Creek Canyon, especially since its Wattis site had less than ten years of coal reserves remaining. Both White Oak and Skyline mines are located near Scofield, with White Oak Mining

Incorporated owning White Oak and Utah Fuel Scofield owning Skyline. Andalex Resources has concentrated its activities in the Aberdeen Mine. Soldier's Creek Coal Company, part of the larger Coastal States Energy Company, owns Soldier's Canyon Mine, which is eleven miles northeast of Wellington. Crandall Canyon Mine in nearby Emery County is owned by Genwal Coal Company and produces 2.6 million tons of coal per year.⁵⁶

The coal industry has changed over the years. Mining methods have changed; coal mines are no longer unionized. Other energy sources have pushed into areas once held by the coal industry. By the 1960s natural gas, a cleaner, less-polluting energy source, was heating private homes in the county; but Carbon County coal was still used by new electric plants.

Philip Cederlof, retired general manager of the Peerless Coal Company, sums up the story of coal in the county:

No objectively written article can ever tell the story of a coal mine. To me every coal mine has not only a story but also a distinct personality. It is discovered, is born, lives, and dies. . . . Beyond that, there is a romance and a fascination about coal mining that is hard to explain. Perhaps it is a combination of things: challenge, danger, gamble, capriciousness, mystery. Perhaps it is in dealing with great, even awesome forces. Perhaps it is an awareness that you are putting your hand to something that nature was a hundred and fifty million years or so in making. . . . If someone has never seen and felt all this in a coal mine, he could. It's there."57

Coal has made Carbon County unique. It is still there, but fewer coal mines are producing more coal, using fewer people, making coal less of a factor in the county than it once was.

ENDNOTES

- 1. Coke was produced by heating coal in an oven at such a high temperature that all impurities were burned out of the coal. With these impurities gone, coke would burn at a higher temperature than coal, thereby producing the extreme heat needed to smelt ore.
- 2. Allan Kent Powell, The Next Time We Strike: Labor in Utah's Coal Fields, 1900–1933 (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1985), 19–20.
 - 3. Ibid.

- 4. Ibid.
- 5. The No. 1 and No. 3 mines were on the Price Canyon side, and the No. 2 mine was on the Willow Creek side. It was the No. 2 mine that exploded in 1924. The No. 3 mine was located north of the No. 1 mine.
- 6. Nancy Taniguchi, "Perceptions and Realities: Progressive Reform and Utah Coal" (Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1985), 30–32.
 - 7. Ibid.
- 8. Frances Cunningham, Driving Tour Guide. Selected Abandoned Coal Mine Sites of Castle Coal Country, c. 1990; Sun Advocate, 2 October 1941.
 - 9. Taniguchi, "Perceptions and Realities," 30-32.
- 10. Don Strack, "Development of Coal Mining and Railroads in Carbon County," paper in possession of the author.
- 11. C.N. Stravell, As I Recall Them (Salt Lake City: Stevens & Wallis Company, 1943), copy in the University of Utah Archives; Taniguchi, "Perceptions and Realities," 60–64; Eastern Utah Advocate, 22 September 1910.
 - 12. Taniguchi, "Perceptions and Realities," 60-64.
- 13. Nancy Taniguchi, Necessary Fraud: Progressive Reform and Utah Coal (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), 169; Strack, "Development of Coal Mining."
 - 14. Taniguchi, "Perceptions and Realities," 72.
- 15. The price of the purchase from Eccles was not published and is not known.
- 16. C.A. Hamaker, "Utah Railway, The Short Line Built by a Photo," Western Adventures, May 1992, 18–22.
 - 17. Strack, "Development of Coal Mining."
 - 18. Taniguchi, "Perceptions and Realities," 60-64.
 - 19. Ibid.
 - 20. Taniguchi, Necessary Fraud, 174-75.
- 21. Arthur E. Gibson, "In the Coal Fields of Eastern Utah, Carbon and Emery Counties Spring Canyon District Carbon County," in *Centennial Echos from Carbon County* (Daughters of Utah Pioneers of Carbon County, 1948), 221–25.
- 22. The Story of the Mining of Standard Coal (Salt Lake City: Standard Coal Co., 1927).
 - 23. Taniguchi, Necessary Fraud, 180.
- 24. Taniguchi, "Perceptions and Realities:" 102-3. Rains was also the owner of the Ironton Steel mill in Utah Valley. See also Arthur E. Gibson, "Rains," Centennial Echos, 233-35.

- 25. Centennial Echos, 228-31.
- 26. Strack, "Development of Coal Mining."
- 27. Eastern Utah Advocate, 14 January 1914.
- 28. Taniguchi, "Perceptions and Realities," 144-51; C.H. Madsen, "Wattis," in Centennial Echos from Carbon County, 219-20.
- 29. Bulletin No. 4 of the Industrial Commission of Utah, July 1, 1922 to June 30 1924 (Salt Lake City: State of Utah, n.d.), 9.
 - 30. Strack, "Development of Coal Mining."
 - 31. Cunningham, Driving Tour Guide, 20-25.
 - 32. Irene O'Driscoll, "Consumers," in Centennial Echos, 237-38.
- 33. Centennial Echos, 239, 241-42; Cunningham, Driving Tour Guide, 20-25.
 - 34. Strack, "Development of Coal Mining."
- 35. Floyd A. O'Neil, "Victims of Demand: The Vagaries of the Carbon County Coal Industry," in *Carbon County: Eastern Utah's Industrialized Island*, ed. by Philip F. Notarianni, 23–39.
- 36. Nancy J. Taniguchi, "Markets, Rails, and Regulations: One Hundred Years of Utah Coal," in *Making Money Out of Dirt*, papers of the Utah Mining Symposium, 1987, 32.
 - 37. Frank G. Farlaino, A Sunnyside, Utah History (n.p., 1991), 7.
 - 38. Sun Advocate, 2 March 1939, 16 March 1939.
 - 39. Ibid., 23 March 1939.
- 40. Arthur E. Gibson, "Arronco Coal Mine," in Centennial Echos, 211-12.
 - 41. Sun Advocate & Helper Journal, 2 January 1975.
 - 42. O'Neil, "Victims of Demand," 23-43.
 - 43. Ibid., 23-40.
- 44. Salt Lake Tribune, 5 September 1962; 24 February 1966, B 13; 8 March 1966, 23; 21 October 1966, B6; Sun Advocate, 24 April 1969, 1 May 1969.
 - 45. Salt Lake Tribune, 21 February 1961.
 - 46. Ibid., 4 April 1970, 32.
 - 47. Ibid., 8 January 1984, B1; 27 March 1984, B2.
 - 48. Nancy Taniguchi, "Market, Rails, and Regulations," 35-38.
 - 49. Ibid., 38, 40.
- 50. Salt Lake Tribune, 26 July 1984, 30 July 1987, 14 February 1987, 29 March 1987, 31 March 1987, 7 April 1987, 9 April 1987.
 - 51. Ibid., 10 April 1989, 11 April 1991.

- 52. Ibid., 21 April 1991.
- 53. Ibid., 29 December 1985.
- 54. Industrial Survey of Carbon And Emery Counties in Utah, pamphlet prepared by Utah Committee on Industrial and Employment Planning, Price, Utah, 1959, Utah Historical Society; Profile of the Carbon/Emery Labor Market Area, pamphlet prepared by the Utah Bureau of Economic and Business Research, University of Utah, 1982; Richard W. Newman and Kris Beckstead, Annual Report of Labor Market Information 1992 (Salt Lake City: Utah Department of Employment Security, 1993).
 - 55. There is no statistic for Carbon County alone for those years.
 - 56. "Energy Edition 1997," supplement to Sun Advocate, 4, 11.
- 57. A. Philip Cederlof, "The Peerless Coal Mines, 1916–1953," in A 2202, Utah State Historical Society, 35.

MINING AND DISASTERS

For centuries coal mining had been back-breaking, labor-intensive, and extremely dangerous. Rock falls, cave-ins, explosions, and poisonous gases threatened the miner every minute he was underground, while the cumulative effects of inhaling coal dust caused black lung and other respiratory diseases that distressed and shortened the lives of those miners who did survive the everyday dangers of underground mining.

The story of coal mining in Carbon County began with the most primitive pick and shovel methods and advanced during the next century and a quarter to include the use of the most sophisticated mining equipment in the coal mining industry. As mechanization advanced, the need for thousands of toiling miners declined. Still, coal production increased significantly even with fewer and fewer miners.

Although safety procedures have advanced far beyond the dustchoked, open-flamed, inadequately timbered mines of another era, coal mining remains a dangerous occupation. Mining disasters such as those at Winter Quarters in 1900 which claimed 200 lives, Castle



Castle Gate Mine, c. 1920. (Utah State Historical Society)

Gate in 1924 when 172 men perished, and Wilberg Mine in nearby Emery County in 1984 where twenty-seven miners—including seven from Carbon County—died are well-remembered tragedies. Also, hundreds of other miners have been killed or injured in less-publicized accidents.

During the first fifty years of coal mining in Carbon County, there were relatively few changes from the pioneering efforts of the 1870s to the 1920s when Louis Vuksineck and his brother entered a coal mine with two shovels, three picks, a hand drill, a hammer, and a file to sharpen the picks. Along with that equipment, miners also used black powder and "dummies," a paper or cloth cylinder filled with dirt which they tamped into drill holes before setting the explosive charge.

Mining in the latter part of the nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth century was done by contract work, under which miners were paid by the amount of coal they mined, not by the hours they worked. They also had to purchase their own equipment and supplies, including black powder. Miners usually worked alone or with one partner (often a son or brother, which increased the tragic impact of disasters), and they had to drill their shot holes, set off black powder charges to dislodge coal from the solid face of the vein, and break up large chunks of coal with a pick so that the coal could be loaded by hand or shoveled into coal cars. Miners were also responsible for timbering their work areas to cut down on dangerous rock falls. They also had to lay tracks in order for coal cars to reach their work areas. During a good work day, miners would load fourteen to sixteen tons of coal, for which they received between two and four dollars.

Miners worked under the direction of bosses who assigned work areas, provided empty coal cars, and were responsible for adherence to recognized safety procedures. Many of the early miners were immigrants who spoke little or no English, and communication between English-speaking miners and immigrant miners was sometimes difficult; however, warning signs were frequently posted in several languages, and immigrant miners endeavored to learn enough English to speak with their bosses and other miners.

All mines had a general superintendent who ran the mine operations; an office staff for payroll, accounting, and clerical duties; a mine shift foreman who handled work in the mine; and, often, depending on the size of the mine, a crew foreman, called a face boss. Before the unionization of the Carbon County coal field, the mine superintendents and foremen had complete control over their men. They could hire, fire, provide good working conditions for their men, or assign them to work in poor conditions.

One of the most important men in the operation of the mine was the salesman, such as Philip Cederlof. In June 1931 Peerless Mine hired Cederlof as a salesman. Cederlof had a small office in the Newhouse Building in Salt Lake City where he handled orders, billings, and the accounts-receivable ledger. Cederlof also made contacts and traveled in the Northwest, where he sold prospective buyers on the value of Peerless coal.²

Carbon County coal was sent to many diverse destinations, but its production began at the face of the coal seam deep inside the mine. Miners first cut out the bottom part of the face and then



Funeral in Castle Gate, led by a band, c. 1910. (Western Mining and Railroad Museum)

drilled a number of holes above it. They filled the holes with black powder and then packed dummies into the holes. They ran a wire out of each hole and left it for the shotfire at the end of the shift. At first shotfirers would explode the charges at any time during the shift; but the Winter Quarters Mine disaster changed that, subsequent explosions only taking place after the shift. Castle Gate was the first mine to use electric shotfiring, done from outside the mine. The blast exploded coal into a pile at the bottom of the face.

Miners were also expected to lay track for the small mine cars and to timber or construct wooden support beams wherever the roof was unsafe. Miners always faced a quandary over whether they should spend time laying track, timbering, or just loading coal. If a car was not near, they would have to expend too much energy throwing the coal. If they did not timber, they might be buried and perhaps killed by a cave-in; but their income depended only on the coal that they loaded and sent to the weighing scales outside the mine.

Rock, called bony, that laced the coal seams presented a serious problem. Miners had to make sure they did not load the bony into

the car or the company would not credit that load for them. Sometimes miners took their young sons into the mine with a can of black pitch and a paint brush, and the boys would paint the bony black so it would appear to be coal.³

A workman called a driver delivered each miner or set of miners a car or two to load each day. When the miners had loaded their car, they placed their check mark on it and pushed it to the entry of their area for the drivers to pick up near the end of the shift. Drivers depended on the mules and horses that drew the loaded mine cars to the tipple. These animals faithfully performed their jobs shift after shift. One day Howard Stevens heard a driver in the mine swearing at a horse. When he returned, the driver explained that he swore at the horse because it would not move past the brattice cloth. "I parted the curtain and a big chunk of rock came down right in front of me. That old horse could hear it working." A barn boss with a crew took care of the animals. There was usually a corral at the mine for them. The horses and mules knew the mine as well as the men.

Mine engineers laid mines out like a large city. They had a main portal with side laterals or tunnels going off from the main entry. In larger mines such as Castle Gate and Sunnyside, side entries took off from the side lateral tunnels, and from these entries men would mine the coal. Miners would mine a large area called a room. They left sections of coal called pillars in the room and also between the rooms in order to stabilize the roof. They also placed timbers throughout the mine. The last things miners did in a room was mine the pillars and pull the timbers. Eventually, without support, this section of the mine collapsed, thus causing a readjustment, or bounce, which felt like a small earthquake. A bounce would be felt in other parts of the mine, and sometimes would also be felt by the women in the camp. Bounces sometimes caused floors to shake, furniture to move, and dishes to fall out of the cupboards, making the women feel very uneasy. Evan James stated that bounces were necessary but scared even the men in the mine: "People talk about earthquakes scaring you. It would give you a thrill underneath when it dropped in and you might have four or five thousand ton of rock dropping. If there were lights you could see that they would be a swinging. Then the dust would come and it would be so thick you couldn't see." Castle Gate, where James worked, had some large bounces because this mine had coal veins in some places as thick as thirty-six feet.⁶

Miners shared a camaraderie and good-natured fun that went along with their dangerous job; much was in the form of simple practical jokes and a little hazing. Sometimes newcomers to the mines were victims of an initiation of sorts, with veterans taking off their trousers, smearing black tar oil all over their legs, and rubbing them with coal slack. The miners usually left their jackets at a certain location while they worked close by. Sometimes a miner would fill a tied sleeve with grease, into which the coat's owner would invariably put his arm. Another prank was to put grease around the ear piece of the telephone or nail lunch buckets to a bench. Newcomers were frequently led into a mine and then someone extinguished the lights. The blackness was absolute.

Miners loaded the lumps of coal but left the fine coal, or slack, in the mine because of a lack of demand. Some mines contained a large amount of coal dust which became extremely dangerous. After the Winter Quarters disaster, the state of Utah established safety regulations, making the dust less of a problem. After the Castle Gate disaster, the state of Utah also regulated the use of water on cutting machines, as well as requiring rock dusting, which neutralized the coal dust, and prohibiting open burning lights in coal mines.⁸

Mines were like small cities; companies installed electric wires for machinery and lighting systems in the main haulage ways, pipes for sprinkling water, and wiring for telephone systems throughout the mine. At first, mines had only the air that was naturally in them, but as tunnels began extending far inside the mountain and farther away from the entrance, fresh air had to be forced into the mines. By the early 1900s mines had two entrances and companies placed a large fan for ventilation and air at one entryway pushing fresh air into the mines. Another fan was positioned at the other exit, pulling used air out of the mine. When the circulation system began, miners directed the air by hanging burlap material called brattice at the entrances of mined-out rooms, so fresh air would reach them. Sometimes they would close up entrances to mined-out rooms with concrete blocks. Some mines contained methane gas, and foremen checked each area



Winter Quarters First Aid Society in Castle Gate. (Utah State Historical Society)

for bad air or gas using caged canaries, which would die from methane gas more quickly than would a man.9

Technology made mining more of a skilled operation, ended the need for pick-and-shovel miners, and brought an end to a pay system based on the amount of coal mined. A wage system where miners were paid by the hour or the day was instituted in its place.

Introduced into the mines during the period of heavy demand brought on by World War I, electrical cutting machines could cut the bottom of the face very quickly. Valentine Vouk, who operated one of these machines with a partner, commented that he made more money running the cutting machines than he had ever made before, but that he sometimes worked three to four days without stopping. With these new machines, miners could prepare the face or blasting area more quickly than before. Electrical cutting machines were followed in the 1920s by electrically run conveyor belts, loaders, movable drills, and, finally, shuttle cars on pneumatic wheels that took coal to the main haulage ways and dumped it into coal cars.

Machines required fewer but more specialized miners. Mechanics

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and machine shops needed to keep the sophisticated machinery running became more important in overall mining operations. The shot-fire was the only miner whose job was similar to what he had known before mechanization. He continued to blast the coal in the work areas, which left the coal in a pile for the miners to pick up. At first the shotfire used black powder, but later dynamite was preferred. For a time some companies used what was called cardox—a tube of carbon dioxide which left most of the coal in large pieces.

Once the coal left the mine, it went to a tipple, which at first was a wooden structure, where workmen weighed and dumped loads from the small coal cars into large railroad cars. With increasing mechanization tipplemen had more responsibilities. They weighed coal, culled rock from the coal (often done by young boys called "bony pickers"), and washed and oiled the coal in order to control dust. Tipples also had internal screens spaced with those with larger holes on the top, gradually decreasing in size toward the bottom. The shaking of these screens sorted the coal into different size lumps. Initially, lump coal was preferred by consumers for use in fireplaces and heaters. By the late 1940s homes began to use stokers which automatically fed coal into furnaces; consequently, mines had to grind most of their coal into smaller pieces. With this change in function, by the 1940s some companies began to call the tipples preparation plants."

Employing boys inside coal mines was common. Documenting the exact number of boys who worked inside Carbon County coal mines is difficult, but records indicate that at Winter Quarters and Castle Gate in 1900 twenty-seven boys ranging in age from thirteen to seventeen worked as miner's helpers, coupling cars inside the mine, and as trappers, opening and closing ventilation doors inside the mine. Bill Jackson, who graduated from North Emery High School in 1917 and was a few years older than some of the youngest boys working in the mines, is representative of the boys who worked inside the mines. Jackson started as a trapper boy, moved on to work on the auxiliary hoists, and then became a horse driver. In 1938 federal legislation banned child labor in "hazardous occupations"; and in 1941 the United Mine Workers gained contractual language requiring a minimum age of eighteen to work in the mines.

While sons of coal miners were often expected to follow their father's occupation, employment of women inside the mines has been a recent development. Many miners held to the superstition that for women to enter the mines was bad luck. This superstition began to break down when companies allowed coed university classes into mines to observe the mining process. In the late 1970s, as virtually all areas of the work force opened to women, coal mines were no exception, and women began to work at jobs that had been considered exclusively for men. By the end of 1977 more than 150 women coal miners worked in the state—most of them in Carbon County. Shirley Haycock was the first woman coal miner in Carbon County. In order to support and assist each other, women miners organized the Lady Coal Miners of Utah support team. Faye Lee from Helper was a member of the support team and chose to work in the mine because it paid her well enough to support her son and mother. Lee had previously worked at near minimum wage as a waitress and a bartender. Joy Huitt, who had been a nurse before joining the coal mining force, said that a higher wage drew her into the mine but the special camaraderie that existed between the miners kept her there. She started shoveling coal along the conveyor belts and finally reached the position of fire boss—the person who checks for dangerous conditions in the mine.15

Following World War II new innovations increased productivity and enhanced mine safety. To hold the roof in place, instead of timbers mines began using what were called pins. Pins were metal rods, usually several feet long, that miners drilled and pounded into the roof of the mine, attaching it to more stable rock formations above. Companies also introduced continuous miner machines which in one operation cut coal from the rock face and loaded it into the shuttle car.

In 1961 John Peperakis, general superintendent of the Sunnyside Mine, introduced longwall mining in Sunnyside. Peperakis introduced a machine with circular cutting blades called shearers which cut coal off the face of the mine wall. The same machine gathered the coal onto a conveyor which transported it to a shuttle car. The longwall miner could extract from 6,000 to 9,000 tons of coal in a regular eight-hour shift, making the process more efficient than the old

method. Men who operated the machine wore self-contained oxygen units, while metal shields above the working area protected the machines and men from cave-ins. The shields automatically moved forward with the machine, allowing the mined area to cave behind. These readjustments only affected a small area and did not involve a large room as had the old room-and-pillar method. The old method had often left many of the large pillars remaining in the room; but not all mines could profitably use a longwall machine since the mine had to have a section of wall that was at least 700 feet long.¹⁶

Coal mining has also become safer. Today's mining operations include constant monitoring of gas levels and extensive use of rock dusting and water sprinkling systems to keep the dust to a minimum. Safety laws, rules, and regulations have helped in making coal mines safer. Shields on the ceiling have also contributed to mining safety. Shields control bounces, making them less risky. Not all danger and risk can be eliminated, yet close attention to safety has become mandatory because of the Carbon County's long and tragic history of disasters and death inside its mines.

Accidents and deaths caused by cave-ins and methane gas, fires, and injuries caused by machinery were common in the coal mines. Until 1917 the Utah Coal Mine Inspector investigated every accident and recorded the details in his annual report. Additionally, issues of Carbon County newspapers contain frequent reports of accidents.

Fire is one of the greatest dangers inside coal mines. Coal is a combustible fuel, and once fires started inside mines, putting them out was often very difficult. In order to stop large fires, sections of mines and sometimes even entire mines might be sealed until the fires used up all available oxygen and burned themselves out. Early miners could start fires with their flammable carbide lamps or candles, or with the tobacco which they smoked in the mines. In 1884 the tipple at the Utah Central Mine at Scofield caught fire and set the mine on fire. The company tried to extinguish the fire, failed, and finally closed the mine off.

On 31 January 1915 a fire started in a tunnel at the Blackhawk Mine, which was close to Hiawatha and south of Price on the Wasatch Plateau. The company later believed that some miners who had been discharged due to a cutback of the work force had started it.



Mine Rescue Crew at Castle Gate, March 1924. (Western Mining and Railroad Museum)

The company sealed off the tunnel but reopened the section too soon, so the fire was still burning. Instead of sealing the fire this time, the men tried to use chemicals to extinguish it. When this failed, they sealed the area again. Finally, on 1 April they opened up the mine and discovered that the fire had extinguished itself, but the cleanup work necessary to put the mine back into full production was extensive. The company estimated that the fire had cost it \$50,000.17

In August 1920 a fire started in the Sunnyside Mine, beginning at the place where men waited for the special railroad car called a mantrip which took them out of the mine. While they waited, miners often would use the black smoke coming from their carbide lamps to write their names on the walls. Company officials presumed that this practice started the fire. When the first firefighters found it, the fire had been burning long enough to be very hot. They tried to fight the flames by smothering them with water, but this failed. Finally the superintendent instructed the miners to seal the mine to cut oxygen to the fire. A month later miners removed the seals and, starting at the farthest part of the tunnel, began hauling away the still smolder-

ing coal and rock that had fallen from the roof. It took until the middle of October 1921 to finish the process and ready the mine for production.¹⁸

Roof collapses and falling rock were the leading cause of single injuries and death in the coal mines of Carbon County. In April 1898 coal and rock struck a young unnamed man in the Castle Gate Mine. On 3 October 1900 John Marriotti was killed in the mine at Castle Gate; he left a wife and five children. In November 1902 John Maskei, a thirty-one-year-old Slovenian who had only been in America for eight years, was killed at Winter Quarters. In July 1905 William K. Brown filed suit against Utah Fuel Company for \$15,000 for injuries received while employed in Castle Gate. In 1907 various accidents killed eight men in the mines; eleven were seriously injured and seventy-one were hurt less seriously.19 Of the eleven fatalities in the Utah Industrial Commission reports in 1922, falling coal or roof collapses caused five deaths. William Rees died at the Liberty Mine when falling rock from the roof killed him instantly. Loose coal falling on Ira Jones caused his death; and Joseph Kicks died at Sunnyside from coal crushing his head. When sounding the roof at the Standard Coal Company mine, rock fell on George Berkley, resulting in his death. George Stamitalas (or Stamos) died after suffering several hours from a crushed chest and pelvis when a slab of cap rock fell on him.20

These accidents were made more tragic by what many considered to be the callous attitude toward the miners by their employers. To the companies, men were expendable. They could always find more workers, especially since they could hire foreign coal miners from Italy, Greece, and other places in southern Europe and Asia. Miners often compared their status to that of company-owned horses that hauled coal cars inside the mines. Because the company had to expend money to acquire and take care of its horses, however, they became more valuable, at least economically, than the men who mined the coal. The death of an animal affected the company's ledger, but the death of a miner did not. The accidental death of a horse or mule in the mine usually meant the instant firing of the man who was responsible for that animal.²¹

While the death of a single miner brought little attention from the outside world about the dangers of coal mining, tragedies like the Winter Quarters explosion and the Castle Gate mine disaster drew close attention to the plight of miners and the need for stronger safety measures. Public dismay over the loss of scores of men added problems for companies that were already faced with economic losses when mines were closed, equipment destroyed, and a new work force that had to be recruited as a result of such tragedies.

Large-scale explosions in the mines of Carbon County were not common until the year 1900. On 22 March 1900 a large explosion shook Castle Gate Mine causing extensive damage; but this explosion took place after all the men had left the mine. A few weeks later, on 1 May at Winter Quarters, a day when the community was preparing for a dance, at 10:28 A.M. a gigantic explosion shook the mountain-side. At first families thought it was something to do with the celebration that evening, but they soon realized that Winter Quarters No. 1 and No. 4 mines, owned by the Pleasant Valley Coal Company, had exploded. People rushed to the mine portal.

Only a few miners survived. Thomas Pugh, who was only fifteen years old and working in the mine, seized his hat in his teeth and ran for the entrance of the No. 1 Mine, a mile and a half from his work area. He fainted when he reached it. Pugh's father, William, died at the place where Thomas began running. The first rescue party recovered Harry Betterson still alive, but he died that evening. The explosion threw James Naylor 200 feet, but he was uninjured and was able to aid in rescue attempts. The explosion carried John Wilson 820 feet, with part of his skull crushed and with a stick driven into his abdomen. Wilson later recovered from his serious injuries. After the explosion, Roderick Davis left the mine uninjured but was overcome by gas when he returned to the mine with a rescue party. Presumed dead by the rescue party, Davis was loaded into a mining car, but he revived when his body was being washed in preparation for burial.²²

Rescue parties worked around the clock and well into the following morning. During the next few days, men from Clear Creek, Castle Gate, and Sunnyside arrived at Winter Quarters to help with the rescue work. By 6 May all recoverable bodies were out of the mine. The official count by the company was 200 dead; but some miners counted 246. Sixty-two of the dead were Finns.²³

The rescuers brought the dead out of the No. 1 Mine in mining



The Louma Family at Scofield following the Winter Quarters Mine Explosion on 1 May 1900 in which nine members of the Louma family lost their lives. (Utah State Historical Society)

cars. Those who had been burned badly were brought out in sacks. The bodies were then placed at the mine entrance where others removed their clothing, cleaned soot and powder burns from their faces, clothed them in long robes, and then took them to the company boarding house. C.L. Nix, a Pleasant Valley Coal Company employee, initially identified many of the bodies. Family members identified them at the boarding house. The explosion burned or mutilated some of the bodies beyond recognition, which caused problems with identification. In a few cases, the wrong bodies were buried in graves.²⁴

The Pleasant Valley Coal Company store furnished burial clothes selected by the wives, many of whom were in shock. Salt Lake City shipped 125 coffins to Winter Quarters and seventy-five more came from Denver. Because of the limited number of men in Pleasant Valley, men from Provo came to dig the graves. Altogether the company buried 125 men in Scofield, where Finnish Lutheran minister

A. Granholm conducted a burial service for his countrymen. Then four Mormon general authorities—George Teasdale, Reed Smoot, Heber J. Grant, and Seymour B. Young—conducted a Mormon funeral service. Reed Smoot counseled the survivors to make no demands on the company.²⁵ The coal company shipped the remaining bodies to their relatives in Salt Lake City, Ogden, Provo, Coalville, Springville, American Fork, Eureka, Richfield, Price, and other small towns in Utah.

Abe Louma and his wife, who had arrived from Finland only three months before, had seven sons and three grandsons killed in the explosion. Eleven members of the extended Hunter family died at Winter Quarters that day.26 The Logan newspaper the Tri-Weekly called on Governor Heber M. Wells to convene a special session of the legislature in order to help the widows and fatherless children. Representative William H. King met with the leading members of the House of Representatives in Washington, D.C., to discuss federal relief for the widows and orphans. In both the state and the nation, the representatives expressed sympathy but opposed aid. Finally each widow had to sue the Pleasant Valley Coal Company. The courts eventually awarded the women \$500 each minus thirty-three dollars for court fees. The company also erased all of the family's debts from the company store and paid burial costs. Various communities in Utah organized local committees which helped raise money for the families. Donations also came from other parts of the nation, including San Francisco. The people of Pleasant Valley reciprocated six years later, taking up a collection for the victims of the 1906 San Francisco earthquake. Altogether, from the company and the communities, donations to the victims of Winter Quarters totaled \$216,289.81.27

The Finnish miners, who had been highly respected in the community before the explosion, received a lot of negative publicity. Because of their superstitions, they would not help in the rescue operation, and they expected the company to take care of the burials, which it finally did. A few Finns were caught stealing clothes that had been taken off of the dead miners. Later, Superintendent T.J. Parmley falsely believed that the Finns had taken more explosives into the mine than was allowed in order to load more coal and make more money.²⁸

The best possible explanation of the cause of the explosion was

that coal dust had not been kept at a safe level. The state inspector's report stated that one miner accidentally ignited a keg of black powder in the mine which ignited the coal dust. Years after the Winter Quarters disaster, William Boweter, a survivor of the Winter Quarters explosion, told Stan Harvey that prior to the explosion he was working in a room adjacent to two miners who said they were going to shoot down some coal. The wall between their room and the next room was thinner than they expected, and when the powder ignited it blew down the wall, with the coal dust igniting into a ball of rolling fire. This explosion set off a chain reaction that caused damage, death, and sorrow throughout the small community.

After the disaster at Winter Quarters in 1900, mining companies began training first-aid squads in safety procedures. After each mine disaster, both state and federal governments began regulating coal mines, and coal companies inched forward in providing mine safety.

On 8 March 1924, 171 men went into the Castle Gate No. 2 Mine. The morning was bright; nevertheless, Benjamin Thomas, a native Welshman, felt reluctant to enter the mine. A butcher by trade, Thomas had secured work at the tipple for a time; but, because the tipple work was not full time, the company had given him a job in the mine. That morning Thomas lingered a little but finally grabbed his lunch pail and hurried just in time to catch the mantrip. Thomas had a son serving a mission for the Mormon church and he needed the money. The need for money influenced all of the men, especially the married men, who made up most of the miners that fateful day. The mine had been worked very little throughout the winter. At 7:30 A.M., less than an hour after the miners entered, two explosions rocked the mine, killing all 171 miners.³¹

That morning, in a room where some coal had been shot off the face the night before, a fire boss had discovered some gas near the roof. When he climbed on some coal to investigate, his carbide light went out. He was relighting his lamp when the flame from his match ignited the gas. The gas and the coal dust set off a gigantic explosion. The force swept out of the room and then split, with most of the force going to the entrance and the rest back into the mine. The explosion blew out the carbide lamps of all the men in the mine. When survivors tried to light their lamps, sparks set off another

explosion, killing the remainder of the men in the mine. Stan Harvey from Winter Quarters worked on one of the rescue teams and described the complete chaos inside the mine. The explosion had twisted rails and blown out concrete reinforcements, carrying them great distances. Harvey said, "In one entry on the right side off the slope, I saw a Sullivan Short Wall mining machine on its truck, which had been picked up by the force of the blast and carried from a room neck where it was parked, down into a trackless entry cross-cut, a distance of at least forty feet." ³²

Of the 171 dead miners, forty-five were Americans, two of whom were blacks. There were fifty Greeks, twenty-five Italians, thirty-two English and Scots, twelve Welshmen, four Japanese, and three Austrians (southern Slavs) killed. The dead included 114 married men, who left 415 dependents. Andrew Gilbert, who was killed, was seventy-three years old and had survived the earlier Winter Quarters explosion. The widows included Mrs. George Shurtliff, whose first husband, David Evans, was killed in the Winter Quarters mine explosion.³³

Rescue workers quickly went to work. The mine was filled with carbon monoxide gas which forced rescuers to wear heavy resuscitators. George Wilson from Standardville accidently had his nose clip knocked off by one of his men. Wilson was without oxygen for only five minutes, but the gas killed him, adding one more fatality to the total killed in the explosion. To assist in bringing out the dead and possible survivors, rescue teams came from every mine in the Carbon-Emery coal field. Rescue workers took nine days to find all the bodies. Company workers and relatives identified the victims, some of them mutilated and burned badly. Survivors buried the men quietly and quickly.³⁴

Five-year-old Maria Tagliabue, whose father had not yet been identified, persuaded workers in the Castle Gate amusement hall to allow her to help identify her father. According to a newspaper report, she found her father's socks in a pile of clothing: "Then realizing that she had really found her daddy little Maria's eyes filled with tears and muffled sobs racked her until one of the Star Legion mothers gathered Maria in her arms and carried her from the scene." 35

Saline Hardee Fraser, who was thirteen years old at the time, remembered waiting for word of her father's death. Saline's grandfa-

ther, sixty-seven-year-old Welsh immigrant Edward E. Jones, was also killed in the explosion. Another girl arrived with a ball, and the two girls bounced the ball to while the time away until they were scolded for doing so. When Saline's mother identified her father's socks, they were able to take both her father's and grandfather's bodies to the cemetery for the burial service. A few days later rescue workers recovered Fraser's head; his body was exhumed so his head could also be placed in the casket.³⁶

Heroes of the Castle Gate mine explosion were the rescue squads who came from all over the county. Heroines were the women who came from communities of the county to attend to the bereaved widows and fatherless children. They distributed clothing and cooked meals for all who needed help and nourishment, tended children, fed babies, and sewed black mourning clothing. The Red Cross temporarily directed the relief effort until Governor Charles Mabey appointed a committee."

T.L. Burridge left an account of the disaster that described the removal of the dead from the mine and praised the work of the ladies of the Salvation Army and members of the Red Cross. He commented that when rescue workers removed bodies from the mine, the entrance to the mine was full of people. Some were relatives but others were just curiosity seekers. When the people who had come to help with the disaster left, Burridge said that Castle Gate was like a "Deserted Village." "There has been no Church gatherings held, no lodge meetings held. Where the amusement hall used to be crowded with men talking, laughing, drinking soft drinks, playing pool amuseing themselves in different ways, now all is empty and quiet." "38"

Unlike the dependents of the earlier Winter Quarters mine explosion, the widows and fatherless children of the Castle Gate tragedy received financial assistance from the state workmen's compensation fund, established in 1917. The law provided death benefits for them not to exceed fifteen dollars a week for six years, with a maximum of no more than \$5,000 during these years.³⁹

Governor Mabey's relief committee included Carl R. Marcusen, a Price banker and merchant, and Mrs. C.H. Stevenson, chair of the Carbon County chapter of the American Red Cross. The committee appointed Annie D. Palmer, a welfare worker, to disburse the Castle



Caskets of victims of the March 1924 Castle Gate mine explosion being transported by truck. (Western Mining and Railroad Museum)

Gate Relief Fund in monthly installments. Palmer had been educated at Brigham Young University and Utah State Agricultural College and was executive secretary of the Utah County Red Cross chapter during World War I. The committee worked for twelve years aiding the widows and fatherless children of the Castle Gate explosion, and Palmer decided which families needed the most help. She devotedly visited the families, giving advice to the women and sometimes purchasing much-needed clothing for the children.⁴⁰

Six of the widowed Greek women returned to Greece. The relief committee at first refused to provide relief funds for their return, but Palmer convinced them it was the right thing to do. Palmer urged Koula Camperides to go back to Greece. She said of Camperides, "She seems so entirely unable to adapt herself to the condition." Palmer said of Maria Bouzis, "Like others of her countrywomen she seems unable to adapt herself to the condition that confronts her. She feels helpless and alone." She commented that Sophie Kapakis was "a woman as helpless as a woman could be, with a heavy winter coat on

in midsummer." Two British women also left for their homeland, and in 1930 a third woman returned to the British Isles.41

Two of the Greek women who remained in the country remarried, even though there was a strong Greek custom against it. The Greek women had the most difficulty adapting to the American way of life without a husband. Most of the thirteen Italian widows remarried; two who did not remarry supported themselves by making wine during the Prohibition years. Vittoria Cassela made and sold wine even before her husband's death, and the sheriff in Castle Gate ignored this violation of the law. When asked about her winemaking, he said, "All Italian women do." The other widow, a Mrs. Gionini, reported to a social worker that she had made thousands of dollars on her wine. Most of the younger widows remarried, but very few of the older ones did. Women lost their state compensation when they remarried, although children continued to receive assistance after their mothers' remarriage. 42 By the end of 1935, the relief committee had disbursed a total of \$132,145.27 in relief funds; in 1936 relief payments ended.43

The Castle Gate explosion was an economic and social tragedy both for the families of the miners and the county collectively. With the compensation aid, however, women and children had financial assistance that the families in the Winter Quarters disaster did not have and, consequently, perhaps a better life thereafter.

In 1924 Utali Fuel reopened the No. 1 Mine while rehabilitation work continued at the No. 2 Mine. On 2 April 1924 Utah Fuel Company officials and state government mining men met in Salt Lake City to review coal mine safety laws of the Utah State Industrial Commission. They added new amendments and resolutions, which included funding more coal mine inspectors, mandating rock dusting and heavier sprinkling, prohibiting the moving of methane gas accumulation while a shift was in the mine, and requiring all coal dust to be cleaned from abandoned rooms.⁴⁴

The new amendments greatly improved safety in the mines, but they did not prevent all future disasters. On 8 February 1930 the Standardville Mine exploded, killing twenty men and three rescuers. Five miners saved themselves from the deadly carbon monoxide by barricading themselves with canvas until rescue parties found them. The Workmen's Compensation law helped the widows and children by providing sixteen dollars a week. Wataru Ishimue, who left a widow and four children, had written on the leather visor of his miner's hat the Japanese words, "Dear brother, please support my wife and children." ⁴⁵

In 1945 two disasters killed thirty-one men. In March 1945 a bounce stirred up "hot dust" and killed eight men at the Kenilworth Mine. On 9 May 1945, while the world was celebrating the end of World War II in Europe, the Sunnyside No. 1 Mine exploded when methane gas ignited at 3:12 P.M., just as the day shift was preparing to leave. Mine officials had taken safety precautions in the mine, but the explosion occurred nevertheless, killing twenty-three men and injuring several others. Rescue teams came from Geneva's Horse Canyon Mine as well as Columbia, Castle Gate, and Kenilworth mines. Mine foreman Frank Markosek saved at least seven men when he rushed into the area where the injured men were lying. Running his lamp along the floor of the mine in the dense smoke, he discovered that several men had been knocked unconscious with their faces buried in the slack coal. He turned the men over to save them from suffocation in case they were still alive. All recovered. The hospital at Dragerton with Dr. Frank V. Colombo and a staff of eight doctors and eleven nurses cared for the injured. 47

In 1949 a fire started in the Rains Mine in Spring Canyon which lasted only a few days. There was neither loss of equipment nor loss of lives in this blaze; but the company estimated that it lost about \$1,400 in labor and coal.⁴⁸

On 18 April 1956 the people of Carbon County experienced another disaster. In the Sunnyside No. 2 Mine, a section of roof some 100 feet long and thirty feet thick crashed down where four miners were working. Three men had left the area just minutes before the roof collapsed. All mining activities stopped, and rescue operations began with little hope of there being any surviving miners. When rescue parties had to use dynamite to move some of the large rocks, everyone realized this was a note of finality. Shortly after midnight, however, the rescue party heard the tapping of a hammer against machinery, and within a few hours Lavell Marion Golding, Joe Archuletta, and Lloyd Allen Heath were pulled from their would-be

tomb. Archuletta's finger was caught in the machinery. "Cut it off," he told them; "I'm going to lose it anyway." The news media asked industrial surgeon Dr. James K. McClintock if it was stamina that saved the men from their forty-four hour entombment. "No," Dr. McClintock said simply. "It was just plain guts. Those men are tough." Crews found the body of Joseph Otterstrom, the fourth miner in the area, two days later, a short distance from where the three men had been rescued.

In January 1958 four coal miners died in an explosion in a Spring Canyon coal mine. On 16 December 1963 the Carbon Fuel mine in Hardscrabble Canyon exploded, killing nine miners. A spark ignited an accumulation of gas released from a break in the roof. The mine under the direction of Chris Diamanti had always practiced a motto of "The Safe Way is the Best Way"; therefore, this explosion was especially difficult for Diamanti. In August 1979 five men in the Plateau Mine were preparing timbers in a supposedly safe section of the mine when a large slab of rock fell, killing four of them. Federal Mine Safety and Health Administration inspectors began their investigation of the tragedy. Four days later the administration issued two citations to the company for violation of roof control regulations. In the company for violation of roof control regulations.

From the time of the Winter Quarters mine explosion of 1900 to the present day, mines have become safer because of new methods, mechanization, and greater concern for safety; but, because of their very nature, mines will never be completely safe. Accidents continue to happen. When companies push production schedules and disregard safety precautions, great disasters can still happen. In 1984 a disastrous mine fire occurred in neighboring Emery County when, because of faulty electrical equipment, the Wilberg Mine caught fire, killing twenty-six men and one woman. The Wilberg Mine disaster helped bring about a further strengthening of safety regulations throughout the area.

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LABOR ACTIVITIES

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m angerous}$ working conditions inside the coal mines were an important factor in the sometimes volatile confrontations between miners and mine operators and owners that flared on occasion throughout the history of coal mining in Carbon County. Miner demands often included improved safety measures and more generous assistance to those injured in the mines. In addition, miners' concerns almost always centered on pay—either attempts by them to realize an increase in pay or to prevent coal companies from implementing wage reductions. Finally, strikes and labor disputes always saw a colossal struggle between coal operators and the coal miners' union. Coal operators, for the most part, were successful in preventing the Knights of Labor during the 1880s and the United Mine Workers of America after its organization in 1890 from realizing any long-term success in organizing Carbon County's coal miners until the National Industrial Recovery Act of Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal in the 1930s gave government recognition to the right of labor to organize and bargain collectively.

The world for Carbon County coal miners changed in 1933 as

coal companies recognized the United Mine Workers of America, and the union came to play a primary role in the county's coal industry for nearly a half-century. No longer could miners be dismissed at the whim of bosses or be discriminated against in work assignments, pay, and opportunities for advancement. During the 1930s and 1940s, the union flourished, and the United Mine Workers of America became an important institution within the county. One of its early organizers and strongest supporters, Frank Bonnaci, was elected to the Utah State Legislature and helped lead the way to the establishment in Price of Carbon College. Political preferences were tied to the Democratic party, primarily because of devotion to Franklin D. Roosevelt and his New Deal which had made union recognition possible and had helped ease widespread suffering from the Great Depression. The Democratic party also fought against right-to-work legislation. Nationally, it was considered the party of organized labor, and within Carbon County it was the preferred party—a fact reflected in election after election where the Democratic party won a higher percentage of votes locally than it did in any other county in Utah.

When Wyoming coal mines closed, headquarters for District 22 of the United Mine Workers of America was relocated from Rock Springs, Wyoming, to Price in the mid-1950s. In 1982 the district headquarters was moved from rented offices on Main Street to a new union-owned building at 525 East 100 South in Price. By the 1980s conditions changed. Union mines closed, and, presently, a century after organized labor began its tentative action to gain recognition, there are no union mines operating in Carbon County. Still, the United Mine Workers of America remains an active force within the county and continues to affect the lives of many of its retired members through the pensions and medical benefits obtained during hard-fought battles of earlier decades.

The labor union movement had a hesitant beginning in the Carbon County coal fields. During the 1880s a local of the Knights of Labor was organized in Winter Quarters; but it lasted only a few years, unsuccessful in winning a majority of miners to its ranks. Nevertheless, before 1900 there were two small local strikes. In 1883 Abraham O. Smoot, president of the LDS church's Utah Stake, per-

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suaded the striking miners at Winter Quarters to return to work. In the mid-1890s Castle Gate miners attempted a strike, but other miners failed to support it; consequently, it quickly died.

In the beginning, labor difficulties had little effect on coal mining; however, in the aftermath of the Winter Quarters disaster, miners took up collective action and opened the door to organized labor. The Pleasant Valley Coal Company had to replace the men who died in the Winter Quarters mine as well as replace a number of men who had left the mine after the explosion, fearing another explosion. These new men were less efficient and thus earned less money than more experienced miners. To better their situation, the new miners sought to bargain for better wages with company officials.

In January 1901 the Winter Quarters miners chose a committee which met and presented a list of demands to W.G. Sharp, general manager of the Pleasant Valley Coal Company. They asked for an increase to fifty-five cents per ton, a seventeen cents per ton raise. Those miners paid by the day were to receive a 10 percent raise to \$2.50 a day. The miners also demanded three weighmen paid by deductions from the miners' salaries to represent them at the weighing scales in order to eliminate the current practice of company-hired checkweighmen who often gave short weights, thus effectively lowering the miners' pay. Within a few days Sharp responded. He told the miners that the company could not increase wages because of the low profit margin in the coal industry. He agreed to put extra checkweighmen on, but he had to have the written consent of the miners to deduct money from their wages to pay the checkweighmen's salaries.¹

After Sharp's unsympathetic reply, the miners decided to submit a more modest proposal, asking for ten cents more a day and an increase of ten cents per ton. They wanted Sharp to answer promptly, but Sharp refused even to answer their proposal. Because of the lack of response, the men met again, and, after debating the matter two hours, they voted 132 to 113 to strike. The striking miners sent a committee to the coal camps in Clear Creek, Castle Gate, and Sunnyside to explain their reasons for striking and to ask those workmen to join with the striking Winter Quarters miners. The Clear Creek miners agreed to go out on a sympathy strike if the company

did not reach an agreement by 26 January. After this show of support at Clear Creek, 200 men and boys led by a brass band marched up and down the canyon.²

The strikers gained the support of the Utah Federation of Labor; but both Catholic church leader Bishop Lawrence Scanlan and local Mormon leaders urged the men not to strike. The strikers insisted that they had left their jobs because wages were too low. They demanded a semimonthly pay schedule and complained that the company store, which the company forced miners and their families to deal with, charged unreasonable prices. Finally, they charged that the company was cheating them at the coal scales. The Utah State Board of Arbitration offered its services in order to have both sides meet together and settle their differences. The striking miners, realizing that this would be a reasonable way to settle, voted at their next meeting for arbitration. The bands of Clear Creek and Winter Quarters miners now led 500 men to Scofield where they celebrated; but the company would not bring the matter before an arbitration board. The men had no way to force the issue.

The miners at Clear Creek and Winter Quarters believed they could persuade Sunnyside and Castle Gate miners also to go out on strike, but there was never any discussion of striking in Sunnyside. Some of the men went to Castle Gate to persuade their colleagues, and they described their treatment at Castle Gate:

We had no place to lay our weary heads and limbs, for the company had already issued an order to close up all public houses in which we might be accommodated, and as all the dwellings and boarding houses are built on the company's property, the people of necessity had to abide by the order. We, therefore, had to parade the county road all night in the snow, for this was the only unforbidden ground upon which we could put a foot.'

In Castle Gate the men held a meeting; but under the leadership of company men who were in attendance they voted down the proposal to strike. Utah Fuel fired twenty men who spoke out for the strikers.

Utah Fuel hired guards to patrol the striking camps. Company leaders also forced men out of the boarding house in Winter Ouarters and threatened those whose houses were on company prop-

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erty. Three of the Clear Creek strikers who had gone to Sunnyside to play in a band tried to return to their homes by riding a boxcar. They were sidetracked, locked in the boxcar without food or heat, and later taken to jail.⁴

Surprisingly, the strike generated no acts of violence. The United Mine Workers Union also had no influence in this strike, and the foreign-born workers had only a small part. Some individuals blamed Finns for instigating the strike, and one Finnish striker tried unsuccessfully to sabotage the powerhouse at the Winter Quarters mine. The spokesman for the Finnish miners threatened that if the miners returned to work without an agreement, the Finns would never go out on strike again. It was rumored that the Italians at Castle Gate sympathized with the strikers in Pleasant Valley but did not vote in favor of a strike.⁵

In order for the men to return to work, the company made them promise that they would sign an "ironclad" which stipulated that they were not members of a union, would not join if attempts were made to organize a union, would settle grievances directly with the company, and were satisfied with the Pleasant Valley Coal Company's wages and way of doing business. On 20 February the men called off the strike. The company did not allow many men to return to their jobs, and those who did returned at a lower salary than before. Lewis George, one of the strike leaders, said of signing an ironclad: "Why should I or any other man be required to reveal to the officials of the Pleasant Valley Coal Company the secret thoughts of the heart in regard to the personal welfare of myself or my fellowmen in order to secure a day's work? . . . To sign away my rights I will not and may God pity the man who will."

The next strike took place in 1903–1904, a little over two years after the strike at Winter Quarters, and corresponded with strikes in the Colorado coal fields. The Utah strike grew out of local miners' grievances regarding pay and working conditions; but opponents charged that the Utah miners struck primarily in sympathy with the Colorado coal miners. Furthermore, much of the support for the strike came from Italian miners, and coal company officials charged that the walk-out was instigated and carried out by ungrateful foreigners. Other coal miners, however, both American and foreign-



Frank Mangone of Castle Gate giving his wife, Teresa, his first pay check. Picture taken to assure the bride's parents in Italy of their daughter's well being. 1913. (Western Mining and Railroad Museum)

born, followed the lead of the Italians. Some mines were closed and others worked with only a fraction of their usual work force. Coal company officials looked to other sources for miners. Some of the first Greeks to come to the county were brought in as strikebreakers, and company agents scoured nearby villages to recruit native-born farmers for the mines.

Miners had the usual complaints at the beginning of this strike: the company was cheating them at the weighing scales, the company store overcharged, the miners were working more than eight hours, and they were not receiving enough pay. Additionally, miners wanted recognition of the United Mine Workers of America. Two days before the strike began, the company offered the miners a 10 percent raise. On 12 November miners at Sunnyside voted to strike and requested the union send them an organizer. Less than two weeks later, Castle Gate miners struck and shut down the mine. The union sent in articulate, Italian-born organizer Charles DeMolli, who effectively organized the union among the striking miners and also organized a union in the mines of Winter Quarters and Clear Creek.

DeMolli was educated in Milan and immigrated to the United States in 1895, whereupon he began writing for Italian newspapers. He also worked in the coal mines of Pennsylvania until he moved to work in Colorado coal mines. He later wrote for an Italian newspaper that served as an organ for the United Mine Workers of America. The Salt Lake Herald described Demolli:

A tall handsome man in appearance, . . . he has a handsome face typically Italian, with a small sloping mustache. His voice is soft and his manners suave although at times he fires with enthusiasm over the subject he may be discussing. . . . DeMolli is eloquent with tongue and pen in the Italian language. . . . With his level head, shrewd judgment, college education, suave manner, and great magnetism, he is regarded as one of the strongest men affiliated with the United Mine Workers and he is idolized by his followers.⁸

Utah Fuel Company responded by hiring guards to protect its property and the non-striking coal miners. With the help of company guards, Sheriff Hyrum Wilcox arrested DeMolli; but in a jury trial, which soon followed, the jury acquitted him. DeMolli later journeyed to Salt Lake to speak with Governor Heber M. Wells, who responded very coolly toward the union man. Wells told DeMolli, "Mr. DeMolli, you are not welcome. We don't want you, and the sooner you are out of the state, the better we will be pleased." DeMolli left the state for a while but later returned to Carbon County. He and Joseph Barboglio, local treasurer of the UMWA and later founder of the Helper State Bank, were arrested on their way from Sunnyside to Helper. They succeeded in breaking out of jail but were caught later that night, fined thirty dollars, and sentenced to thirty days in jail. The court later released them on a \$250 bond. 10

From the very beginning of the strike, mine companies urged Governor Wells to call out the National Guard; but Wells refrained from doing this until early December when he finally called Utah National Guard units into the coal fields. The troops had a cooling effect on any possible violence, but the union also discouraged violence. Even though leaders of the Guard were pro-company, many of the men showed sympathy toward the strikers. The Finns in Clear Creek allowed the troops to use their hall for their activities and even invited Company F to be their guests at their Winter Quarters Christmas party. This act of kindness possibly prevented any bloodshed. The next day company guards forced the Finns out of their homes. The Finns attacked them, and the Utah Fuel guards took refuge with the National Guard, urging them to fire on the Finns; but guardsmen refused to open fire.¹¹

Utah Fuel Company ordered all strikers to leave the companyowned houses in the camps; consequently, Castle Gate miners went to an area near Helper. Sunnyside miners congregated just south of that town in an area they called Mitchellville, named after John Mitchell, president of the United Mine Workers. Utah Fuel responded by calling on local farmers to help break the strike, and a number of them went to work in the mines. The Mormon church was outwardly neutral in the strike, but Reuben G. Miller, president of the Emery LDS Stake, and other local Mormon church leaders helped recruit their members to work in the mines. Leonidas Skliris, Greek padrone and labor recruiter for the company, sent Greeks who spoke little English to the Carbon County coal fields as strikebreakers. With this small influx of new workers, Castle Gate reopened on 21 December.

Governor Wells then felt that National Guard units were no longer needed in the area, and by 24 January they had all left.

During the strike, national union leaders sent a number of union organizers into the Carbon County coal fields. The most prominent was Mother Mary Harris Jones, one of the most colorful leaders in the history of American labor. Mary Jones was born in Cork, Ireland, and immigrated to Tennessee, where she lost her husband and four children in a yellow-fever epidemic. She later joined with the forces of American labor. When she came to Carbon County, she was seventy-three years old and grandmotherly in appearance; nevertheless, she was a highly successful union organizer. Mother Jones and some Italians visited William Price, another union organizer, who was in quarantine for smallpox. Officials attempted to put Jones in a quarantine shed, but Celeste Dalpiaz and Angelo Pilatti set fire to the shed, damaging it beyond use. When Mother Jones would not remain in voluntary confinement, Deputy Sheriff Harry World tried to arrest her; but over 100 armed Italians surrounded the camp and prevented him from making the arrest.12

Jones was told by sources that authorities would soon make a number of arrests. Not wanting any violence, she encouraged the men to bury their weapons. Early the next morning, the sheriff and forty-five deputies surrounded the temporary camp of evicted strikers near Helper and arrested 120 Italians, dragging them from their beds and loading them into boxcars for a trip to Price, where they were housed in a makeshift jail—a shed surrounded by a high wire fence which was heavily patrolled by armed guards. Mormon bishop Ernest S. Horsley brought food and water to the confined Italian miners, and Italian women brought food to them on their frequent visits. The Italian women taunted the guards for jailing their men for no offense. When these men were brought to trial, the court found only eleven guilty of any offense, and the rest were discharged. About a week later Mother Jones left Carbon County and traveled to Salt Lake City where she played a prominent part in the Western Federation of Miners and the Utah Federation of Labor conventions.13

The strike continued to drag on, but finally, in July, the United Mine Workers, because of the heavy expense, discontinued their financial help. In the last week of November, the UMWA sent \$7,000 to the strikers to use for railroad fares to leave the county. Some strikers remained in Helper, where they worked on the Denver and Rio Grand Western Railroad or became merchants, and a few took up farming in the Spring Glen area. The hostilities ended quietly, but many men and women held strong resentments against Utah Fuel Company and even the United Mine Workers, which they felt had not supported them enough. The lack of bloodshed during this confrontation was remarkable and a credit to union organizers. The attempt to unionize had failed primarily because of the lack of support for the union.¹⁴

A few problems always existed in every coal mine, but none of them grew large enough for the men to strike again until 1907 when Kenilworth tried to add a third shift—one hundred men struck for three days. Miners felt that the two existing shifts would work hard, and the third shift would do very little for the same pay. Mine officials, who were anxious to meet production schedules, settled in favor of the miners. When the Union Pacific Mine reopened in 1907 at Scofield, miners threatened a strike because they were being paid a lower wage than miners at the nearby Utah Fuel mines. Union Pacific quickly settled this by raising the miners' pay. Some miners called for UMWA organizers to help negotiate a better wage, but the company quickly discharged forty-eight men and quelled any notion of another strike.¹⁵

In 1911 Greeks working at Kenilworth refused to enter the mine, complaining about the weigh scales, and Superintendent Thomas Bell agreed that the Greeks should select a checkweighman. Even after the agreement was reached, a few of the miners refused to go to work, and the company immediately discharged them. When Greek miners did not receive a satisfactory answer from Kenilworth mine officials about reinstating their dismissed fellow countrymen, some of them took positions above the town of Kenilworth and began shooting at houses and at men going into the mine. Thomas Jackson, a company guard, was killed, and his brother Robert killed Steve Kolasakis in retaliation. Sheriff Thomas Kelter and his deputies quickly rounded up the Greek offenders. This incident caused hard



World famous boxer Jack Dempsey (on left) considers investing in the coal mine at Coal City, c. 1924. (Western Mining and Railroad Museum)

feelings against the Greeks, but eventually the company rehired the Greeks who were not part of the incident.¹⁷

In 1911 John Haselman, who worked at the Kenilworth tipple, expressed his views about working in a coal mine and the attitude of the company toward the worker:

July 24 Sunday. This morning at break of day the mine whistle blew twice, or rather shrieked its dismal and savage yell for the tired and worn out men to get up once more and slave for their masters. Men who had become masters through their sanction and ignorance. And so being one among the many of the millions of toiling slaves 1 toiled through the long beautiful day while my masters are reaping the benefit and are enjoying themselves with the millions they are accumulating from those whose right it is to reap the benefit of their honest toil.¹⁸

A few months later, Haselman complained about working for a company "whose whole object is nothing but gathering and accumulating dollars." 19

World War I raging in Europe began to have a serious effect on

the number of railroad cars available in the mining areas. By 1916 large numbers of railroad cars were being used in shipping grain, sugar beets, heavy steel, and munitions. By November there was a shortage of railroad cars in the Utah coalfields. All coal mines began stockpiling coal awaiting the cars. Independent operators issued an informal complaint about the lack of cars to the Interstate Commerce Commission, stating that Winter Quarters Mine still had boxcars to supply D&RGW's trains.

From 1914 to 1917 the price of coal increased from \$1.40 to \$3.50 a ton. In order to increase their wages, in January 1917 the men at Kenilworth threatened to strike. To prevent a mine stoppage, Independent Coal and Coke Company increased wages. A few weeks later, the men at Castle Gate mine struck. General superintendent J.S. Thompson met with strikers and, treating them very cordially, granted everything the miners wanted. Utah Fuel Company gave miners in its other mines similar concessions, and the independent coal mines followed. In June a strike at Spring Canyon resulted in miners receiving a semimonthly pay schedule and a pay increase; additionally, the practice of paying the men at the company store was eliminated. A strike at Standard Mine for wage increases failed; but the men, who had been threatened with dismissal, were allowed to continue working at the same wage. However, when a strike by the motormen at Storrs failed, the company fired the men.²⁰

Two years later, in 1919, Storrs Mine discharged thirty men for their union allegiance.²¹ Several months later, U.S. Fuel evicted eight married men and several single men from their jobs and homes in Hiawatha for the same reason. One of those discharged, Frank Bonacci, later became famous in the county for his union activities. Bonacci was born in southern Italy and had spent some time in Canada. In 1912 he had moved to Carbon County and worked in Sunnyside, for the D&RGW railroad at Helper, and in Hiawatha.²²

Wages and coal prices increased during World War I, and area mines were working continuously around the clock seven days a week in order to keep up with orders. New mines were opened and the coal industry enjoyed a new level of prosperity. After the war the demand for coal diminished drastically. Utah coal faced stiff competition from other sources; consequently, Carbon County companies

received fewer contracts and were forced to cut expenses. The logical place seemed to be to reduce wages.

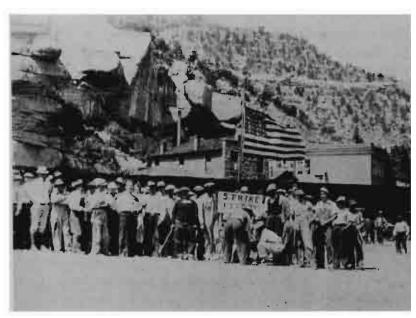
For union men in the eastern part of the United States, 1922 was the year for the renewal of the contract between the UMWA and the coal companies. No one knew how much support the UMWA had in Utah, and the national union leadership finally decided to exclude Utah from the strike; however, Carbon County companies announced a 30 percent wage reduction a few days before the national coal strike, and discontent about wage cuts and the presence of union men in the Carbon County coal field prompted Carbon County miners to also go on strike. On 1 April miners at Spring Canyon walked off the job. They were soon followed by miners at Scofield, Clear Creek, Winter Quarters, Rolapp, Castle Gate, and Kenilworth. The representative of the coal miners requested that the union district organization assist them. Company guards in the meantime began to evict striking miners and their families from company-owned houses; consequently, tent towns grew up overnight in Helper, Spring Glen, and Scofield. Within a month, miners at Hiawatha and Sunnyside had joined their fellow miners in striking. Companies, playing on nationalistic emotions, declared that foreigners had caused the strike. Coal operators called for men from nearby farming communities to work the mines, and some heeded the call.23

Violence broke out when the strike was a few weeks old. Striking miners established lockout posts at Scofield to prevent strikebreakers from entering the mines. During the latter part of April, shots were exchanged at the Scofield railroad depot killing company guard Sam Dorrity and injuring two strikers, Fred Jarvis and Mike Makesmarticos. In the middle of May, Deputy Sheriff Lorenzo H. Young killed John Tenas just west of Helper. Tenas's funeral at Price Greek Orthodox Church was impressive; the Price band accompanied the casket to the cemetery along with flagbearers who carried both American and Greek flags. Early in June strikers fired at the mantrip carrying strikebreakers as it was leaving the Kenilworth Mine. On 14 June strikers and company guards exchanged shots as a train carrying strikebreakers started up Spring Canyon. Arthur Webb, a company guard on the train, was killed. Two company men also suffered wounds, and striker Andreas Zulakis was also wounded. Striker Andreas Zulakis was also wounded.

In retaliation for Webb's shooting, a group of armed, masked men forced six Greeks to march down Spring Canyon from Standardville. The masked vigilantes also broke into the bakery run by George Marcoulis and forced him and two other Greeks in the bakery to march down the canyon, insulting, abusing, and threatening the marching Greeks. Finally, they told the Greeks to run for their lives.26 Surprisingly, no Greek was killed even though bullets were fired above and below them. Governor Charles R. Mabey had hesitated to call in the National Guard, insisting that the strike needed to be policed by the local sheriff; but he finally called the Guard out, following the shooting death of Webb. Mabey declared martial law in several Carbon County towns. The National Guard immediately rounded up the strikers, read the governor's proclamation to them, confiscated their weapons, and set up sentries on all roads leading to and from Helper. At first, the National Guard prevented any strikebreakers from disembarking at the railroad stations, but troops later allowed them to come into the county.27

On 7 August John L. Lewis signed a contract with unionized coal companies in the East which ended the national coal strike, and it also ended the strike at the non-union mines in Carbon County. Miners went back to work at seven dollars a day for outside men and \$7.95 a day for inside men—the amount they had been paid before the salary cuts. The strike had ended in Carbon County without recognition of the union, but union men continued to work in the mines. The union also defended those accused of murder and attempted murder. Families went back to their company houses. In some cases, the company assigned some of the houses to different families. When the company tried to move one of the former strikers out of his rather nice house, he told the company men that he was not moving. When Sheriff Frank Ellis came to his house, he reportedly said, "Listen, Frank, I've got four brothers and each one of them's killed a man and I haven't killed my man yet, Frank."28 His argument convinced the sheriff to do nothing.

Defending attorneys were able to bring each man to court individually. The court found George Manousos, accused of killing Sam Dorrity, guilty and sentenced him to twenty years in prison. The next five trials involved eight Greeks charged with the murder of Arthur



Strikers in Spring Canyon, probably 1922. (Western Mining and Railroad Museum)

P. Webb. Mike Zulakis and Pete Kukis received life sentences. Attorney Samuel King received a change of venue to Castle Dale for the trial of Mike Pagialakas, who was given ten years in prison. Another venue change moved the trials of Tony Kambourakis and John Kriaris to Salt Lake City. They each received a sentence of one year for voluntary manslaughter. The jury acquitted John Dantis, George Spetris, and Steven Lakakis, and the court dropped the charges of the remaining eight strikers. In March 1926 the courts granted paroles to the remainder who were in jail.²⁹

After the 1922 strike, Frank Bonacci quietly continued his unionizing efforts. Spring Canyon Coal Company fired him for those efforts. He was finally hired by the UMWA for \$100 a month, about half of what he could have earned working at a mine. During this time, Bonacci even hired a hall in Helper and in Price to show the film *The Growth of American Labor*. Finally, in 1928, due to its abandonment of unionizing efforts in Utah, the union released Bonacci. Bonacci worked at various mines thereafter until 1933 when the

UMWA began its union efforts once again in Utah and rehired Bonacci to organize the mines.

The triumph of union organization in Utah occurred in 1933 with the passage of the National Industrial Recovery Act, which recognized labor organization as an essential part of the industrial process. Shortly thereafter, the National Miners Union (NMU), founded in 1928 by a group of disenchanted UMWA members, moved into the county and established headquarters in the Millarich Hall in Spring Glen. A more radical union than the UMWA, it was accused of being a communistic organization. The NMU answered its critics by saying that it had communists among its members but also had Democrats, Republicans, and socialists. At its first meeting, a red banner with hammer and sickle and a sheaf of wheat decorated the room. Sylvia Crouch organized a women's auxiliary to help women understand the need for a strike and even for them to be on the picket lines if necessary—the first time anyone attempted to organize miners' wives. The primary leaders of the NMU in Carbon County were Paul Crouch, a communist, Charles Guynn, and Charles Weatherbee.30

On 28 May 1933 the NMU held an organizational meeting in Helper, recruiting heavily among the South Slav miners. A month later the union declared it had enrolled a thousand members. In reality, the membership was never that great, and most members were centered on the mines close to Helper.³¹

The political philosophy of the NMU did not appeal to the more conservative views of many Carbon County residents. In 1933 the NMU requested from Price officials the opportunity to march in the Fourth of July parade. The American Legion, sponsor of the celebration, refused, even though the United Mine Workers already had permission to participate; but later the legion refused to allow the UMWA to march. The decision left some bitter feelings among many, including some parents of the Carbon High School band members. One of them said, "If we are bolsheviks, so are our children and we will not allow them to parade and play in the Price band on the Fourth." The band was looked on with pride by all the county's citizens, having just returned from a Chicago competition with a first division rating in marching. The remark was an attempt to strike

back at city of Price for not allowing the unions to march in the parade.

On 2 August miners at Mutual Mine went on strike over the usual grievances: miners elect checkweighmen, drivers be paid by the coal company, paydays be regular, miners be allowed to select their own doctors, discharged miners be reinstated, and that the NMU be recognized. Mutual's miners won their demands; shortly after miners at Spring Canyon, Consumers, and Sweets mines also went on strike.³³

Because of threats of violence, local businessmen and the UMWA joined together and requested Governor Henry Blood to send National Guard troops to Carbon County. Governor Blood asked Price Mayor Rolla West to act as chief deputy sheriff. A carpenter by trade, West belonged to the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners. He hired only union members and paid union wages. He favored the UMWA and was opposed to the perceived lawlessness and communistic sympathies of the NMU. As mayor he allowed the NMU to use the park in Price, but he would not allow them to be in the July Fourth parade.³⁴

Frank Bonacci and Nicholas Fontecchio volunteered to help West recruit deputies, and within twenty-four hours they had recruited over 100 men, mostly UMWA members, to help West break pickets and control the situation. The UMWA, like the NMU, wanted to unionize the mines in the county, but it was opposed to the lawlessness of the NMU and also to another union's attempts to organize the area. Local authorities considered Consumers coal camp, where the strikers had blockaded the public road, to be the most urgent problem. West sent the special deputies along both ridges above the camp and farther down the road, then waited a few hours before moving his men closer to Consumers."

During the day Dave Parmley, a county commissioner and superintendent of the Consumers Mine, decided to venture down the road to see what was holding up the deputies. "Six big Austrian women" caught him. "These women throwed him down, took his gun and all the shells he had, threw them out in the oak brush and then they decided it would be fun to hold him down and pee on him," an ancient insult in the Balkans. Parmley later told West what had happened and made him promise never to tell anyone.³⁶

At sundown, county deputies moved into Consumers, and the strikers dispersed. The next day, 27 August, West and his men entered Spring Canyon and, using tear gas bombs, surrounded the NMU picketers—men, women, and children. They marched their captives on to Peerless Mine where they loaded 210 men into trucks and took them to Price. The captives were incarcerated in a bullpen at the fairgrounds and in an empty building.³⁷

When NMU members in Helper heard what had happened to their fellow members at Spring Canyon, they organized a group of miners along with thirty to forty women to march up the canyon. Deputies arrested the women, but first the women threw pepper into the faces of the deputies. The sheriff had so much thrown at him that he could not see. Reportedly, "He suffered with those eyes for days." On 29 August West and his deputies entered Helper and succeeded in arresting Charles Guynn and Charles Weatherbee, who were later released on \$5,000 bail.

A group of men that included West held a planning meeting at the Savoy Hotel in Price and decided to rearrest the two released leaders. West cautioned the men about using violence:

All of you fellows have church affiliations, you all know I don't. I can truthfully say that I could do away with these S.O.B.'s and never give the matter another thought. But perhaps every man should ask himself now, before we start out, "How is this deal going to effect me, my relation with my family and with my religion after I come back." Every man was quiet. No word was spoken."

On 5 September the special deputies rearrested Charles Guynn; the following day they arrested Charles Weatherbee.

Before the involvement by West and the special deputies, the NMU had called for a general strike to begin on 2 September; but the breaking of the picket lines and the arrests of both Charles Guynn and Charles Weatherbee prevented this from happening. As a countermove, on 11 September about 400 NMU members from Helper convoyed to Price, where they marched east on Main Street. At First East they were met by L.L. Fryer and the state highway patrol, who

requested them to leave. They refused. Fryer grabbed Ephraim Towne, the leader of the NMU union at National, and the marchers, led by an unidentified purse-swinging woman, surged forward around Towne. Highway patrolmen began firing tear gas and using high-pressure water hoses on the crowd, while J. Bracken Lee, who later became the mayor of Price, calmly filmed the war zone from the rooftop of a business building. Highway patrolmen arrested four demonstrators; the others retreated to their parked vehicles and returned to Helper.⁴⁰

The next day over 100 special county deputies went to Helper to search for Paul Crouch. Since the county was under martial law, they used every means possible to find him. The deputies intimidated and bullied the people of Helper in their search, arresting some for their participation in the march the day before in Price. Charges were soon dropped on all the hundreds of men who were arrested, except the charges on seven men, including Crouch, Guynn, and Weatherbee. Weatherbee was never brought to trial. The other two men drew light sentences and were remanded to the Carbon County District Court. Guynn later joined the UMWA and was hired as an organizer for the UMWA by John L. Lewis. Frank Bonacci explained, "Old John needed agitators bad, and Guynn was good at it."

The NMU's struggle for the Carbon County coal mines ended with this unsuccessful strike and march. The UMWA was now able to organize the mines in the county without competition. For a while Columbia Mine held out, contending that since it was owned by United States Steel Company it had to conform to the standards of the steel company. A ruling by the National Labor Relations Board negated that argument; Columbia then also organized and recognized the union. The year 1933 brought about the unionization of all coal mines in the county. The force used by West and other citizens of the county against members of the NMU was not soon forgotten, however, especially by the Slovenians. The surprising element in the struggles of that year was that no one was killed and only a few were injured.

The history of labor unrest in Carbon County is also the story of the new immigrants from southern Europe. Italians were the backbone of the 1903 and 1904 strike. Greeks joined the strike in Kenilworth in 1911 and led the countywide strike of 1922. South Slavs were the most fervent members of the NMU and advocates of the strike of 1933. Those Americans whose families had been in the country for two or more generations were not as anxious to join the unrest because they were not as downtrodden. Often men who came from local farms were the so-called "scabs." Usually they did not remain long in the mines and returned to the farms as soon as strikes were settled. By 1933 second-generation Italians, South Slavs, and Greeks—a new brand of Americans—were entering the mines.

After 1933 Carbon County coal mines became union shops, with men first joining the union, whereupon the union referred them to coal companies for employment. The union handled grievances of the men in the mines. Sometimes because of unsolvable grievances, men in certain mines walked off their jobs in "wildcat" strikes. The district office of the UMWA would urge these men to return to work. Representatives of the local union and management would meet shortly after and resolve the problems.⁴³

Company men had to become accustomed to the new rules and to working with a union. Willard Craig, a union man, had difficulties because the company did not want to pay tipple workers time-and-a-half wages for their overtime work. In a meeting with the supervisor and the superintendent, "It got pretty hot for a while. So the superintendent shook his finger at me and he said, 'I am going to tell you something Mr. Craig; you are not going to be here very long.' I said, 'I am going to tell you something, Mr. Whistle, I will be here after you are gone.' And it wasn't but a short time he got let out, and I was still at Castle Gate."

County coal miners went out on strike during general nationwide strikes organized by the UMWA. During World War II the United Mine Workers in the county went on strike for a few days over the war-time agreement that decreased wages. The men in the county calmly walked off the job and waited until the National Labor Board resolved the problem nationally. Because the federal government could not allow workers to stay off their jobs very long, the two sides reached an agreement quickly.

In 1957 Horse Canyon miners went out on a wildcat strike concerning the discrepancy of charges to the UMWA union health fund,

and Columbia and Sunnyside miners later joined the Horse Canyon miners. The strike culminated in the ouster of company doctor Frank Columbo and the sale of the hospital in East Carbon. The Kaiser Permanente Foundation first took over the hospital; they later leased it to the Carbon Medical Society, a private medical center. Even though Columbo was no longer the company doctor, many old-timers in East Carbon continued to go to him.⁴⁵

In 1968 problems with the national renewal of the coal contract idled over one thousand coal miners in the county for about a week. Only about 250 miners employed in non-union mines in the area continued to work. In the late 1960s, with the decrease of coal mining in the county, a few non-union mines began operating again. Plateau Coal Company, operating near Wattis, was the most prominent nonunion mine in the county. This company had a pay scale similar to union mines, but it also offered incentives for better production. In October 1971 a national mine strike over contracts between companies and the union caused problems in Carbon County. Union men began picketing two non-union mines, Swisher Coal Company and Plateau Coal Company. Threats were made and some acts of intimidation were carried out. Wayne Baker of Plateau Coal Company had his car burned. As a result, deputies and state troopers were used to escort men through the picket lines. The length of the strike caused problems for Utah Power and Light Company power plants, because the plants did not have large stockpiles of coal. The strike continued into the middle of November before the union settled with the companies and the miners went back to work.46

In 1977 the UMWA went out on strike in order to renew its contract with various coal mines throughout the United States. In Carbon County union mines closed, but the non-union mines—Plateau Mine in Wattis, Swisher Coal Company, and Soldier's Creek Mine—continued production. The difficulties with non-union mines that had started six years before commenced again. Union men began picketing at all non-union mines in the county, but violence erupted at Plateau when a force of twenty-five police officers escorted a busload of non-union workers through picket lines. Picketers threw rocks at the bus and at patrol cars, injuring one man when a rock struck him in the head. Governor Scott Matheson immediately dis-

patched ninety Utah Highway Patrolmen to the county to keep the peace. The patrolmen helped calm the strikers; but, when they escorted non-union workers through the picket lines, they were accused of favoring the non-union strikebreakers. A judge finally issued a restraining order which allowed only five picketers at any one position and ruled that picketers had to be about twenty feet apart. The UMWA members finally went back to work, but violence and anger had broken out once more in the county coal fields.⁴⁷

Opinions varied about unionization. Non-union men thought that belonging to the union cost too much money and that unionization was a dying cause. Union men thought that non-union men were benefiting from their efforts since their wages would also increase if union miners obtained a raise. Non-union men also earned more because they were paid a royalty for extra tonnage they mined. The union era in Carbon County was drawing to a close, however, because the union mines were closing and the few mines that remained open were non-union mines where miners were paid union-scale wages. Furthermore, larger and more diversified energy companies took advantage of the law that said that if a union mine was closed for a year and a day, it could be reopened as a non-union mine. Coal unions have declined in the latter part of the twentieth century to a point where not one of the five operating mines in the county in 1997 was a union mine.

ENDNOTES

- 1. Powell, The Next Time We Strike, 38.
- 2. Ibid., 39-40.
- 3. Salt Lake Herald, 8 February 1901.
- 4. Salt Lake Tribune, 11 February 1901.
- 5. Powell, The Next Time We Strike, 45-49.
- 6. Ibid., 44-50.
- 7. Salt Lake Herald, 17 February 1901.
- 8. Salt Lake Tribune, 7 December 1903, 8 December 1903.
- 9. Ibid., 8 December 1903.
- 10. Powell, The Next Time We Strike, 70.
- 11. Ibid., 66-67.

- 12. Ibid., 72-74.
- 13. Ibid.
- 14. Ibid., 51--80.
- 15. Ibid. 84-85.
- 16. John Haselman, who weighed the cars at the Kenilworth tipple, was told by his tipple boss at least once to weigh the cars without balancing the scales. See John Haselman, diary, LDS Church Archives.
 - 17. Powell, The Next Time We Strike, 90-91.
 - 18. Haselman, diary, 24 July 1912.
 - 19. Ibid., 12 December 1912.
 - 20. Powell, The Next Time We Strike, 105-7.
- 21. Unions at this period had not been acknowledged by management. Although several men had joined unions, local coal companies would not acknowledge unions until after the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt.
- 22. James and Marian Bonacci Lupo, oral history, 6 August 1975, interviewed by Philip Notarianni and Kent Powell, Utah State Historical Society; Marion Bonacci Lupo, interview by Helen Zeese Papinikolas, no date, in possession of the interviewer. Because of Bonacci's popularity among the miners in the county, he was elected to the state legislature in 1936, serving until 1952. Bonacci was also selected as a field organizer for the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) and later as regional director of the CIO in Colorado. In 1951 he suffered a heart attack and retired from the CIO the next year. He died in Price on 20 January 1954.
 - 23. Powell, The Next Time We Strike, 128.
- 24. For greater detail on the death and funeral of John Tenas, see Helen Zeese Papanikolas, *Toil and Rage in a New Land: The Greek Immigrants in Utah* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society 1974), 167–71.
 - 25. Ibid.; Powell, The Next Time We Strike, 125-26.
- 26. Salt Lake Telegram, 16 June 1922; Samuel A. King papers, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah.
- 27. An interesting document portraying the view of the strikers is "Utah Statement and Brief Concerning the Campaign of the Coal Operators of Utah against Organized Labor and the Unionizing of the Utah Coal Field," submitted by the Union Coal Miners of Utah to the United States Coal Commission, 25 July 1923, Utah State Historical Society.
- 28. Orson Turner, oral history, interviewed by Glen Preston, 3 December 1974, Utah State Historical Society.
 - 29. Powell, The Next Time We Strike, 121-40.
 - 30. Ibid., 168-70.
 - 31. Ibid.

- 32. Helen Zeese Papanikolas, "Unionism, Communism, and the Great Depression: The Carbon County Strike of 1933," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 41 (Summer 1973): 272.
 - 33. Powell, The Next Time We Strike, 175.
 - 34. Ibid., 177.
 - 35. Ibid., 178.
- 36. Rolla West, oral history, interviewed by Lew Mousely, 18 February 1974, 22, Utah State Historical Society.
 - 37. Powell, The Next Time We Strike, 180-82.
 - 38. West, oral history, 26.
 - 39. Rolla West, manuscript, 122, Marriott Library, University of Utah.
- 40. Powell, *The Next Time We Strike*, 182–83; KUER video filmed by J. Bracken Lee, University of Utah.
 - 41. West, manuscript, 143-44.
 - 42. Powell, The Next Time We Strike, 165-99.
- 43. Willard Craig, oral history, interviewed by Mark Hutchings, 12 June 1976, Charles Redd Center, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.
 - 44. Ibid.
- 45. Frank Farlaino, "The History of Good Shepherd Parish," paper in possession of the author.
- 46. Salt Lake Tribune, 10 October 1968, A6; 12 October 1968, A6; 15 October 1968; 5 October 1971, 4; 8 October 1971; 12 October 1971, 2B; 14 October 1971, B1; 15 October 1971, 16A; 23 October 1971, D3.
- 47. Ibid., 8 December 1977, 9 December 1977, 10 December 1977, 11 December 1977, 12 December 1977, 13 December 1977, 15 December 1977, 16 December 1977, 20 December 1977.

Coal mine company towns were a feature of Carbon County life. Between the 1880s when the first company town opened at Winter Quarters and 1942 when the last town was built at Dragerton, some twenty-four company towns were built in the Carbon County coal fields. These towns included Winter Quarters, Clear Creek, Scofield, Heiner, Royal, New Peerless, Castle Gate, Consumers, Blackhawk, Hiawatha, Wattis, Sunnyside, Columbia, Dragerton, Kenilworth, Coal City, Sweets, Peerless, Spring Canyon, Standardville, Latuda, Rains, Mutual, and National.

Often these towns began as nothing more than tent-and-shack camps that developed in a haphazard fashion. Others, however, were well-planned "instant" towns. Today there are no company-owned towns remaining, and only a few of the towns have been preserved, since companies sold the houses to private owners.

The company town was a natural outgrowth of the beginning of a mine. Usually, coal companies did not act quickly to build houses; therefore, miners established tent cities with company-provided tents. The tents could not have been very comfortable for a family,



Sunnyside Hotel, 1900. (Brigham Young University)

but companies needed workers and men needed work, so they were used. Many of those tent communities lasted through a winter or longer. The Francis Lamph family in Standardville lived in their tent for four years. When the Walter Donaldson family moved to Consumers, the family described the canyon as being lined with tents, looking like a movie version of the gold-rush days of Nevada or Alaska. Wrote one: "There were tents along mostly the upper parts of the canyon and lower down there were what we called tar paper shacks which were a little nicer."²

The company that owned each camp soon built four-room houses for its miners. Each had a front room, a kitchen, and two bedrooms. The houses for the superintendents and other bosses were usually larger, having six to eight rooms and sometimes containing two stories. Because the company placed these larger homes together, they were commonly referred to as "silk stocking row." The miners' houses were uniform, drab, frame structures, and all were the same color. In Spring Canyon and Sunnyside, Italian miners built rock houses using the rock from the canyons. In Castle Gate, Winter



Boarding House in Clear Creek, 1906. (Western Mining and Railroad Museum)

Quarters, and Sunnyside, a few miners built their own houses according to the company plan and paid ground rent.

At Castle Gate many early settlers lived in railroad boxcars, with a few miners building their own houses. Utah Fuel Company slowly began building houses for the remainder of its workmen and their families, placing outside privies near each house. The coal company provided a culinary water system with water faucets scattered throughout the camp. By the 1920s the company provided plumbing and electricity to each home, but men paid extra for this convenience. The mine had priority demands for electricity, so the company at Sunnyside turned the electricity on at sundown and off at 8:00 A.M. On Tuesdays, wash day, the company left the electricity on during the day for those with washing machines.³ Single miners lived in boarding houses built by the coal companies, usually a different boarding house for each nationality. Each miner paid rent for his company house or rooms in the boarding houses.

When the first camps opened, landscaping around the houses

was minimal, and in many camps it remained that way throughout their existence. Landscaping differed with each camp. Many of them like Castle Gate, Consumers, and Latuda were in canyons; therefore, space was at a premium, and large lawns, trees, and gardens were a luxury. House lots in Hiawatha and Kenilworth were larger and many had landscaped lawns with trees; some had small gardens. In Kenilworth Independent Coal and Coke Company wanted its community to look nice, so the company furnished landscapers to cut lawns and hedges.

Every company in the county built a store where the miners could conveniently purchase food and clothing. The store furnished miners with their picks, shovels, lamps, and blasting equipment and their families with food and clothing. As long as the miners had a job, the store would allow them credit. Having a company store was good economics since a company could always depend on miners who were in debt to its store. Companies expected miners' families to purchase their supplies at company stores and threatened some men with their jobs if they made many purchases elsewhere. Prices at company stores were higher than in Price or Helper, but not excessively so. John Haselman, who worked in Kenilworth in 1911, figured that living there cost him slightly more than living elsewhere. Because of their lack of transportation, most families made most of their purchases at company stores and did not travel regularly to Helper or Price.

Stores were also a convenience for families and communities. They were well stocked with groceries, clothes, hardware, and mine supplies. Most years there would be a man from the National Tailors Company in Chicago who would visit every company store. When men ordered a tailor-made suit from him, the company deducted payment from the man's salary. As long as a man was still working for the company, his family could charge groceries and other items at the store during the summer when the mine was not working; he then paid for them during the winter.

Most coal camps were small in population and in size. Sunnyside during some of its history was the exception. By 1920 Sunnyside had increased to over 2,000 people, and many found it inconvenient to walk to the store in the north part of town. The company finally pro-



Inside Wasatch Store at Castle Gate, c. 1890. (Western Mining and Railroad Museum)

vided a bus service from the bottom part of the town to the store and later built another store in the southern end of the camp.⁸ The Sunnyside store also provided a delivery service by wagon almost every day.⁹ In 1918 the Kenilworth Mercantile Company in that community had 8,000 square feet of floor space and sold groceries, hardware, dry goods, furniture, clothing, hats, caps, crockery, powder, and auto supplies, with an inventory of \$45,000.¹⁰

In June 1912 businesses at Helper and Spring Glen brought a suit against Independent Coal and Coke Company at Kenilworth, stating that the company prevented inhabitants of the camp from doing business with other companies. Judge C. W. Morse issued a temporary restraining order on the company. Later, Helper and Spring Glen merchants won this case. Under the new rulings, the company had to allow peddlers into its camp. Utah Fuel's next step to ensure control of its camp economically was to incorporate its coal camps and have a Utah Fuel–controlled government body. 12

During the early part of the twentieth century, the railroad generally brought the miners' pay in gold or silver coin into the camps.

Company guards transported the money from the railroad to the auditorium or store where the company paid its men. Sometimes the company ran out of cash, and men had to receive their pay in store goods. John Haselman was busy on the tipple one payday, and the company ran out of cash; he received his pay in-kind from the company store.13 For security purposes, the men entered the payroom one at a time. The bookkeeper checked the miner's work record and noted all deductions, including rent, bathhouse, welfare association dues, and, later, union dues. Then company officials would deduct the store bill. Sometimes the deductions took all or most of the wage. Ernest Stevenson commented that one payday he received ten cents; another time he received five dollars.14 Some of the women came to beg company officials to give them their husband's salary, knowing that their men might go to the saloon (also company-owned) and drink most of their wage away; but the company never paid the women.

Some mines paid in scrip, company money that was only redeemable at company stores, although many stores in Helper would accept scrip at a lower rate than face value. Scrip could be in the form of coupons or metal or wooden tokens. Scrip could also be a type of credit on the basis of money earned but not yet received. It had the effect of keeping miners continually in debt to the company. Within a few decades, companies paid their men by check, continuing to deduct all items first, however.

Sunnyside, Hiawatha, and Standardville had dairies near the camps which provided milk for the communities. The dairies sent a horse and a small wagon loaded with five- or ten-gallon milk cans to houses, where the dairyman poured into the consumer's containers the amount of milk desired. U.S. Fuel at Hiawatha owned a dairy; but at Standardville and Sunnyside the companies gave private dairies exclusive rights to deliver milk in their towns. Melvin Young delivered milk from the Big Springs Dairy to Sunnyside for a few years. For him, milk delivery was a seven-day-a-week job from early in the morning to late in the afternoon. As soon as Young entered town, he began ringing a bell so that his customers would know he was coming. He drove through the back alleys; but in some places fences and other objects blocked the roads, "so I would take my three gallon

delivery can, turn the horses loose and I would run up the back alleys delivering the milk." The horses knew the route and where to stop. 16

Coal companies provided other businesses in coal camps, such as a butcher shop, a bakery and pastry shop, sometimes a watch and jewelry shop, and a saloon. The companies usually contracted out these shops to private individuals.

Many of the camps had private stores nearby. One such store was the Carbon Grocery Company, located just below Sunnyside and run by David Menotti. The store began in 1918 under the name of the Independent Grocery Company; but when Menotti became the sole owner a few years later, he changed the name to the Carbon Grocery Company, although it was informally known as Menotti's or Davey's. He made deliveries throughout Sunnyside and took orders for the next day. Menotti's store was open from 9:00 A.M. to 10:00 P.M., seven days a week. Menotti expanded the business to include hardware, gasoline, and other items, and made it truly a general store for the area. He provided credit during difficult economic times and during strikes. After he retired in 1971, the store continued until 1981 when it closed its doors for the last time.

When company towns first began, companies did not allow the families to raise animals for sale; but, over the years, certain small animals were allowed in the camps. Ray and Robert Winn of Kenilworth raised rabbits which their family consumed and also sold to neighbors. Thomas Harrison raised chickens in Castle Gate which he sold to the people in town. Cecil Waterman and Rolla Jewkes bought some cows while working in Kenilworth and built a corral for them in the pines a few blocks from their houses. After the men milked the cows, Blanche Waterman bottled the milk, and Cecil and Rolla delivered the bottles as they went to work.¹⁷

Large companies also built recreation or amusement halls for miners and their families. The amusement halls had a movie theater and dance hall, a billiard room, a card room, a confectionery which included an ice cream parlor, and a barber shop, with a post office usually located nearby. The company deducted from every worker's paycheck a small amount, usually one dollar, called a welfare fund, which helped the company defray the costs of entertainment. This



Sunnyside in 1929. (LDS Church Archives)

fund provided for free movies, dances, and celebrations, including those on the Fourth of July and Christmas.

A typical Fourth of July celebration at Standardville started at 5:00 A.M. with forty-eight booming blasts of dynamite. Sometime in mid-morning people began to arrive at the center of town where a gazebo was located to compete in races and games of every kind for both children and adults. The games included a greased-pole climb, greased-pig catch, tug-of-war, nail driving, horseshoe pitching, spelling bees, and a baseball throwing contest. In the afternoon the camp's baseball team played an opposing team. Throughout the day everyone enjoyed free soda drinks, ice cream, popcorn, and sometimes a meal. At night there were fireworks and dancing to a live orchestra. At Christmas Santa Claus visited the camps and gave a bag of candy to all the boys and girls. In Hiawatha Santa Claus rode the fire truck around town giving bags of candy to all the children in town. In Standardville each boy and girl received a gift purchased from Salt Lake City's ZCMI department store. 19

Early in the century, Burt Martin brought in movies. Many of the coal companies in Spring Canyon, using the coal miners' welfare



Kenilworth Auditorium. (Western Mining and Railroad Museum)

fund, provided free matinee and evening movies on Thursdays and pay movies on Sunday nights. A Mrs. Harmond from Price and later a Mrs. Beebe played background music for the silent movies at Standardville. At Kenilworth teenagers often congregated after the movie at the Berensen home for Mrs. Venice Berensen's famous chile.

Each coal camp had dances, which virtually everyone enjoyed, and the dances always featured an orchestra. Calvin Jewkes, who ran the company store in Kenilworth, had a band and played for many of the dances in Kenilworth and other communities. James Dart and his band obtained their start playing for dances in the camps. Companies also brought in vaudeville productions, boxing matches, and a variety of other productions for entertainment. Every coal camp school held

plays and operettas in the camp auditorium. In the early part of the century, a traveling circus or carnival made a yearly visit to Scofield, and people from Clear Creek and Winter Quarters traveled to Scofield to witness the entertainment. The merry-go-round was popular with old and young alike. "People went so crazy over it they run almost all night and the kids had a hard time getting on the Merry-go-Round because once the older people got on they wouldn't get off."²⁰

Almost every camp had a baseball field and team. Some of the players were "ringers" brought in by the company just to make their team better. If those players were willing to work in the mine, they were paid more; but some baseball players could make enough money without going into the mine. To compete on the team, however, all players were supposed to be working for the company, though they were often assigned an outside, more desirable, job. Players quickly became the darlings of their camps and were watched with great fascination and devotion.

Many of the camps had tennis courts, horseshoe pits, and outdoor basketball courts. Spring Canyon had a heated swimming pool where residents learned to swim. Watching boxing matches was also popular entertainment, although most of the fights were in Helper. Many of the families gave boxing gloves to their boys for Christmas, and some parents expected to have the gloves worn out by the next Christmas. Many camps had their own bands. Local conductors, paid by the welfare fund and from fees from private lessons, led the bands. Sunnyside had an Italian band that was led by Giovanni Colistro and later by Mike Anselmo; it played all over the county. Standardville supported a band and, for a time, an orchestra with Skinny Perkins as director. In 1925 and 1926 the Standardville band received money for participating in the Helper parade.

Many people in the coal camps, especially youths, enjoyed climbing mountains near where they lived. Kenilworth teenagers hiked to springs or climbed the peaks surrounding the small community. The boys would often hike to their favorite creek site, dam up the water, and go "skinny dipping," or they would fish in the purer waters of Fish Creek or White River. Willie Plese reported that he took his dad's .22-caliber rifle and hunted rabbits south of Kenilworth. A success-



Clear Creek, 1903. (Western Mining and Railroad Museum)

ful hunt for Willie meant meat on the family table. Families would also go on picnics and enjoy outings away from the camp.²²

In the winter children spent a lot of time sleigh riding and playing games such as hide-and-seek. All children attended the social activities of the company and of the church. Usually most of the children, no matter what nationality or religion, went to the Mormon Primary. Beginning in the 1920s, many of the boys and girls joined 4-H clubs and the Boy Scouts or Girl Scouts. Boys as young as the age of twelve, however, often would find some type of small job outside the mine for pay. They then slowly migrated into the mine, either with fathers or on their own. Growing up at that time was not a long process. Girls also found that there were plenty of responsibilities at home—helping their mothers, cooking for boarders, and putting up lunches. Many a girl also had to quit school and stay home to help her mother or look after younger siblings so her family could make ends meet.²³

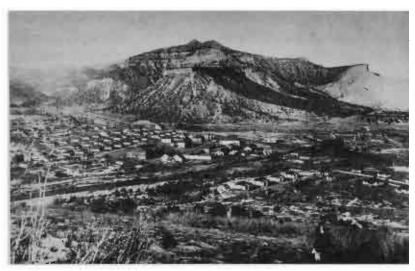
The camps took care of the community clean up, fire watch, and sometimes garbage pickup. Garbage was taken to a local canyon and dumped. Sometimes garbage disposal simply meant that households had the responsibility of throwing all their cans into a dry creekbed

near the camp. In Kenilworth often the company sent men throughout the town picking up garbage and debris to keep the camp looking presentable. After several houses burned down about 1920, Sunnyside established a volunteer fire department and installed fire hydrants throughout the town.²⁴

The camps encouraged various churches to come to the community to organize believers. The Mormons first established branches and then wards in almost every camp in the county. They also constructed buildings, often with the assistance of the local coal company. Catholics established a church in Castle Gate and later a mission in Sunnyside. Most of the time, though, a Catholic priest traveled throughout the camps and offered mass in the amusement halls, which would always be made available for his use. A Greek Orthodox priest also traveled, but usually not as frequently as did the Catholic priest. Protestant ministers did not make the trip very often to the camps; but when they did, companies provided facilities for them.

Every camp had an elementary school, usually up to grade eight. The school in Spring Canyon used a double tent during its first year. Companies would build schools with help from the county; and the county and local school districts provided teachers. Many schools had two grades, and sometimes up to four, in one classroom. In Consumers, Walt Donaldson remembers four grades being in one room with four rows, one grade for each row. Donaldson recalled how difficult it was to concentrate when another row was reciting orally a completely different lesson or subject.²⁵

Women worked at home as hard as their men worked in the mines. Even if they had only the responsibility of one family, they had to buy food, cook, sew clothes for the children and adults, wash the clothes by rather basic means, and take care of the children. They also cleaned the miner's lamp, made his dinners, and packed lunch buckets. Some women supplemented the family income by washing clothes or providing meals for men who lived alone. If a couple took care of a boarding house, the wife had to be up at four A.M. making breakfast and packing lunches. She did the cooking and clothes washing for the boarders. Suga Iwamoto managed the Japanese boarding house at Consumers. Since the Japanese did not use the company



Hiawatha a company town owned by United States Fuel Company, c. 1930. (Utah State Historical Society)

bath house, she also heated water for the tub in which the Japanese men bathed after work.²⁶ Ida Erkkila of Clear Creek made freshly baked goods to put into the men's lunches every day.²⁷

The women had to assist their families any way they could. When Erkkila no longer took care of the boardinghouse, she cleaned the mine office, the store, and the doctor's office, and then took home the doctor's washing. In 1921 Rosa Ariotti and her family moved to Castle Gate, where she bought cows, sold milk, and washed clothes. When her husband went back to Italy, she did not follow him, and the company moved her out of her house. She left Castle Gate and moved to Spring Glen, rented another house, and continued to wash clothes for a living.²⁸

The fear of death or a disabiling accident to the men added pressure to the women of the camps. If the man could no longer work, the company quickly moved the family out of their house. When Battista Clerico was injured in the mine, his wife, Gabriella, "took off afoot to find a farm. She collapsed from exhaustion, worry, and hunger somewhere in Spring Glen. . . . She couldn't make herself understood that she wanted to buy a farm." Since she had cash, she finally was able to purchase a farm for half the asking price, but she

made sure she had a bargain by obtaining the advice of her banker, lawyer, doctor, priest, and the marshal.²⁹

Beginning in the late nineteenth century, immigrants from southern Europe came to the mines to find employment. Some of them had experience working in the mines of Europe, but many had none. However, since the mines needed men, they quickly filled many positions with immigrant workers.

The housing in the coal camps had segregated enclaves where various nationalities lived. In local parlance, there generally was a Jap town, a Dago town, a Greek town, and a Bohunk town. Members of each nationality fived together partly by choice; but many mine companies encouraged them to live together in enclaves and assigned them houses based on that idea. In 1917 Utah Fuel desired more conspicuous segregation for Japanese workers, and sought a separate Japanese boardinghouse and pool hall in Sunnyside. 30 Kenilworth had its own Greek town, with a Greek coffee house provided by the company. Italians lived in Sunnyside's lower town, and Greeks hved in a section of Sunnyside's middle town. Complete segregation was impossible, since the communities were not large. Local children played with one another, and the women traded recipes. Many longtime American families whose ancestors had come from northern Europe found themselves living in the midst of the foreign enclaves simply because of the nonavailability of other housing.

With segregation there were also some conflicts that existed between longtime Americans and newly arrived foreign-born residents. Lucile Richins said she disliked all foreigners." In Sunnyside the other children made fun of Angelo Georgedes on his first day of school in 1910 because he was a Greek." Within the next few decades, however, these barriers slowly began to break down. The children mingled together in the schools, and the men associated with one another in the mines. Women had more difficulty blending into the community because they stayed at home and usually associated only with others of their nationality. With time, however, groups began to respect others more and more, bringing about some intermarriage. The maturing of the second generation generally ended the nonacceptance problems. World War II helped to end the segregation.

The spirit of neighborliness and closeness among the people of

the camps was described by Walt Donaldson, who grew up in Winter Quarters, Consumers, and Standardville. When his fourteen-year-old brother was killed in 1938, his family had to hold the funeral in the local amusement hall because it was the only place large enough. The men willingly started work several hours early in order that both shifts could finish and everybody could attend the funeral. Donaldson wrote: "We felt the love of the people. . . . Because of the good spirit there and we knew that our neighbors felt for us, why everything came out fine." 33

In another case, when Naomi Parkin's mother was hospitalized at St. Mark's Hospital in Salt Lake City, she had no insurance to take care of her bills. The men at the Clear Creek mine "would leave their donation at the mine office. Then that money was handed over to the person that needed it. They wrote my dad a check I think every month that my mother was in the hospital," Parkin wrote.³⁴

Up to about 1930, families were required to live in the coal camps; but with unionization and better transportation, the coal camps declined. After unionization the company stores also began to decline. Companies no longer threatened men with their jobs if they did not purchase at company stores. Companies continued their stores as a convenience for miners and their families who lived in the camp, still extending credit which was deducted from wages. The coal mines experienced economic growth and then decline, a cycle that sometimes repeated itself throughout their existence. Because the coal camps were an essential part of the coal mines, the camps also experienced this growth and decline.

Beginning in the late 1920s a few coal mines closed and their associated camps died. Winter Quarters closed its camp in 1928. Maple Creek, Heiner, Little Standard, and Coal City, which was almost named Dempseyville after Jack Dempsey, closed in the 1930s.

ENDNOTES

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- 3. Howard T. Jones, oral history, interview by J. Glen Peterson, "Life in Sunnyside," December 1974, Utah State University Special Collections.
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 - 12. Taniguchi, "Perceptions and Realities," 106-11.
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- 15. See James B. Allen, "The Company Town as a Feature of Western American Development," Ph. D. diss., University of Southern California, 1963.
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- 17. Ray Winn, "Kenilworth—A Good Place to Have Grown Up," in Kenilworth Memories (n.p., 1990), 63–65; Thomas Harrison, oral history, interviewed by Mark Hutchings, 16 April 1976, Manuscripts and Archives, Brigham Young University; Blanche Waterman, "History of Cecil and Blanche Waterman," 21, Price Public Library.
- 18. Francis Lamph, "First Standardville-Day Celebration," manuscript, copy in possession of the author.
- 19. Louis and Chris Nelson, oral history, interviewed by Nancy Taniguchi, 11 July 1980, Utah State Historical Society.
 - 20. Donaldson, oral history, 6.
 - 21. Ibid., 8.
 - 22. Kenilworth Memories, 65.
- 23. Naomi Phillips Parkin, oral history, interviewed by D. Mark Hutchings, 16 April 1976, Charles Redd Center, Brigham Young University.
 - 24. Stevenson, oral history.

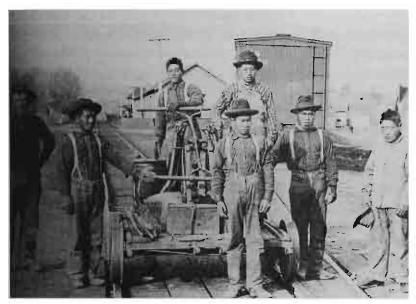
- 25. Donaldson, oral history, 10.
- 26. Alice Kasai, oral history, interviewed by Paul Kato, 26 November 1975, Utah State Historical Society.
- 27. Lillie Erkkila Woolsy, oral history, interviewed by Madge Tomsic and Alene Kirkwood, 10 July 1993, 11, Western Mining and Railroad Museum, Helper, Utah.
- 28. Frank Romano, "My Grandmother-Bit Nana," Carbon County Journal 2 (Summer 1983): 28, 29.
- 29. Margaret Turcasso, "Gabby-the Go-Getter," *Carbon County Journal* 3 (Fall 1983): 6–10.
 - 30. Notarianni, "Utah's Ellis Island," 184.
- 31. Lucile Richins, "A Social History of Sunnyside," Utah State Historical Society.
- 32. Angelo Georgedes, oral history, interview by Allan Kent Powell, 10 December 1976, Utah State Historical Society.
 - 33. Donaldson, oral history.
 - 34. Parkin, interview.

CULTURAL DIVERSITY

Ethnic and cultural diversity has colored and shaped the Carbon County area over the last century perhaps more deeply than in Utah's other twenty-eight counties. This is perhaps even more important than coal in making Carbon County's history distinctive. Crating this diversity were immigrants from all over the world, including Asia, the Middle East, Europe, the British Isles, Scandinavia, the Balkans, Greece, Italy, France, and Mexico, as well as African-Americans from other parts of the United States. They made their homes in Carbon County and contributed to all aspects of community life, producing a heritage of tolerance and acceptance that some have defined as the finest result of the Carbon County experience. These accomplishments did not come without struggle, however.

Intolerance was common during earlier years, as many residents whose ancestors had come to America in prior decades questioned the ability and worthiness of new immigrants to become Americans, and the new immigrants questioned the humanity of their antagonists. The pattern repeated itself through the years, the latest group of immigrants meeting difficulty from those who had come before.

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Chinese railroad workers, c. 1890. (Western Mining and Railroad Museum)

Religion often divided people more than it united them. Some older Mormon settlers and their descendants saw new immigrants as a threat to the building of the Mormon Zion. New immigrants were not necessarily free of religious intolerance themselves; nevertheless, their arrival in Utah meant for most the first time they were part of a distinctive religious minority.

Beyond religion, Old World loyalties sometimes ran counter to perceived American interests, and the patriotism and loyalty of immigrants was questioned. Measures were taken to "educate" and "Americanize" immigrants. Yet, at the same time they took English language classes, studied the United States Constitution, and became American citizens, immigrants were discriminated against as to where they could work, whom they could hire, and whom they could court and marry. When adherence to one set of standards did not measure up, members of the racist and jingoistic Ku Klux Klan in Carbon County made threats and participated in acts of violence and intimidation against certain groups.

In retrospect, the activities of the local group of the national Ku Klux Klan during the 1920s might be considered part of the turbulent adolescence of the young county. The decades of the Great Depression and World War II saw an increasing level of tolerance and acceptance. American-born and immigrant fathers alike worried about feeding their children during the difficult days of the 1930s. American-born and immigrant mothers cried over and prayed for their sons serving side by side in the world war.

Ultimately people of all backgrounds in the county found greater success and fulfillment through tolerance and unity than through intolerance and divisiveness. Learning to accept and appreciate the values and heritage of one another proved crucial to this change. Today the county's largest celebration—International Days—brings residents and visitors together in celebration of diversity, which is now viewed as a strength rather than a weakness.

The first group of immigrant people to come into the Price River Valley were Mormons, most of whom had been born in the eastern and midwestern states or had emigrated from the British Isles. A few, like Swiss-born Hans Ulrich Bryner, came from continental Europe. Bryner, who was blind, had emigrated from Zurich, Switzerland. Despite his blindness, he built a large home in Price, hauled water from the river to his house for the first four years, managed the activities on his small farm, and made and sold willow baskets for people in the area. In 1888 Bryner's home caught fire and, because the new canal was broken, there was no water to douse the flames and it burned to the ground. Bryner rebuilt it. When Price City installed sidewalks, the city surveyor remarked that Bryner had the only fence line in its proper place. In the 1930s Bryner's grandson, Lynn Fausett, included in his mural for Price City Hall a portrait of himself as a young boy leading his revered grandfather.

The northern European countries of England, Wales, Scotland, Ireland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Germany, and Iceland came to be represented by a considerable number of their sons and daughters. In 1900, 196 foreign-born immigrants came from those countries to settle in Castle Gate, making a total of 520 foreign-born residents. In 1910, 137 northern Europeans resided in Castle Gate among a total of 431; and, in 1920, 152 lived in Castle Gate out of a total of 390. About 70 percent of these northern Europeans were members of the Mormon church. After converting to Mormonism,

many of them left their native country in search of fellowship with other church members in Utah. Many came to Carbon County because they were experienced coal miners, having already worked in the mines in England, Wales, and elsewhere. During that early period, these individuals, because of their experience and knowledge of the English language, were more likely to be hired as foremen than were immigrants from other nations.

In 1910 Thomas Biggs, a seventeen-year-old Welsh immigrant, began working in Winter Quarters Mine. Biggs already had four years of mining experience, two years in Britain and two years in Finland. His mother and remaining family members joined him about six months later. The number of northern Europeans employed at the mines remained fairly constant throughout the years.

Finnish people came first into the area of Pleasant Valley in the 1890s and worked in the Winter Quarters and Clear Creek mines. The Finns built a hall for meetings and social activities. They also constructed public and private saunas like those they had known and used in their homeland. Sixty-two Finnish miners were among the 200 men killed in the Winter Quarters Mine disaster on 1 May 1900. While many Finnish families remained in the Pleasant Valley area after the disaster, a few moved to other coal camps in the county.

Northern Italians first came to Carbon County in the 1890s to work in the Castle Gate mine.' A few years later central and southern Italians from the areas of Abruzzi, Calabria, and Sicily also came to mine coal. Northern and southern Italians early on established separate fraternal organizations—Stella D'America for the northern Italians and the Principe Di Napoli Lodge for the southerners. Although the political unification of Italy had finally occurred in 1870, regional allegiances remained part of the Italian experience in Carbon County for years.

Many French people came from the Haute Alpes Department near the Italian border and from the Basque area of the Pyrennes, where some who were known for their skills as sheepherders came to the American West to herd sheep. A number of them settled in Price, prospered as sheepmen, and invested in banks and stores in the community; among them were Honore Dusserre, Pierre Jeanselme, and Pierre and Honore Moynier, who arrived shortly after the turn of the century.⁵ Others came from central France to work as coal miners.

Greeks first arrived in the county in 1904 when a small number of young Greek men were recruited to take the places of striking Italian coal miners. A larger number arrived in 1905, and by 1910 Greeks had become one of the dominant ethnic groups in the county. Many young Greeks obtained jobs through Leonidas Skliris. Known as the "Czar of the Greeks," Skliris was a labor *padrone*, or recruiter, who worked with businessmen to supply Greek workers for Utah railroads, coal mines, and copper mines.

The Greeks came from mainland Greece and from Crete. As with northern and southern Italian immigrants, there were also regional differences among mainland and island Greeks that surfaced from time to time in Carbon County, including political preferences in the struggle between the monarchy and democracy. When work was finished for the Greek men each day, they dressed up in their best suits—an important symbol of their prosperity and success—and went to the coffeehouses where they were able to socialize. The coffeehouses, decorated to remind them of Greece, had pictures of Greek patriots, live basil plants, and even Greek newspapers. At the coffeehouses older men were able to exercise a kind of patriarchal hold on younger men to keep them from being led away by the attractions of the new society. The men lived together, sometimes in poor conditions. They were accustomed to women cooking and serving their food, but in these situations they chose one man to cook for them all.6 In 1914 Maria Economidou, a representative of the Greek government, traveled to the United States to investigate the conditions of Greek men. She visited Clear Creek and found the Greek miners in drafty shacks which housed ten to fifteen men each. They explained to her that they feared the oppression of their bosses and American doctors.7

South Slavs from the southern European area were called Austrians because they came from the old Austro-Hungarian Empire before its disintegration in 1918. The South Slavs included Slovenians, Croatians, and a few Serbs. The Slovenians were the most numerous of the South Slavs in the county. They came as railroad workers but quickly switched to coal mining because of the availabil-

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Patrons of a Helper Greek Coffee House, 1922. (Western Mining and Railroad Museum)

ity of work. The Slovenes associated together in the Slovene National Benefit Society. Other South Slavs organized Croatian lodges and the Yugoslav Socialist Federation.⁸

Another large group to make homes in the county were the Japanese. They came first to work on the railroads of the American West but later worked in the coal mines. Daigoro Hashimoto, their local labor agent, furnished many of his countrymen with jobs in places throughout Carbon County. Some later leased farmland and became very successful farmers. They generally worked for little pay, lived in poor conditions, caused few problems to their employers and the community, and only asked for their native foods of fish, rice, Japanese vegetables, and tea. In some of the coal camps, bath houses were provided and amusement halls were built by coal companies to accommodate Japanese workers and perhaps also to maintain the segregation of Asian workers that other westerners had insisted on since at least the construction of the transcontinental railroad in the 1860s. Many Japanese workers had left by the outbreak of World War II. Those who stayed found themselves under watchful eyes after the

Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. Sego Takita Matsumiya, a 1939 graduate of Carbon High School, recalled the experience of her father:

1 think it kind of broke my father's heart.... We had an old five-tube radio. It was just one of those old-fashioned radios, wood cabinet... [for] broadcasting news and music.... It wasn't one that would send messages. They confiscated that. They confiscated his camera, and he had a .22 that he used to shoot rabbits... and they confiscated that. They were afraid he was going to shoot somebody. Those three things they took away from him down in Carbon County before he was forced to move.¹⁰

Pushed by the poverty and absence of economic opportunity and pulled by the advertisements of industrial companies and steamship lines of jobs and fortune in America, thousands of young men left the villages of Italy, Greece, and other countries for the United States. Except for those few who would join family members already here, none foresaw destiny bringing them to places like Price, Helper, Castle Gate, Sunnyside, or any of the isolated coal mining camps in Carbon County. Representative of these immigrants, nineteen-yearold Yorvis Zisimopoulos left Greece in 1907 to gain money for a dowry for his sisters and prosperity for himself. His father gave him enough money for the trip, money that his father's employer had discounted from his future salary. Zisimopoulos found the wharfs at Andirion teaming with others going to "Ameriki." Once he arrived, he found employment on railroad crews; and because of his hard work and management skills, he formed a crew. His prosperity led him to Carbon County and the life of a merchant.11

After the first surge of new blood from southern Europe arrived in America, many wrote home and convinced others to come to this land of promise. These immigrants brought with them their cultural heritage—their religions, old country foods, and even their holidays. The different customs and traditions of these new immigrants often isolated them from the existing American cultural practices. Work brought men of different cultures together, sharing common problems and concerns, and schools brought the children of these various peoples together. Children often spoke a foreign language in their homes, but at school they spoke English.

Most young immigrants to the country took jobs as railroad workers, which they obtained through other countrymen or padrones—countrymen living in America who actively recruited workers for railroads and mining companies. For their service the padrones received compensation from those hired and also were given special privileges by the companies. Most of the young sojourners planned to remain in America only long enough to earn money to send to their poverty-stricken families at home—especially, as in the case of Yoris Zisimopolous, to provide their sisters with the allimportant dowry necessary to marry well. With these obligations met, many young men would remain to earn enough money to allow them to return home as wealthy men. Some accomplished these goals, returning to their villages with stories about America that would be repeated over and over during their lifetime and passed on to their descendants. But many more stayed in America, especially after they married, and their children-born Americans-knew only life in the United States.

Many of those who married sent for brides from their native countries. A much smaller number returned to their native country, found a woman, married her, and brought her back. Many men never married, and most of the single men still considered returning home until World War I. Some of them returned to live in their native country, but many never returned.¹²

For the immigrant women who left the familiarity and relative security of their families and villages, the journey to America was the most difficult experience of their lives. They often traveled alone and endured the ordeal of the Atlantic crossing in the crowded steerage section in the bottom of a ship, the processing through Ellis Island, and the crossing of two-thirds of the North American continent without being able to speak or understand English. They also were concerned that those who had written promising to meet them might not be there. Many years after her own journey from Calabria in southern Italy, Elizabeth Marelli recalled the experience vividly.

When I was nineteen, I received letters from America. They were written by a gentleman named Francesco Felice. . . . Frank's letters and my responses were read and written by my aunt who was the

village interpreter. After two years of corresponding, Frank sent me the money to go to America and become his wife. I left my village, wearing a sign saying Salt Lake City, Utah and traveled by train to Naples. From Naples I traveled by ship to New York City. When I arrived in New York City, I was stranded for three days because I was thirty-five dollars short for my trainfare. . . . I had neither food nor money and I was only able to say "Helper, Utah America" in English, so I sat on the hard wooden bench alone in the big train depot. Finally, a shop keeper close by the depot came to help me. He was Italian and was able to speak with me. He wired Frank Felice in Helper, Utah and was able to get me the money. . . .

My long journey finally ended at Salt Lake City, Utah. There I met Francesco Felice. He was a very handsome man.

Twelve years after their marriage, Frank Felice died, leaving Elizabeth with four children. "I was alone. This time I had four mouths to feed. What did I do? I baked my bread. Every morning at five o'clock I kneaded one hundred pounds of flour into many loaves of my good bread. These loaves were baked in an outside oven. It was not easy, but we had each other and we made the best of life at that time. You do what you have to do and think about it later." 13

The difficult journey and strange surroundings were tempered by countrymen who helped newcomers adapt and maintain some continuity with their homelands. Coal companies encouraged the segregation of different nationalities into enclaves within the coal camps. While families and countrymen naturally sought to live as close together as possible, the companies used the practice as a measure of control by dividing the camp into factions which would be less likely to cause trouble. In Castle Gate, Americans and northern Europeans usually lived in Price Canyon and southern Europeans lived in Willow Creek.

The small, segregated enclaves of nationalities in the early part of the twentieth century lasted a few decades. Gradually the workplace, sports—especially baseball—and the schools helped bring national groups together. The various ethnic enclaves were broken up as a consequence of practical considerations and actions of individuals who challenged the established system. In 1929 Tony Priano became one of the first Italians who moved from the foreign section of the

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Pierre Jeanselme and family and other French men, 1913. (Western Mining and Railroad Museum)

camp. When he married, there was no other place to live except in Price Canyon; he told the mine office, "If you don't give me that house, I'll quit." The boss said, "I don't want to lose a good man because you don't want him in a house. I have been in his house. I know his wife and family. You will not find another family as clean. You give him the house. I don't want to lose him." The office gave him the house. "

Slowly but surely, those who were born in other countries became United States citizens. For some the naturalization process began quite early; on I9 July 1900, for example, "some Italians requested naturalization from Judge Jacob Johnson in Sunnyside." For others, citizenship was not obtained for years. Once in America emigrants did not forsake their allegiance to their homeland. When the call came, some Greeks volunteered to return to Greece to fight in the Balkan Wars. Some French emigrants volunteered to return to France at the outbreak of World War I and join the army. America's entry into World War I brought a realization for most immigrants that while they still had ties to their homeland, an allegiance to the

United States had evolved to the point where those who had not already become U.S. citizens sought to do so.

A few obtained their citizenship papers during election times when various politicians wanted their votes. Some of the judges were more strict. Angelo Georgedes relates how two Greek sheepherders went for their citizenship examination, and were turned down by the examiner because they needed to attend school. They had no time for school because of the demands of sheepherding. Georgedes went to the hotel where the examiner stayed and talked to him. The examiner thought Georgedes had come to bribe him to pass his friends. Instead, Georgedes told the examiner that both men had purchased property and paid taxes. They also were law-abiding men and over fifty years old. He told the examiner that they would be back to try again to become citizens of America: "I told him, 'When the time comes for that examination, try to place yourself in their shoes and hardship and look at their faces—how weather beaten they are and look up their records, to see if they have ever been in trouble, have they committed any crime, and how they pay their bills and look up their credit in their banks. Then make your judgement." The next time the examiner came, the two Greek sheepherders became citizens.16

Early in the twentieth century, coal camps were the centers of cultural diversity in the county. By 1900 there were fifteen different nationalities in Castle Gate, including 237 Italians, 85 English, 67 Austrians, 43 Welsh, 23 Scots, 20 Danes, and 10 or fewer Swedes, Irish, Germans, Icelanders, Belgians, Canadians, Swiss, French, and Russians.17 There was also a number of Japanese, but in the census of 1900 the Japanese were not counted with the others. By 1910 the diversity remained, but Greeks had now entered the county in numbers and had become an important element in the camps. In Kenilworth there were 119 Greeks, 75 Italians, 28 Japanese, 14 Slovenians, 13 Germans, and seven or fewer Welshmen, Croatians, English, Scots, Swedes, Slovaks, Poles, Finns, and Australians. In Castle Gate in 1910 there were 172 Greeks, 73 Italians, 100 English, 32 Slovenians, 22 Welsh, and 20 from seven other nationalities; in 1920 there were 108 Greeks, 72 Italians, 32 Scots, 23 Welsh, 15 Austrians, and 29 from twelve other nationalities. In 1920 Kenilworth CULTURAL DIVERSITY 211



The John and Caterina Bottino family in front of their boarding house in Helper, c. 1908. (Utah State Historical Society)

had 316 foreign born, who had 242 children, totaling 558, or 67 percent of the total Kenilworth population. The new immigrants dominated the coal camps, with the American-born being a minority. By 1920 the number of Greeks and Italians in Carbon County more than doubled the number of the same nationalities in Salt Lake County.¹⁸

The town of Helper became recognized as the home of a large number of ethnic groups; however, this was a twentieth-century development. In 1900 Helper had only seventy foreign-born residents, with twenty-nine Italians making up the largest group. By 1910, however, 282 foreign born resided in the town, including 144 Italians, 44 Greeks, and 25 Japanese. By 1920 the foreign-born population jumped to 434, with 208 Italians, 79 Greeks, and 54 Japanese; also, 242 children born in the United States lived in homes with foreign-born parents—totaling over 33 percent of the town's population. In 1900 and in 1910, Italians had the greatest number of foreign born in the county; but, by 1920, Greeks had numbers that were close to that of the Italians.¹⁹

After the coal strike of 1903–1904 many striking Italians never went back to the coal mines; they settled in Helper, where they became merchants. Other nationalities came to Helper, including Greeks, Serbs, Slovenians, Croatians, Japanese, and a few Chinese, with each nationality in Helper living in its own area in town. Northern Italians lived close to the business district because most of them were merchants. Southern Italians congregated west of the commercial district near present Hill Street. Italians prepared traditional foods and even constructed outdoor baking ovens like those they had used in their homeland. Italian masons built houses and rock fences with local stone, which still remain to make Helper distinct from other communities in the county and state. Several coal camps including Spring Canyon had rock houses built by skilled Italian masons.

Helper provided immigrants with the opportunity to become merchants in the town. The 1903–1904 Helper *Gazetteer* listed five foreign merchants. By 1918–1919 that number had grown to thirty-five businesses out of sixty-three, with twenty-two being Italian, seven Greek, and seven being owned by Japanese and Chinese merchants. Four years later the total number of foreign businesses had grown to seventy-two, accounting for 61 percent of Helper's businesses.²¹ Because of its multinational characteristics, Helper became one of the most distinctive and unique communities in Utah.

One of the most influential businessmen of his time was Joseph Barboglio, an Italian immigrant who worked in the Castle Gate mine. He left for Missouri after the 1903–1904 strike and married a Missouri woman. He then returned to Helper, where he established the Helper State Bank in 1910.²² George Zeese, a Greek immigrant, also became a prominent merchant in Helper. Zeese had come to Helper after building railroads in several places in the West. He established a cigar store and later a grocery store in Helper.²³

By 1900 immigrants from southern Europe had yet had little effect upon Price. There were eighteen Japanese people in the town in 1900, seventeen English, nine Germans, five Russians, and five Swedes. By 1910 Price still had barely felt the impact of these immigrants; there were twenty-three English, twenty-one Greeks, ten Japanese, nine Danes, and six or fewer Swedes, Irish, Austrians,

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Bennet, Leah, and Gabriel Mangone in Castle Gate, c. 1920 with American and Italian flags. (Western Mining and Railroad Museum)

Welsh, Mexicans, Scots, Russians, Norwegians, French, Canadians, Italians, and Germans in the town. In Price there were more nationalities represented than there were in the coal camps; but fewer were from southern European countries. A large number of Greeks in

Price were sheepherders, since French sheepherders had already established Price as the center of the sheep industry. By 1920 these numbers had increased to ninety-five Italians, fifty-eight Greeks, and forty-nine French residents. Turkish, Syrian, Armenian, and Spanish immigrants also populated the town. Price, a livestock and agricultural center, had a number of foreign-born people in its midst, but they represented only 16 percent of a total of over 2,200 population. However, the ethnic presence in Price was quite visible due to the construction of a Greek Orthodox Church, a Catholic Church, and many immigrant-run businesses and shops.

An outpouring of American patriotism burst forth after the United States entered World War I in April 1917. Although directed primarily against the German-American community—especially those individuals who appeared to have any sympathy for Kaiser Wilhelm and the German Army—other immigrant and ethnic groups were the subject of close scrutiny by those who questioned whether the foreign-born relative newcomers had or could ever adopt what were judged to be the basic qualities of Americans. Just how these ideals were defined varied considerably from one circumstance and location to another. In many cases contention came from perceived threats to the status quo—especially when customs, actions, and beliefs of newcomers clashed with the established values and economic interests of other Americans.

In rhythm with the nativistic sentiments that beat across America, there were some in Carbon County who viewed immigrants with contempt, hoped they would leave, and demanded—if they stayed—a full measure of loyalty and conformity. Into this brew of racism, nativism, and general intolerance, immigrants themselves introduced more palatable ingredients of commitment to their new home and the hope of a brighter future for their children as Americans. To this was added the influence of articulate second-generation immigrants who had grown up in the county, gone off to fight as American soldiers during the war, and returned with strong feelings of patriotism and the desire to make a positive contribution to their community.

Before World War I, county residents had expressed toward foreign immigrants a variety of feelings from acceptance to outright hostility. The hostile feelings differed according to the times and the nationality. During the 1903–1904 strike, some labeled Italians as un-American and heaped contempt on them. In 1922 similar sentiments were expressed toward Greek strikers. Earlier some criticized the attempt by certain Greek men to gain exemption from U.S. military service, contending that the Greeks were reaping benefits from their American experience but did not want to accept any responsibilities. These detractors failed to acknowledge that most Greeks gave liberally to the Red Cross, subscribed more than their share for war bonds, and worked hard in the mines.

One of the strongest critics of Carbon County's immigrant population was the *News-Advocate*. The paper frequently denounced foreigners, especially Greeks, for their alleged un-American activities. Lucile Richins, who grew up in Sunnyside about 1915, said that she was raised with a wholehearted contempt for Greeks, Italians, and other southern Europeans who lived there. John Haselman, who worked at the tipple in Kenilworth from 1910 to 1913, had an Italian friend who sometimes went on walks with him. He also worked closely with Greeks and had nothing negative to say about them in the workplace. About a decade later George Watt, who grew up in Sunnyside, wrote that he was friends with children from various nationalities.

The Ku Klux Klan first appeared in the South immediately after the Civil War, supporting white supremacy at the expense of the newly freed slaves. It fostered segregation, second-class status for African-Americans, and an anti-Semitic attitude against Jews. In the 1920s the Klan came to support what it called "Americanism" and "white Protestantism." In Utah, however, the "Protestantism" was discarded to attract Mormons, who did not consider themselves Protestants. The Klan also opposed all southern European immigrants and Catholics.

It is no surprise that with the revival and expansion of the Ku Klux Klan throughout much of the United States during the 1920s some Carbon County residents would join its ranks. Klan membership in the county in 1924 and 1925 was largely in Helper and Price, with a few members in the camps, especially Castle Gate. The members were said to be mostly involved with the management of the

Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad and the Utah Fuel Company. All of the ranking leaders of the Klan were said to be Masons. It was claimed that a few of them were active Mormons, although this was somewhat clouded because some members were inactive Mormons and others considered to be Mormons were not members themselves but were married to active Mormon women. The Klan drew support from those who opposed the 1922 strike, opposed Greeks and other southern European immigrants, and were anti-Catholic.²⁹

Klan activity began in Helper. In 1923 county attorney Henry Ruggeri accused Helper officials of taking bribes from bootleggers, gamblers, and prostitutes. In the aftermath five Helper city officials resigned, including Mayor Albert M. Evans. New elections brought in former city recorder Glenroy Ballinger as mayor; he brought to town as his police chief Mike C. Brennan from Colorado. Brennan was a well-known Ku Klux Klan recruiter, and the two men began to organize the Klan in Helper.³⁰

On the night of 30 August 1924, the KKK burst upon the public scene when four automobiles came roaring into Helper from the north with a lighted torch in the rear car. They sped to a hill east of town and lighted a cross which measured approximately ten by fifteen feet. After it burned, the cars quickly and quietly left in the same direction they came.³¹

Two months later, on 3 November the Klan held a well-attended recruitment meeting in Price City Hall with a Dr. Polly speaking on "the big issues vitally affecting America." Some who attended were seriously leaning toward the Klan; others came because of their curiosity; and a few, like Clara and Maud Ruggeri, came to learn about their enemies. The Ruggeris were asked to leave the meeting, but they stayed. Even though the Klansmen were hooded and masked, the Ruggeris were able to identify several of the Klansmen by their physical characteristics."

Recruitment to the Klan, with the exception of the Polly lecture, was usually a quiet word-of-mouth process. Before long, membership included men from Castle Gate, Helper, Spring Glen, Price, and several other camps. Often potential members were invited to attend a meeting about Americanism. Helper City electrician B. Hofma

invited a young Utah State Agricultural College student whom he had hired as a temporary employee to attend a meeting. The student met the group at a service station south of town, and they drove to the Klan's ceremonial grounds in Gordon Creek. Only after the meeting started and the ghostly, hooded men stood before him and around their altar did the student learn that he was attending a Klan meeting. The talks were innocuous, but the student did not come forward to join the organization. He was driven back to Helper, and the next day Hofma told him that he no longer needed his services.³³

In the fall of 1924 the Klan burned crosses on hillsides near towns from Winter Quarters to Sunnyside. Evening marches were held once in Helper and several times down Main Street in Price. One march in Price was held in the afternoon.³⁴

Upset about the Klan's threats and intimidation, the county's Greeks, Italians, and others resolved to fight back. Some purchased guns to protect themselves and their households; some already had guns. George Garavaglia, owner of the Liberty Hotel in Helper, who also served as night marshal, began to bring various immigrant groups together to resist the Klan. Father Alfredo F. Giovannoni organized a chapter of the Knights of Columbus in Helper. When the Klan burned their crosses, the Knights of Columbus, supported by others, burned fiery circles as a symbol of unity, defiance, and the nothingness of the crosses. Although tensions were high, violence was avoided by both sides. Reports circulated that some Greek and Italian businessmen paid protection money to the Klan. Youngsters such as Helen Zeese and Helen Barboglio had family members walk them to school and back because of the possible fear of kidnapping. The Klan quietly became involved in the election of 1924. It helped defeat county attorney Henry Ruggeri and elect reputed Klansmen Oliver K. Clay and Carl Nyman.35

The Klan's influence continued and was undoubtedly a partial influence in the lynching of an African-American named Robert Marshall in February 1925. Marshall's background is unclear, but he was one of a small number of African-Americans who found their way to Carbon County and worked in the coal mines and coke ovens. In February 1925 Marshall reportedly shot another African-American at the Rio Grande Western depot in Thompson Springs,

Utah. The sheriff of Grand County arrested Marshall but later released him, whereupon Marshall came to Castle Gate. Early in June, J. Milton Burns, deputy sheriff of Castle Gate, relieved Marshall of his gun, but Marshall obtained another gun, vowing that he would repay the deputy. On 15 June Marshall found Burns making his rounds and shot the deputy several times, subsequently making a successful escape. Burns was taken to the hospital but died the next day. A posse was organized, but it could not locate Marshall, who had escaped into the nearby mountains. Finally, on 18 June Marshall returned to the cabin in Castle Gate which he shared with George Grey, another African-American miner. Grey informed authorities, who captured the fugitive while he was asleep inside the cabin. Word spread quickly that Marshall had been apprehended. As the prisoner and deputy sheriffs made their way by automobile from Castle Gate to the county jail in Price, some forty automobiles joined the procession. Meanwhile, in Price another group of men obtained rope at the Price Trading Company store. When the caravan reached the jail, a mob surrounded the car, overpowered law officials, seized the prisoner, and drove to a small grove of cottonwood trees east of Price, with hundreds of people following. Within a short time, the mob had the rope around Marshall's neck, and he was "strung up" on a lower branch of the tree. A few minutes later law officials arrived, cut the rope, and tried to take Marshall back to jail; however, when Marshall showed signs of reviving, the mob overpowered the officials and strung him up again until he was dead.36

A large number of the citizens of Price and some from other areas of Carbon County attended this lynching. Many took pictures of the dead man, and some reportedly brought picnic lunches. Some individuals attending were simply swept along with the crowd. J. Bracken Lee, who would later become mayor of Price and governor of the state of Utah, was present. Angelo Georgedes, a Greek, went along with others to the lynching. Some who attended did not feel comfortable being there, but once they were in the cars they could not turn back. Most of the people in the county were horrified and shamed at the lynching.³⁷

Within days an investigation began, and the sheriff arrested ten men and charged them with the death of Robert Marshall. During the latter part of July a grand jury began investigating. The jury questioned 125 witnesses in thirteen days but could find no evidence sufficient to return an indictment against anyone. Judge George Christensen dismissed the jury and released the prisoners. Thus ended the last lynching in the state of Utah.³⁸

The hanging of Robert Marshall in 1924 was the climax of Ku Klux Klan activity in the county even though not overtly a Klan activity. That terrible act seemed to satisfy the right-wing element in the county. After the Marshall lynching, cross burnings became less frequent, as many in the county seemed to change their feelings toward the Klan. In late summer someone dynamited the Klan altar in Gordon Creek, and Price citizens elected as mayor James W. Loofbourow, who led an anti-Klan slate.

The large southern European population still fueled some Anglo-Saxon nativism, but proximity lessened this feeling. Klansman Harry Wahlraven and George Zeese, Greek immigrant and merchant, lived next door to each other. Dr. Charles Ruggeri, a second-generation Italian physician, and Dr. Sanford Ballinger, a Klansman, shared an office. The most prominent Klansman in Price, L.A. McGee, an attorney with a large clientele, found out that being a Klansman was bad for business when several of his immigrant clients discontinued his services. By the fall of 1925 the Klan was quietly dying although it was able to hang on until about 1927, when Emil Nyman, an erstwhile Klansman, challenged Frank Porter in the Helper mayor's race. Arthur S. Horsley and Cecil Pope, friends of Nyman, conspired to burn a couple of crosses on the hill east of town. The reaction was immediate. The Knights of Columbus ignited fiery circles in those hills, and Porter won by a landslide.³⁹

In counterbalance to the Ku Klux Klan and the nativistic sentiment were men like Henry Ruggeri and Father Alfredo Giovannoni. Ruggeri, an American-born son of Italian parents, had served with the American army in World War I. When he returned home, he joined the American Legion. The legion, which was an ultra-patriotic group, could never have denounced Italians because of Ruggeri. Shortly after Ruggeri's return, the county elected him county attorney. He helped start the short-lived Italian Americanization Club in 1920 to encourage Italians to become American citizens. 40

Alfredo Giovannoni was born in Italy in 1881, the seventh of eight children. In 1911, sometime after becoming a priest, he immigrated to the United States. In 1916 Giovannoni traveled to Utah and, within a year, Bishop Joseph S. Glass, director of the Utah Catholic Diocese, assigned him to Helper; in 1918 Glass transferred him to Price. Giovannoni supported Italians, other nationalities in his charge, and Americanization throughout the county. The Catholic church in the county continued to support Americanization even after Giovannoni left in 1930.

The 1922 strike, the Klan activity, and the lynching of Robert Marshall left a divided county. A state of distrust continued to exist for the next few years, but the Depression years lessened these feelings. Coping with the difficulties required that people depend upon and cooperate more with each other. The hard times did not discriminate by nationality, and everybody felt the pangs of economic deprivation. During the Depression people united together to fight the destabilizing effects of unemployment and poverty. Many remaining vestiges of national division were overcome with new generations and increased education. World War II also encouraged accommodation. All ethnic groups supported America's effort in World War II. Most gave generously to the American Red Cross and purchased war bonds.

After World War II the segregated areas in the coal camps and in Helper almost completely disappeared. People of different nationalities joined together in many affairs. When Jenny and Andy Pappas were married in Kenilworth, their old-fashioned Greek wedding lasted for days and the entire town celebrated. In 1948, when their daughter Marilyn Pappas married Henry Scarzato, the entire town turned out for the wedding. All residents of Kenilworth knew the Pappases because they prepared food for most of the town dinners.

Education brought understanding and continued to be the avenue for a better life among the original southern Europeans. They sent their children to school to become doctors, lawyers, educators, and businessmen. Some of the children returned to Carbon County to benefit the county; others left. The three Ruggeri brothers are good examples of those who returned. Henry Ruggeri became an attorney and for a short time was county attorney; Charles Ruggeri became a

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Friends and family of Gregory and Athena Halles at the baptismal dinner for Georgia Markakis, left in her mother's arms, December 1923. (Utah State Historical Society)

physician and practiced in Helper for a time; and the third brother, James, became a dentist. Stanley Litizette, a band major at Carbon High, went to Notre Dame University and later returned to Helper as an attorney. Luke Pappas also became an attorney and returned to practice in Price. Helen Zeese Papinikolas received her education in the Carbon County schools, leaving for Salt Lake City during her junior year in high school. She became a well-known historian of Greeks and other ethnic groups in Utah. Michael and Nick Orfanakis both became medical doctors. William and Frank Gorishek, brothers and sons of South Slav immigrants, became doctors and practiced in the coal camps. William Gorishek was a well-known surgeon in the county for most of his career. These are only a few of the many of the second-generation immigrants who have excelled in their various fields. The list could go on with names including Dr. Anthony Demman, Dr. Joe Dalpiaz, Louis Veltri, and others.

A vital part of the Carbon County experience encompassed such elements as adaptation, integration, interaction, and the emergence

of people with their own qualities and attributes. Accommodation is perhaps the word that best describes the process, which took place in several stages. The first stage was simply acceptance of differences by various groups within the county. The foreign born learned enough English to communicate on the job, and their children interacted with other groups in school and on the recreation fields. The women who stayed at home had the greatest difficulties. Sometimes children taught the English language to their parents, who in turn used it in the marketplace. For Catholics the church and Notre Dame school helped the children and their parents accommodate, whether they were Italians, French, Slovenians, Croatians, or Irish.

The wars, especially World War II, accelerated and intensified the accommodation process. Intermarriage soon meant that names common to certain ethnic groups were no longer proof that an individual belonged to a specific nationality. The story of one family—the Wilford and Louisa Poppleton Nielsen family—helps illustrate the process and can be seen as representative of the experiences of nearly every multigenerational family in the county. The Nielsens came from Cache Valley. After their marriage in 1900, they lived in Park City, where Wilford became a miner. When they left that area, the family moved successively around the Intermountain area to Pocatello, Wellsville, Ely, and finally arrived in Spring Canyon in 1922. The family entered a multicultural setting, with Japanese, Korean, Italian, Austrian, Mexican, Greeks, Jews, Danes, English, and Norwegian people in the town. Sophie Critchlow, one of the children, said, "We soon learned that living in an ethnic community wasn't half bad. We learned to eat and enjoy their cooking. The pastries some of these ladies turned out were real-melt-in-your-mouth delicacies. Their children were beautiful and clean, well mannered and polite. We ran in an out of their homes and were soon unaware of the difference in our skin color or nationalities."43

Altogether the Nielsens had six children, all of whom were influenced by the multiculturalism of Carbon County. Louisa died in 1927 and Wilford in 1961. Shortly after he moved to Carbon County with his parents, Vernon P. Nielsen, the oldest child, went to work in a coal mine and then married Fern Meade. The couple suffered through strikes and the Depression. When Fern converted to the

Seventh Day Adventist faith, they moved to Washington state. Katie Mildred Nielsen married Gerald Banasky in Price; they moved several times within the county, and finally to Helper. Katie died in 1952 from diabetes. Rhoda Mae Nielsen took over many of the responsibilities upon her mother's death, then married Valentine (Tino) Udovich in 1931. They moved to Colorado, back to Carbon County, then back to Colorado, where she died in 1982.

William P. Nielsen, born in Ely, Nevada, in 1914, married Annie Mismash, a Catholic, in Spring Canyon. He said, "This was a whole new beginning for both of us. She is of the Catholic faith and I LDS. We were told by many that it wouldn't work, but after 56 years, something must have been wrong. We are still together and will be that way until the Lord sees fit to separate us." William worked at Latuda, Royal, and Sweets mines. After his mining experience, he worked for twenty-six years in the lumber business before returning to the coal mines in order to receive a pension.

Sophia Nielsen married John Critchlow in 1940 and became a rancher's wife. To help the family, she began working in a grocery store and then found employment at the local Koret factory. Harold Nielsen went to school in Carbon County but, like the rest of the family, never finished high school. He married Edith Long in 1941 and worked in a meat market in Helper. Later, Harold worked in the coal mines, on the railroad, and also became involved in the Helper city government, where he ran the street department. He also served as a councilman for the city.⁴⁵

Thousands of people within and outside Carbon County experienced this accommodation process. Carbon County was not the first place it occurred, nor will it be the last. But within the broad scope of the Utah experience, there is no better example for historians to examine this process than what took place in Carbon County during the twentieth century.

ENDNOTES

- 1. Tom Biggs, oral interview, 6 August 1975, interview by Kent Powell, Utah Historical Society.
- 2. U.S. Census, 1900, 1910, 1920; Castle Gate LDS Ward membership record, 1905–15, LDS Church Archives. There were 111 who were listed as

born in northern European countries in the Castle Gate Ward from 1905 to 1915.

- 3. Stanley V. Litizzette, oral history, 18 December 1971, interview by Philip Notarianni and Kent Powell, Marriott Library, University of Utah.
- 4. Philip F. Notarianni, "Utah's Ellis Island: The Difficult 'Americanization' of Carbon County," 185.
- 5. Art Jeanselme, oral history, 7 February 1994, interview by Pam Miller, Western Mining and Railroad Museum, Helper, Utah; Mae Moynier, "French in the County," paper in possession of the author.
- 6. Helen Zeese Papanikolas, "Toil and Rage in a New Land: The Greek Immigrants in Utah" *Utah Historical Quarterly* 38 (Spring 1970): 118–20; Notarianni, "Utah's Ellis Island," 184.
 - 7. Papanikolas, "Toil and Rage," 138.
- 8. Joseph Stipanovich, "South Slav Settlement in Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 43 (Spring 1975): 168–70; Notarianni, "Utah's Ellis Island," 183.
- 9. Helen Z. Papanikolas and Alice Kasai, "Japanese Life in Utah," in *Peoples of Utah*, 333–36; Notarianni, "Utah's Ellis Island," 180.
- 10. Allan Kent Powell, *Utah Remembers World War II* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1991), 226.
- 11. Helen Papanikolas, *Emily—George* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987), 110–11, 133–35.
 - 12. Papanikolas, "Toil and Rage in a New Land," 153-56.
- 13. Elizabeth Siletta Felice Marrelli, unpublished typescript, quoted in Steve Siporin, "Folklife and Survival: The Italian-Americans of Carbon County, Utah," in *Old Ties, New Attachments, Italian-American Folklife in the West*, ed. by David A. Taylor and John Alexander Williams (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1992), 80–93.
- 14. Tony Priano, oral interview, 29 July 1975, with Phil Notarianni and Kent Powell, Utah State Historical Society.
 - 15. Eastern Utah Advocate, 19 July 1900.
- 16. Angelo Georgedes, oral history, 15 December 1977, with Allan Kent Powell, 20–21, Utah State Historical Society.
- 17. The Austrians were part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Most of them who came to Carbon County were Croatians and Slovenians, but the 1900 census did not designate the difference. The 1910 census did tell what nationality they were. The 1920 census indicated Slovenians, Croatians, and Serbs.
- 18. Andrew Hunt, "Beyond the Spotlight: The Red Scare in Utah," Utah Historical Quarterly 61 (Fall 1993): 379.

- 19. Ibid., The nationalities found in Carbon County included Italian, English, German, Scottish, Russian, Canadian, Irish, Austrian, Slovenian, Croatian, Serb, Greek, Swede, Chinese, Danish, Japanese, Syrian, French, Mexican, Belgian, Welsh, Norwegian, Slovakian, Swiss, Hungarian, Dutch, Icelandic, Polish, Australian, Spanish, Finnish, Turkish, and Armenian—a total of thirty-three. The Italians, Greeks, English, Welsh, Scots, Japanese, and Slovenian numbered the highest, although by 1920 a number of Mexicans had come into the county. The Finns always dominated numerically in Clear Creek.
- 20. Philip Notarianni, "Tale of Two Towns: The Social Dynamics of Helper and Eureka, Utah," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Utah, 1980, 135, 194–97.
 - 21. Ibid., 129-30.
 - 22. Ibid., 136.
 - 23. Papanikolas, Emily—George, 283-94.
 - 24. See U.S. Census, 1900, 1910, 1920.
 - 25. In contrast, the Sun usually defended the foreign-born immigrants.
 - 26. Lucile Richens, WPA Collection, Utah State Historical Society, 10.
 - 27. John Haselman, Diary, LDS Church Archives.
 - 28. George Watt, "Life of George L. Watt," LDS Church Archives.
- 29. Larry Gerlach, Blazing Crosses in Zion: The Ku Klux Klan in Utah (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1982), 91-93.
 - 30. Ibid.
 - 31. Ibid.
- 32. Clara Ruggeri, oral history, 27 August 1975, interviewed by Philip Notarianni and Kent Powell, Utah State Historical Society.
 - 33. Gerlach, Blazing Crosses in Zion, 95.
 - 34. Ibid., 95-96.
 - 35. Ibid., 98.
- 36. Ted Deffendol, "The Lynching of Robert Marshall in Carbon County," Utah History Special Research Project, 25 March 1970, 1–7, Utah State Historical Society. See also Mona Marsing, oral history, 15 May 1994, interviewed by Ronald G. Watt and LaRue Bate, in possession of the author.
- 37. Ruggeri oral history; Angelo Georgedes, oral history; J. Bracken Lee, oral interview by Ronald G. Watt, 1993, in possession of the author.
 - 38. See Deffendol, "The Lynching of Robert Marshall," 88-113.
 - 39. Ibid., 88-99, 109-13.
 - 40. News Advocate, 8 April 1920, 1 July 1920.
 - 41. Bernice Maher Mooney, "The Americanization of an Immigrant:

The Rev. Msgr. Alfredo F. Giovannoni," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 60 (Spring 1992): 169–72.

- 42. Marilyn Pappas Scarzato, "My Memories of Kenilworth," Kenilworth Memories, 56.
 - 43. Sophie Critchlow, Eat Sweets and Aunt Skeets (n.p., c. 1994), 7.
 - 44. Ibid., 103.
- 45. See Critchlow, Eat Sweets and Aunt Skeets, a delightful book of recipes interspersed with family stories.

RELIGION

Religion has been a strong element of cultural distinctiveness among Carbon County's ethnic groups, and the story of religious institutions within the county is a fundamental part of the county's diverse history. While most early settlers were members of the Mormon faith, it was not religion as much as an affinity for the frontier and the promise of economic betterment that brought the first settlers into the county. Where many areas of the state were settled in response to calls by Mormon religious leaders, Carbon County's experience was different: the first settlers took up homesteads along the Price River on their own initiative. Yet those independent early settlers brought their religion with them. They organized LDS branches, wards, and stakes; they built chapels and a magnificent tabernacle. Individually they strove to live the tenets of Mormonism, and collectively they expanded the Church of Jesus Christ of Latterday Saints in their towns and through the missionaries they sent out into the world.

Like their Mormon neighbors, immigrants from Finland, Italy, Greece, France, Yugoslavia, Japan, and other countries did not come

to Carbon County out of religious incentives. They were motivated by economic opportunity and sustained by their courage to travel thousands of miles to make a new home. They did not forget their religion, and they brought to the new land a desire to worship and establish the churches they had known in the Old World. Some, like the anticlerical French, came with little organized religion; but in Carbon County they found a renewed interest in the Catholic church through the encouragement of dedicated clerics like Italian-born priest Alfredo Giovannoni.

Through the efforts of Greek immigrants, the magnificent Hellenic Orthodox Church of the Assumption was built in 1916. The oldest Greek Orthodox Church in Utah, it was one of only a few early twentieth-century Greek Orthodox churches built in the West. Catholics from Italy were the prime movers in the construction of Saint Anthony's Church in Helper and they assisted the efforts of French and French-speaking Basques in Price to build the Notre Dame Catholic Church. Catholic members from Croatia and Slovenia also helped sustain their traditional faith in the county. The construction of churches and the vibrant religious life that sustained immigrants helped make their sojourn in the area permanent. Immigrant religious leaders like Father Mark Petrakis among the Greeks and Father Alfredo Giovannoni among the Catholics not only served their congregations with great devotion but also contributed immeasurably to the good of the entire community.

In addition to Mormons, Catholics, and Greek Orthodox believers, the Methodist church and other Protestant churches have added their measure to the religious diversity of the county. Besides the beginnings and development of the four major religious groups, there have been activities of other churches and groups within the county.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints

The first ecclastical units of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latterday Saints (LDS, or Mormons) in Castle Valley were organized in August 1882 when Mormon apostles Erastus Snow and John Henry Smith were sent to Castle Valley to create the Emery LDS Stake, with wards in Castle Dale, Ferron, and Huntington. Branches and wards

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were part of the larger ecclesiastical organization called a stake. During their visit Snow and Smith traveled throughout the area, giving advice as to where to locate the town. Snow predicted that Price would become the metropolis of eastern Utah and promised the settlers in the Price River Valley that a ward would be organized in their area in the near future. In November 1882 Emery Stake leaders organized the Price LDS Ward. The pioneers of the Price River Valley sustained George Frandsen as the new bishop in the valley; Erastus Hiram McIntire, who had come from Paragonah, as first counselor of the ward; and old explorer and hunter Caleb Rhoades as second counselor.

George Frandsen had immigrated to Utah from Denmark in 1856. After serving a mission to Denmark, he moved to the Price River Valley in 1882. Frandsen helped survey the townsite of Price, purchased land, and later organized the Price Water Company. He eventually built his house near the meetinghouse and, as bishop, held a firm grip on the Price Ward. He devoted his whole effort to establishing the new community. Within a few years, Frandsen had organized all auxiliaries necessary to run the church.²

The formation of a ward choir caused the greatest controversy in the new community. In 1884 Bishop Frandsen returned to Sanpete County for a short time, and, while he was there, his first counselor, Erastus McIntire, organized a choir with Samuel Cox as chorister and Ernest S. Horsley as assistant. However, when Frandsen returned, he thought McIntire had taken authority on himself. During the disagreement, both McIntire and Rhoades resigned. John H. Mathis and John H. Pace replaced them as counselors to Bishop Frandsen. In 1886 the death of John H. Mathis after several months of illness led to the surveying and dedication of Price City Cemetery. Mathis was the first person buried in the new cemetery. Three years later Pace resigned as counselor and Erastus McIntire agreed to become a counselor once again.

Early in May 1884 Frandsen organized a Sunday school, with William J. Tidwell as the first superintendent. P.J. Olsen, the assistant superintendent, appointed Sarah M. Leigh and Mariah Powell to be teachers and H.B. Horsley as chorister. At the first organization meeting, Jens Peterson and Bishop Frandsen both talked about the rea-

sons for having a Sunday school; then followed what they termed the "reading," which was probably a recitation period. Olsen asked for donations to buy books for the school. He collected \$3.10; most of the children gave ten cents, but John D. Leigh and Peter J. Olsen gave fifty cents each.³

Early in 1884 Reuben Miller, Caleb Rhoades, George Frandsen, John Leigh, and others went up a small stream about ten miles south of Price called Miller Creek, felled a few trees, and dragged them into town. In April the men of the community built the first church building in the town, located on the northeast corner of Main Street and First East. The building immediately became the center of the community. Twenty-two feet wide, forty feet long, and about twelve feet high, with double doors and a transom in the south end, it was a very small and unpretentious building. It had three windows on both the east and west walls, and on the north end a platform was constructed where the officers of the ward conducted the meetings and where plays were also performed for the community. A special dance was held on 15 April, and everybody came wearing their best boots and shoes in order to smooth the floor. The dance was a square dance, and since only thirty-two people or four sets could dance at the same time in the limited space, dancers drew numbers and danced at designated times.4

The Mormon church continued to grow during the 1880s, and by 1890 there were wards in Price, Wellington, and Spring Glen. These wards were part of Emery Stake, but the towns of Scofield, Winter Quarters, and Clear Creek were part of Utah Stake, head-quartered in Provo. The Utah Stake presidency organized Pleasant Valley Ward in 1883, with David Williams as the first bishop. Scofield Ward was organized in 1901 and Clear Creek Ward in 1911.

In 1888 the Emery Stake presidency established the Castle Gate LDS Branch. In 1900 they organized the Sunnyside Ward, and in 1911 they formed the Castle Gate Ward. Because they were few in number, Helper's Mormon congregation struggled. A branch was organized in the city in 1914, but within two months the first presiding elder left. Stake leaders called Claudius Brown to be the presiding elder, but less than two years later he too left without informing anyone. The branch then was closed until 1921.

In May 1910 Mormon church authorities organized Carbon Stake with Gustave E. Iverson as the first stake president. All the branches and wards in the county were included in Carbon Stake. With the demand for coal and the growth of coal camps, the stake soon formed branches in Spring Canyon, Kenilworth, Hiawatha, Standardville, and Gordon Creek. At Kenilworth the Mormon church purchased an old boarding house, and men in the community joined together to remodel it for a church. Some of the smaller branches later became wards. Interestingly, Carbon Stake was also responsible for Green River Ward in Emery County. In 1913 church leaders released Iverson and sustained Arthur W. Horsley as the stake president.⁵

A typical ward held a Sunday meeting called a sacrament meeting and held weekly priesthood meetings for men, Relief Society meetings for women, Mutual Improvement Association meetings for young people, and Primary meetings for the children. The membership donated money to the wards as tithing, budget, and fast offerings. The wards sent the tithing to the general church in Salt Lake City and used the budget money to maintain the ward locally. Fast offerings were used to help the local poor. Before the establishment of a money economy, church members donated items of produce or other goods to local tithing yards, usually near their meetinghouses. Religion permeated the lives of the Mormons. The faithful attended meetings and made the meetinghouse the center of their existence, involving themselves with activities in the church and its auxiliaries.

The most visible accomplishment for Mormons in Price in the early twentieth century was the construction of the Price LDS Tabernacle on the northeast corner of Main Street and 100 East. Since the settlement of Price, Mormons had been meeting in a small log church; but by 1908 the local Mormon congregation was too large for the log church. To raise money for a new building, ward leaders sold the old church building to Peter Anderson, who used the lumber from it for his house. Bishop Albert Bryner organized a fund-raising committee to secure additional funds, and by the end of 1912 the ward had sufficient funds to begin construction on a new tabernacle. Work on the building ceased frequently due to a lack of funds; consequently, the committee asked everyone for weekly donations of ten



Price LDS Tabernacle. (Utah State Historical Society)

cents per member. By the end of 1912 the walls were in place and the roof was on; but the lack of money prevented installation of the windows. During the winter months, the building committee raised additional money from ward members and obtained a bank loan. In the spring of 1913 work resumed, and by March 1914 the building was sufficiently completed to enable Carbon Stake to hold a conference in the basement. A week later Price Ward held an open house including a program and a dance in the new but still unfinished building. Reverend J.E. Ferris of the Methodist church was among the many residents of Price who attended the open house and was impressed with the sacrifice made by ward members to build the tabernacle.⁶

Work continued on other parts of the building as means and circumstances permitted. Some years progress was very slow, and a few stake members doubted that the building would ever be completed. With the main meeting room almost finished, ward and stake leaders made plans to install a pipe organ. To raise money for the organ,

wards held plays in the almost-finished building, and the stake invited a Welsh male choir to present a concert in the newly completed auditorium. The choir performance was a great success, with about 1,000 people in attendance. In 1924 the finance committee made the final payment and the tabernacle was dedicated. After more than a decade, ward members no longer needed to contribute to the building of the tabernacle. The attractive building cost nearly \$100,000, with about half of the money raised locally and the other half coming from church headquarters in Salt Lake City.⁷

By 1929 the 4,880 Mormons in Carbon County constituted slightly more than 25 percent of the total county population.8 During the late 1930s significant changes occurred in Price for the Mormon church as ecclesiastical responsibilities for one bishop became too great and the Carbon Stake presidency divided Price Ward in 1938, creating Price First and Second wards. The stake presidency instructed both wards to alternate use of the Price tabernacle meeting hall and basement. The next year the stake organized a third ward to include all Mormons south of the railroad tracks in Price.

The Price Third Ward immediately began a building program for another building. Money and building materials were scarce during the Depression, and before construction could begin the nation entered World War II. Although faced with a shortage of construction materials, members of the Price Third Ward pushed forward and completed their church during the war.⁹

Meanwhile, Winter Quarters Mine closed, and the Mormon church closed its Pleasant Valley Ward. The branch at Helper reopened in 1921 and became a ward in 1930, but it continued to meet in the railroad chapel, which was owned by the railroad and used by all denominations. Finally, in 1939, after securing wood from Heiner's general store, Helper LDS Ward members began construction of their own meetinghouse; but it was not completed until 1943.¹⁰

Following the end of World II, Mormon stake leaders organized the Price Fourth Ward in the northern part of town. In June 1945 church leadership divided Carbon Stake and created North Carbon Stake, which included Price Second Ward on the east side and Scofield Branch on the west side. Carbon Stake contained the other Price wards as well as Wellington and Sunnyside wards. Carbonville Ward was organized in the late 1940s as part of the North Carbon Stake. The church also instituted a released-time program at secondary schools in the area and built seminary buildings close to each of the junior high and high schools, thus facilitating daily religious instruction for students.

One of the most important programs the Mormon church developed was its welfare program to help the needy. In response to the Great Depression, Mormons began a program of work and self-help. The church purchased farms, factories, and mines to produce crops and other items and assigned welfare recipients and ward members work assignments in these places. Carbon Stake purchased land south of Price for a farm, which was soon producing pigs, a few head of cattle, alfalfa, and what seemed like mile-long rows of sugar beets. Soon after its creation, North Carbon Stake purchased a farm farther south from the Carbon Stake farm. Each stake farm employed a fulltime farmer and organized a farm committee to help coordinate the work. Asa Draper, a member of the Carbon Stake presidency, described using donated labor at the farm. "We dug beets. We thinned beets, and we hauled hay. We planted corn. We thrashed." One day he asked his eleven-year-old son to bring his tractor and baler to the farm because men from the camp town of Columbia were coming to work. He reported that the men were more than equal to the task: "There was never a bale hit the ground. The men were riding on the tractor talking to me, waiting for a bale to get ready to come out."11

In 1946 the Mormon church purchased a coal mine near Castle Dale, and each ward assigned men to work in the mine. Because many men already were coal miners, doing the necessary work was easy for them; however, these men were union members, and the Deseret Mine was a non-union mine. Union leaders did not want their members working in a non-union mine even if the men simply donated their time; therefore, union pickets were set up to discourage men from working in the mine. Finally the stake asked the miners to work on the welfare farms and found non-union men to work in the mine. That arrangement was not completely satisfactory either, and, after negotiations between the LDS church and the United Mine

Workers of America, union leaders classified the Deseret Mine as a welfare mine and allowed union miners from Carbon County to donate their time to the church coal mine.¹²

In the 1950s Price Fifth and Sixth wards and a college branch had their beginnings. The church also razed the Price tabernacle that early settlers had struggled so long and hard to build and constructed a more modern building at a different site. The church sold the tabernacle lot, and an oil company built a service station on the site. The service station has also since been demolished, and today the site has been converted to a grassy area next to the museum; it contains a brass monument in memory of the historic Price tabernacle.

For Mormons the 1950s was a period of expansion in the more populous areas of the Price River Valley. The church grew to fourteen wards in Price, including three student wards at Carbon College, two wards in Helper, two wards in Carbonville, one ward in Spring Glen, four wards in Wellington, and one ward in East Carbon. Along with this expansion, new meetinghouses had to be built. The process of building new meetinghouses began when unexpected disaster struck in Price. Early Sunday morning, 7 November 1954, the Price Third Ward meetinghouse burned. The congregation held their meetings that day at Reeves School, which the ward rented for services until members had enough money to start a new \$100,000 church in southwest Price.

Two weeks after the fire, a thirty-eight-car train with twenty-seven cars of lumber derailed near Green River. The bishop of Green River notified stake president Elton Taylor about the wreck, informing him that there was a possibility of obtaining the lumber. Taylor went to the site and placed a bid of \$26,500 for the lumber and \$250 for a carload of sugar. The railroad company accepted the bid with the stipulation that the material would have to be cleaned up in less than a week. The stake presidency gave the assignment primarily to the local wards with building projects, and, within the allotted time, men had the lumber removed from the site, obtaining over \$100,000 worth of lumber at a fraction of that cost. Railroad officials could not believe that a group of men would donate their time to clear the lumber. The lumber went into the construction of the Price Third Ward,

Dragerton, Sunnyside, Wellington, and Green River buildings and for the remodeling of two other buildings in the stake.¹³

The process of raising money for construction of ward meetinghouses was long and arduous. Mormon church headquarters would pay 50 percent of the construction costs, but local ward members had to raise the remaining money. When the Spring Glen chapel became inadequate in the early 1950s, the ward had many fund raisers to obtain the needed money. Members tore down an old building in Helper and salvaged much of the lumber. The ward also salvaged lumber, furnace, and plumbing fixtures in the old Carbon Country Club building. Ward members held dances and dinners, sponsored a "Little Buckeroo Rodeo," served the Labor Day banquet in Helper, and engaged in many other projects.14 Donated labor from members built most of the new meetinghouses, and it was not unusual in Carbon County to have non-members donate almost as much time as their Mormon neighbors. Many people cooperated in community projects, and building Mormon meetinghouses fit into that category whether in Kenilworth, Spring Glen, or Price. In January 1959, a few weeks prior to the Wellington meetinghouse dedication, church headquarters informed ward leaders that they were short by almost \$1,200. The ward bishoprics held a meeting with their members, and before the meeting ended the members had pledged the needed money.15

From 1977 to 1984 the Mormon church organized eight new wards and three new stakes in the county. All of this gave the appearance of great growth in membership; however, in actuality, church membership fluctuated as economic and labor conditions changed in the county. In 1952 there were 9,369 Mormons in the county; in 1970, almost twenty years later, there were 7,755 members; and in 1995 there were 10,385 members. Mormon general church head-quarters had created smaller wards, which meant that there were more congregations, but not more members, throughout the county. Mormons comprised just under 50 percent of the population of the county. ¹⁶

Catholics in the County

The first permanent Catholic residents of the county were Italian immigrants who arrived at Castle Gate in the 1890s to work in the

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coal mine. In 1897 Bishop Lawrence Scanlan of the Catholic Diocese of Salt Lake supervised the building of a frame church in Castle Gate where a priest came once a month to celebrate mass. Ten years later the small wooden church burned and the diocese moved services to the railroad chapel in Helper. In 1913 Bishop Scanlan appointed Reverend Anthony Petillo pastor of the coal camps in the county. A year later, primarily because of Father Petillo's enthusiasm, Catholics built St. Anthony's Church in Helper. Joseph Barboglio was chair of the committee to raise money for the brick building. In 1914 Father Petillo left the county for health reasons.¹⁷

In 1917 Bishop Joseph S. Glass sent Reverend Alfredo F. Giovannoni to Helper. Father Giovannoni was born in Lucca, Italy, and, after being ordained to the priesthood, migrated with his sister to Wisconsin. In 1916 when Father Giovannoni came to the diocese headquarters in Salt Lake City, Bishop Glass sent him for a few weeks to Ely, Nevada, and then to Helper. The geographic area of his parish was huge and included all of eastern Utah. Traveling great distances, he said mass in Helper each Sunday, then held a second mass at another town in the county; during the week he visited other towns in eastern Utah. On one occasion, while en route to La Sal in San Juan County, Father Giovannoni's car broke down; upon finding him on the road, an old farmer carried the priest in his wagon more than three hours to his destination.¹⁸

In 1918 the Salt Lake City Diocese transferred Father Giovannoni's headquarters to Price, where he found temporary quarters in the mortuary owned by James Flynn; but his reception in Price was not as warm as it had been in Helper—only a few Italian Catholics lived in Price along with a few prosperous French sheepherders and their families. What involvement most of these immigrants had with the Catholic church was limited to christenings and marriages. Funerals might be conducted by other clergymen, as was the case of twenty-one-year-old Florance Galliard, whose funeral was held in the Methodist Community church, and that of Rachel Jeanselme, who died during the 1919 flu epidemic and whose funeral was held in her home under the direction of a neighbor, Mormon Stake president Arthur W. Horsley.

Nevertheless, Reverend Giovannoni saw great potential for the

Catholic church in Price and decided to push ahead with the construction of a church in the city. In March 1918 Reverend Giovannoni and others from the church appeared before the Price City Council and asked for an appropriation for the proposed Catholic church in Price. Following the precedent set when the council had been approached with a similar request by representatives of the Greek Orthodox church, the request was denied. Council members told Father Giovannoni that even though they wanted to see the church built in Price, it was not appropriate to use city funds for church purposes; however, before the councilmen left the council chambers that evening, each member had made a personal pledge of financial support.¹⁹

Requests for support for the church from local French Catholics met with almost total silence. Father Giovannoni told Wallace Lowry, a local sheep owner, about this lack of support from the French Catholic community in the county. Lowry immediately wrote Giovannoni a check and proceeded to solicit money for the church from other local French sheepherders. Giovannoni was overwhelmed with their donations, but he could not understand why these French sheepmen, who had recently refused his requests, would give for a church they felt they did not want. The Frenchmen actually gave the money because as sheepmen they were accustomed to helping each other.20 In a gesture of goodwill and thanks to the Frenchmen for their support and donations, the diocese named the church the Notre Dame de Lourdes Catholic Church. Naming the church and parish after Notre Dame, the famous Paris cathedral, and Lourdes, the city at the foot of the Pyrenees in southern France near the ancestral home of some of the Carbon County area French and the site of the reported miraculous visitation in 1858 by the Virgin Mary to Bernadette Soubrious that turned the city into Europe's most popular pilgrimage site for the sick and infirm, induced Carbon County French families to regard their church with much greater favor. After the Notre Dame school was built, the French people sent their children to the Catholic school, where they mingled with children of Italian, Slavic, and Irish residents.

Father Giavonnoni asked local workmen to donate their labor and skills in building the church, and county residents also donated



Notre Dame de Lourdes Catholic Church, 1937. (Jerome C. Stoffel Collection, Catholic Diocese)

some building materials. Rolla West built the pulpit and other items of furniture. West, his employees, and others who donated their time were honored by Father Giavonnoni, who provided them with some of the best wine found in Utah. In haste to complete the building, however, one of West's workmen placed the cross in the wrong location. The error was soon discovered and West was asked to relocate the cross at its proper location. Working by the light of a lantern late on the eve of the dedication, West completed the relocation. The following morning, 20 June 1923, Bishop Glass of Salt Lake City dedicated the new church.²³

Father Giovannoni participated in various civic organizations. He joined the Italian lodge Stella D'America and was involved in the Italian Americanization Club; he also was a member of Price Chamber of Commerce, Kiwanis Club, Red Cross Executive Committee, Country Club, and Elks Lodge. In 1926, after the Ku Klux Klan scares, Giovannoni helped organize the Knights of

Columbus Council 2611 in Price. Under his direction, in 1927 an order of nuns—the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul—began the Notre Dame elementary school. The school was first held in the church basement, but it soon outgrew this accommodation and moved to the northeast part of Price.²²

Father Giovannoni's lifestyle was extraordinary for Carbon County. He lived in a five-room rectory south of the church. He loved fine cars and usually drove a Buick or Studebaker. He wore knickers and smoked fine Italian cigars. Giovannoni made some enemies because of his stern manner, but he united Italians in support of the Catholic church in the county.23 In 1930 the diocese transferred Giovannoni to Salt Lake City, and Reverend William Ruel replaced him. Father Ruel was a hard-working man and a good economic manager during a time when the coal camps were suffering through a period of depression. He ministered to the same area as had his predecessor, and he was often found in one coal camp or another. He served over 3,000 Catholics, most of them Italians, with fewer than half actively practicing their religion.24 The different Catholic nationalities—Italians, Slovenians, Croatians, Irish, and French—joined together in support of the priests and the church. The church and school helped break down national barriers and made the transition to life in America much easier.

Father Ruel's main concern was financing the Notre Dame school. In the fall of 1933 he started an annual Catholic carnival to raise funds for the school. He invited Catholics and non-Catholics from Price and throughout the county to participate in and make donations to the carnival. Activities included a dinner, dance, booths where items could be purchased, and even a parade. The carnival was a wonderful event for the community; it was often held in the basement of the church but also was held in the Silver Moon, the local dance hall.²⁵ Poor health forced Father Ruel to return to his home in New Hampshire. He remained committed to the school and parish, often talking by telephone to parish members during the annual Catholic carnivals. He died in January 1941.

Tragedy struck at Helper in 1936 when St. Anthony's Church was destroyed by fire. The parish decided to rebuild the church, and the task was left to a young assistant pastor, Father Jerome C. Stoffel. The



Fathers Joseph Fitzgerald and Rudolph A. Day in front of St. Anthony's Catholic Church in Helper. (Catholic Diocese)

statue of St. Anthony from the old church had been saved from the fire and later was placed in the new church. On 25 December 1939 local Catholics dedicated the rebuilt St. Anthony's Church. Located on Main Street, it is reminiscent of the old church. Designed in a modified Gothic style with exposed beams and brick interior, it has a full basement for activities.²⁶ In 1944 the Salt Lake City Diocese divided the Notre Dame Parish, making St. Anthony a separate parish and appointing Father Francis R. Lamothe as the new pastor.

The Altar Society, the women's organization of the Price Catholic church, assisted the church in all of its needs. The society, founded in 1918, raised money for the altars for Notre Dame de Lourdes and thereafter maintained the altars of the church. Each St. Patrick's Day they organized a St. Patrick's ball and played a major role in the Catholic carnival.²⁷

During the early years poor roads and the lack of other means of transportation prevented Catholic church members in East Carbon and Sunnyside from much church association. After 1918 catechism classes were held from time to time for the young, and occasionally priests visited the area and celebrated mass. In 1939 the Utah Fuel

Company donated an old house in Sunnyside for the use of the Catholics in the community. Members renovated the building to become the Sacred Heart Chapel, complete with an altar built of stone salvaged from abandoned coke ovens. In September 1939 Bishop Duane G. Hunt dedicated the Church of the Sacred Heart. Monsignor Giovannoni offered one of the first masses in the chapel. The opening of the mine in Horse Canyon and the creation of Dragerton brought additional Catholics to the area, and before long the little church was too small for all who wished to worship. In addition to services at the Church of the Sacred Heart, mass was held at several different locations in Dragerton.

In 1943 Reverend John F. Egan, assistant pastor of the Notre Dame Parish, moved to Dragerton and cared for the Sacred Heart Chapel in Sunnyside and the community of people there. His successor, Father John A. Sanders, purchased a lot for a church in Dragerton next to the hospital. In 1947 the people finished a building, and Bishop Hunt created the Good Shepherd Parish, with Father Sanders as the pastor.²⁹

Men of the Holy Name Society in the Good Shepherd Parish in East Carbon built and installed new pews for their church. Members also investigated opening a new parochial school in the eastern part of the county. They decided, however, that the parish had too much debt; so, with the permission of Father John A. LaBranche of Notre Dame Parish, they purchased a bus to transport the children to the Notre Dame school in Price. Later sisters came to teach children in the East Carbon schools in a released-time program.

There have been other events in the Catholic community during the last quarter of the century. Early in the 1970s shortly after a fire gutted the classrooms in the Good Shepherd Church, the classrooms were completely rebuilt under the direction of Father Alan Rekate. In 1977 the parish marked its thirtieth anniversary with a mass and a dinner; Bishop Joseph Lennox Federal, Monsignor Jerome Stoffel, and Father Gennaro F. Verdi, who had been the pastor in Good Shepherd for fourteen years, presented speeches. The organizers exhibited a special pictorial display of the history of the parish. With the closing of the mines, Good Shepherd Parish lost

membership, but it continues to serve the Catholic community in East Carbon.³⁰

In 1952 Victor E. and Vera A. Litizzette of St. Anthony Parish in Helper received special pontifical honors, Knight of St. Gregory and the Pro Ecclesia et Pontifice medal, from Pope Pius XII, the first such awards given to lay men and women in the Carbon County area. In 1959 Monsignor Edward F. Dowling, pastor of St. Anthony, dedicated a school convent, which was a combination convent, chapel, and tworoom school, situated on approximately five acres in Helper. Sisters of the Holy Family order began working there as kindergarten and catechism teachers and also taught in the released-time program for the elementary, junior high, and high schools in the county. Nine years later the Catholic church acquired and remodeled a house adjacent to Helper Junior High to help with released-time activities for students. On 11 April 1970 the parish held a celebration honoring its twenty-fifth anniversary. Archbishop Robert J. Dwyer of Portland and Dan Valentine, prominent columnist for the Salt Lake Tribune, were the principal speakers, with hundreds of members, county residents, civic leaders, and newsmen enjoying the celebration."

In the 1980s the parish purchased property southwest of the Notre Dame church with plans to construct other church buildings in the future. To help pay for this purchase, the parish began its Oktoberfest observance on the first Saturday of October. The community as a whole has participated in this event, and in 1986 the parish members served over 1,300 meals at the festival. The parish has also noted a significant increase in contributions to the church.³²

In 1950 Notre Dame Parish had 1,204 members and St. Anthony's had 1,600. The diocese created Good Shepherd Parish in 1947, and membership gradually increased in each of the three parishes. By 1960 Notre Dame had a Catholic population of 1,432; St. Anthony's included 1,800 Catholics; and Good Shepherd Parish served 1,230 members. By 1990 Good Shepherd Parish was down in population to 500 members; St. Anthony's parish had a total population of 425 families, or about 1,700 members; and Notre Dame had 1,600 members. Membership in the parishes has fluctuated as the county's population has changed."

The Methodist Church

Methodists came early to the Price River Valley; one of the first was Alpha Ballinger, who came in the 1880s. Others followed; but no religious organization was established for several years until a Methodist Union Sunday school was established in Price in 1899. Luis (Lula) Christian Thomas along with Mrs. E.F. Fisk were the primary movers in establishing the Methodist church in Carbon County. Thomas had been reared and educated in Kansas and Missouri, after which she moved to Marysvale, Utah, where she met and married Fred J. Thomas. In 1894 they came to Price.

In 1899 the Utah Mission of the Methodist Episcopal church appointed J.D. Bird pastor to the church in Price, but he refused the appointment. The next year Reverend T.J. Strawbridge received the appointment and came to Price, staying only for a short time and refusing a permanent position. Finally the church obtained the services of Samuel Allison, who stayed for two years. Allison had no church building to meet in but was successful in organizing two Sunday schools. Following Allison's departure, Lula Thomas carried on the work of the Methodist church in the county. In 1905 she founded the Ladies' Union Club, which raised money to purchase hymn books, literature, and holiday treats for the children of the Methodist Union Sunday school. A new minster, W.W. Huff, came but only stayed for about a year, leaving in 1905.³⁴

Thomas also campaigned for the establishment of a Methodist school in Price. Finally, in 1906, J.M. Burk became the pastor of the local Methodist congragation and opened the Price Academy on land donated by Alpha Ballinger. The church also purchased property on Main Street and Carbon Avenue and dedicated a small building there in 1908. Thomas helped purchase chairs for the new building. In a verse she penned for that occasion, we catch a glimpse of this remarkable woman:

How dear to my heart are the chairs of our church house, When anticipation presents them to view. For the pulpit the carpet, the sweet-toned organ, I served and I baked and was willing to stew. Soon came the emblem of truth overwhelming,

That to raise the money, I something must sell.

Then I thought of my chickens that scratch in the orchard,
Or poise on the fence as they incline to my call.

No common demand would tempt me to do it—
To part with our rooster would be sad to us all.

But now he's removed from his loved habitation,
As with a smile of success we musingly tell
As fancy reverts to the chairs and the carpet

Well, I earned the dollar and I think I did well.²⁵

Shortly after the chair campaign, women of the congregation formed the Ladies Aid Society. A year later the congregation of twenty-three regularly attending members borrowed \$1,500 to improve and enlarge the building. Soon the small Methodist church had seventy or more people attending its Sunday school. Methodists have had a great influence politically and socially in the community. Alpha Ballinger held prominent positions in county government, and R.W. Crockett, editor of the *Eastern Utah Advocate*, attended the Methodist church with his family. Others who were not members of the church, such as J.M. Whitmore, gave large donations to the small Protestant denomination in Price.

After operating the Price Academy for more than a decade, the Methodist church sold the buildings and land to the Carbon School District for \$15,000, with \$5,000 of that sum earmarked for the construction of a new building. In 1919 the land on Main Street was sold and the little white church moved to recently acquired property on Main Street and Second East. The church began construction of a larger building on 23 September 1923 and dedicated it in February 1924. In addition to the \$5,000, the church had raised other necessary funds for the building through a loan from the bank. The mortgage was not paid for another twenty years. In December 1945 the church decided to make a concerted effort to pay off the \$10,300 mortgage, and, in October 1946, church members celebrated the completion of the mortgage with Bishop Wilbur E. Hammaker of Denver and Dr. W.E. Blackstack, Salt Lake City mission superintendent, conducting the ceremonial mortgage burning before a large congregation.37

The Youth Christian Fellowship, formerly known as the Epworth

League, was a thirty-member youth organization of the Methodist church in Price that met every Sunday evening. The aim of the youth group was to worship, perform community service, encourage Christian citizenship, and do missionary work. The Methodist women's organization, formerly known as the Ladies' Aid Society, became known as the Women's Society of Christian Service in 1941. The society held a yearly bazaar and turkey dinner.³⁸

The activities of the local Methodist church were augmented by other Methodists who came to Price. In 1928 the Utah Methodist Mission held its forty-ninth session in Price, and in 1937 the meetings were again held in Price. In 1931 the Methodists held a two-week series of old-fashioned gospel revival meetings. Besides the weekly Sunday school, the Methodists established a vacation school for schoolchildren during the summer months.³⁹ In 1941 the Utah mission held its annual conference in Price. Ministers, their wives, and lay workers from all parts of the country came to Price for the five days. Bishop Wilbur E. Hammaker opened the session with a broadcast from the local radio station, KOAL.⁴⁰

The Methodist population held relatively constant during the mid-years of the twentieth century. Church members installed an electric organ and new pews; they also redecorated the sanctuary, bought a new parsonage, and provided new choir robes. The local Methodist congregation now includes about 155 members. The women, who have changed their organization's name to United Methodist Women, still host their annual fund-raising bazaar, now (1997) in its ninetieth year.

In 1954, eighty-seven-year-old Lula Thomas, who had helped start the Methodist Community church, was still singing in the church choir. She talked about quitting, but her friends would not let her. She had watched Price develop and grow, and she was proud of her accomplishments in both her church and community. On 7 September 1956, she died; her funeral was held in the Price Community Church, the church that meant so much to her. 11

The Greek Orthodox Church

Although the first Greek immigrants arrived in Carbon County in 1904, it was not until 1914 that the first known Greek Orthodox



Greek Orthodox Church of the Assumption, Price. (Western Mining and Railroad Museum)

church service was held; an unnamed Greek priest conducted weekly services for a short time in the rear of a coffee house in Helper owned by Stellios and George Lenderakis.

Greek immigrant workers soon came into the county by the hundreds, and the need for a church was obvious; but a debate occurred about whether to locate the church in Price or Helper seemed impossible to resolve. Finally, Stylian Staes, Emmanuel Salevurakis, and Gust Pappas convinced Greeks in Helper that the church should be built in Price. In November 1915 a church committee approached the Price City Council about donating land to the church. The council members discussed the issue; then in a special session by a vote of three to two, they denied the motion. The council turned the issue over to a committee of Price businessmen composed of Dr. Frank F. Fisk, James M. Whitmore, Louis Lowenstein, and Carlos Gunderson. The Price businessmen quickly undertook to raise the money, and by January 1916 they had raised sufficient money to allow the Greeks to purchase a building lot.⁴²

In a general assembly meeting of the Greek Orthodox Church of

Southern Utah, the assembly agreed to build a church in Price, establish a Greek school, a cemetery, and, when possible, a Greek "old folks home." The assembly elected Emmanuel Salevurakis as president and Stylian Staes as secretary. A fund-raising drive was launched to pay an architect to design the church and to pay for a married priest to come to Price from Greece. Local leaders sent a written request to the Holy Synod in Greece indicating they wanted the Reverend Markos Petrakis. The response was favorable. In May 1916 a letter arrived from the Holy Synod indicating that Father Petrakis had been assigned to the Greek Orthodox Church of Southern Utah.⁴³

Construction of the church preceded the appointment of Father Petrakis. In March 1916 the church assembly had awarded the construction contract to Lars Gunderson, the same person who had sold the land to the church. The church, built in the Byzantine style, included a dome resting on a square supported by four pillars. Icons covered the altar screen, and lamps burned oil that had been blessed at the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. The icons on the walls included representations of Christ, the Virgin and Child, John the Baptist, and archangels Michael and Gabriel; the Last Supper was depicted above the center door. There were few seats in the church, following the Greek Orthodox custom that it was disrespectful to sit during the three-hour service.⁴⁴

The dedication service took place on 15 August 1916, the day of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary. The railroad ran special trains from various coal camps in the county to accommodate Greek miners and a few families. The Price band greeted everybody at the depot, and all marched to the new building, shouting and shooting their guns as a good-luck gesture for the church. Greek men made up most of the congregation, but Carbon County officials also attended the meeting. Father Petrarkis, wearing his black robes, a silver cross, and a tall miter, walked through the dusty streets of Price to the church, where he dedicated the new structure. The arrival of a Greek priest had a great influence on the local Greek men. The priest became a father figure, someone the men could talk to about spiritual and temporal matters and things of the heart. The church also helped inspire the men to support their new country.

The Sun newspaper reported the impressive Christmas service

held in the Greek Orthodox Church of the Assumption on 7 January 1917. High mass was held at 9:00 A.M. on Sunday morning with the Reverend Petrakis officiating. "The beautiful new edifice was appropriately decorated with numerous lighted wax tapers, which is the Greek style of decoration and the services were attended by several hundred people locally and from the various camps." Weddings and baptisms, held on Sunday, were important days in Greek families, and the Greek priest played an important part in these ceremonies. Families invited the Greek community to these events, and everybody celebrated with a bounteous meal of lamb's meat, fresh goat cheese, and delicacies of dough with cheese, nuts, or honey.

With the construction of the local church, many of the local Greek men decided that they would not return to Greece. Many who wanted to marry and settle in the United States needed a wife. A few of the men returned to Greece and selected wives from their home villages; and sometimes these men also selected wives for their friends in America. In other cases a relative sent Greek men a picture of a prospective bride, a woman who usually lived in the same village where these men had resided before they left for America. These women sometimes traveled thousands of miles to meet their intended husbands, many unable to communicate in English with anyone.

There was tension within the Greek community in the county. Conflicts of ages past were expressed in Carbon County, and mainland Greeks and Cretans often did not see eye-to-eye. The priests of the church were frequently called upon to mediate disputes between different groups of their countrymen. This turmoil, the competition of Greek societies, and nativism found in the county forced some priests to leave the county. The controversy between the two groups continued through the mid-1920s until finally Father Artemios Stamatiades successfully brought the two groups together.

The end of World War I brought on new problems for Greeks and other southern and eastern Europeans of Carbon County. Nativism, a potent dislike for recent non-Anglo immigrants, swept across the United States. Congress passed national immigration laws restricting various Europeans and others from immigrating to the United States. Some groups across the country established organiza-

tions to foster American nationalism, and some bigoted organizations once again raised their ugly heads to physically attack immigrants. Animosity towards Greeks and others was visibly present in the county. The Price News Advocate newspaper seemed to support a strong dislike of Greeks and others, with frequent articles calling for only English to be spoken in the county and labeling Greeks "undesirable." Tension increased when Greek priests held school on a regular basis to teach Greek children their native language and culture. The death of a Greek miner during the 1922 coal strike further stirred the smoldering embers of discord. The Ku Klux Klan took to the night to burn crosses on the hillsides surrounding Helper.⁴⁸

In time several Greeks left the mines and became sheepherders. Some eventually took their herds to western Colorado for summer grazing; however, they were reluctant to move their families to Craig or Grand Junction, Colorado, because there was no Greek Orthodox church in either of those communities. Friends, Greek school for their children, fraternal lodges, and a church organization were important to these people.

In 1940 the local Greek church committee announced a new addition to the church. They extended the building to the front, added a balcony which doubled the seating capacity, and installed new tile floors. On Christmas Day, 25 December 1941, Father George Frentzos dedicated the new addition. In 1942 the Ladies Benefit Society remodeled the basement hall, including new kitchen facilities. After a fire in 1945 which caused extensive smoke damage to the Church of the Assumption, the church council built a new tableau, enlarged the front of the altar, and added new pews. A Reverend Zoygraphos, who lived in Texas, painted new icons.⁴⁹

In 1960 Nick Karras and James Diamanti asked the general assembly of the church for permission to enlarge the sanctuary and add two new rooms. The parish council also decided to enlarge the recreational hall to include a modern, completely equipped kitchen, a storage room, pantry, and space for an air-filtering system. On 8 October 1961 the building committee asked the general assembly for permission to erect a new Sunday school building. This new building contained twelve classrooms, a library, a lodge room, and a central heating plant for both buildings. By 1962 contractors had

finished all of these new additions at a cost of \$150,000. The Price parishioners purchased new furniture and equipment for the church. In 1985 the parish council added a covered pavilion to the north of the church.

In 1975, in order to finance the national church's programs, the Price Greek Orthodox Church of the Assumption increased its financial commitment to the archdiocese and began Greek Festival Days. Since its inception, this festival has been well received in the community and today raises a good portion of the funds for the church. In 1980 other financial help for the Church of the Assumption came with the leasing of its recreational property in Eccles Canyon to Central States Energy Company and Getty Mineral Resource Company.⁵⁰

In 1984 George Mavrakis approached the parish council about having a Carbon County Greek reunion. The following year the parish council held the "Carbon County Greek Together Again" days. People came from near and far to renew friendships and talk about old times.

The little immigrant church has grown. In 1916 it was the symbol for Greeks throughout the county. It has expanded and changed and become more beautiful and stately now than ever before. Many of the church's members have moved to other places because of economic opportunity, but their hearts remain linked with the Church of the Assumption in Price.⁵¹

Other Protestant Denominations

Other religious denominations did not establish church structures in the county until after 1918, although attempts to do so began as early as 1903 and 1904 when Baptist minister Thomas Scruggs tried to establish a church in the county, holding meetings in the courthouse and preaching in Castle Gate. It appeared that he was going to remain in the county, but he accepted a pastorate in Provo. In 1904 Henry W. Pratt, a missionary for the American Baptists, organized a Sunday school in Scofield. In 1907 Presbyterians had a congregation of fifty members in Sunnyside; but with the reduction of miners after 1920, the congregation disbanded. Bishop Franklin Spaulding from Salt Lake City held Episcopal services in Price and Castle Gate when-

ever he was in the area. A Lutheran minister came to Scofield on rare occasions; although in May 1900 Reverend A. Granholm, a Finnish Lutheran minister from Rock Springs, Wyoming, journeyed to Scofield to conduct the funeral for the sixty-two Finnish miners who died at the Winter Quarters Mine explosion.⁵²

After World War I, Julius Shepard, a Methodist minister from Price, ministered to the Protestant community in Helper. Reverend John Leacher of the Episcopal church held church services in Helper in the 1920s. Later, Bishop Moulton of the Episcopal church relocated the Protestant chapel to the railroad YMCA building. Bishop Moulton also conducted weekly services in Kenilworth. Dr. Roy Robinson, the Kenilworth company doctor, and his wife Marion assisted with the Sunday school. The Seventh Day Adventist denomination had its beginnings in the county in the early 1930s in Helper; within a few years the group rented the music room in the Harding school for services. In February 1939 Seventh Day Adventists dedicated a new church in Price. W.E. McIntire, acting mayor of Price, welcomed them to the community. 54

In 1940 Tom and Nellie Constance and Reginald Craig journeyed to Price and began a congregation that later became known as the Price Chapel. Congregation members aligned themselves with the Christian and Missionary Alliance and built a small church in the late 1940s. Fifty years later the group had outgrown the small church located in Price, and in 1990 the group purchased and remodeled a health club building. Church membership fluctuated with the coal mining industry. Church members participated in camping activities, and as many as a third of the members traveled annually to the Alliance Redwoods camp in California for recreation and fellowship. Midweek potluck picnics in Price City Park or elsewhere were customary. Today Price Chapel participates in community service days and sponsors a booth at the International Days festivities. The church has also sponsored Christian missionaries in other parts of the world. For a time there were congregations in Hiawatha, East Carbon, and Price, with separate worship meetings and combined social activities. The Hiawatha congregation disbanded when the town closed.55

Episcopalian services began infrequently in Kenilworth in the 1940s when Bishop Stephen C. Clark came from Salt Lake City and Religion 253

held services. In 1948 Reverend Robert Nicholas, a recent graduate from the Church Divinity School of the Pacific at Berkeley, California, came to Kenilworth to minister to the Episcopalians of the county. Nicholas stayed a few years before he left. The Episcopalians met in the railroad chapel in Helper during those years.⁵⁶

Episcopalians had congregations in East Carbon, Price, Helper, and Kenilworth, although decreasing population forced the abandonment of services at Helper and Kenilworth. In 1960, Episcopalians finished and dedicated a new church, St. Matthew's, in Price. In the early 1960s Reverend H. Wayne Marrs supervised the construction of a new church—Trinity Episcopal—at Dragerton and also new additions to St. Matthew's. In 1970 the last resident Episcopal pastor left the county, and for a number of years the parishioners of St. Matthew's had only lay readers to assist them. In the 1980s local Episcopalians and Lutherans joined together in a joint ministry.

In 1941 a Pastor Leising of the Lutheran church made frequent trips to Carbon County to minister to the scattered Lutherans, but he never established a church in the county. In 1957 Pastor H.R. Miller of the Provo Lutheran church began conducting services in Price. With his departure from Provo in 1959, Lutheran church members in Carbon County held no services until Reverend John Feiertag traveled from Moab to Price to hold church services in 1962. Lutherans held their services at the Seventh Day Adventist Chapel and later at the National Guard armory; they then organized the Ascension Lutheran Church. In 1968 the members of Ascension were meeting in St. Matthew's Episcopal Church and helping Episcopalians purchase new carpet. By 1983 the church had ninety-eight baptized members and fifty-seven confirmed members. In 1981 Pastor Don Almy came to Price as a permanent pastor. When he left in 1983, the two congregations of St. Matthew's and Ascension began investigating a joint fellowship. They held their first meeting in June 1984 and combined the congregations that same month. The combined congregation chose a committee to find a new pastor, and Reverend Perry Francis accepted the challenge. The two congregations merged together as a single congregation, sharing everything from finances to education, youth programs, and worship. The slogan of the combined congregations is, "so we, though many, are one body in Christ" (Romans 12:5). Bryant Bechtold became the congregation's priest in 1989, and the combined congregations are now investigating the possibility of building a new church.⁵⁷

Two of the oldest evangelical church groups in the county are the Seventh Day Adventists, who recently finished a new church south of Price, and the Assembly of God, which has both Spanish- and English-speaking congregations in Price and a Spanish-speaking congregation in East Carbon. Those congregations had their start in the 1930s and 1940s. Many of the later evangelical churches initially used the Seventh Day Adventist church, whose members were always willing to loan their building on Sunday. The Rocky Mountain District of the Assemblies of God bought property in Price for a church in 1950 and constructed a two-room building in 1951 with a large potbellied stove in the main room. In 1962 the Assemblies of God constructed a new sanctuary and remodeled the old building into a Sunday school. In 1967, after purchasing a house from Sunnyside, the church moved it to Price for a residence for the pastor. That same year the Spanish Assembly of God congregation built a church in Price. 58

In 1952 the First Baptist Church organized a mission in Price and held meetings in the Seventh Day Adventist church building. A year later the Baptists built a small concrete building in Price. They completed two additions to the building, but a fire destroyed much of the building in 1967. Baptists moved into the unfinished building in 1969, finished the facilities in 1973, and held their burning-of-the-mortgage service in 1978, twenty-five years after completing the first building. In the early 1980s the First Southern Baptist Church bought a Mormon meetinghouse in Sunnyside and the Calvary Baptists established a congregation in Price. In 1983 Warren Jones established the First Baptist Church of Wellington. Seven years later he left for a position in Salt Lake City and Thomas Jones accepted the position as pastor. In 1989 the Southeastern Christian Academy moved to Wellington and shared a building with the First Baptist Church.⁵⁹

The Church of Christ started locally in Price in the home of Ford and Myrt Fullingim in the late 1960s. With a growing congregation, the church moved its Sunday services to the Harding School until 1972, when it purchased a building in Carbonville. With the fluctua-

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tions of the coal market, the church has struggled; but today it has about forty members and is looking forward to purchasing a new site for a building.

The Jehovah Witnesses began a congregation in the county in the 1950s, and in the 1960s the church was in Helper. Kingdom Hall, the meeting place of the congregation, is now in north Price. Other churches and Christian organizations in the county now include Trinity Christian Center, Trinity Ministries, and New Life Ministries in Spring Glen.

The great variety of Protestant churches in Carbon County today represents a migration into the county of new people from other parts of the United States and the conversion of some people from other churches. Conversions have also taken place in some cases due to intermarriage. Most people of the county are tolerant of each other's religious views and accept and appreciate their differences. The cultural blending process is not usually the role of religion, which generally separates people; however, in a small geographical area such as Carbon County, religion has blended people. Catholicism led out and acted as a blender for Irish, Italian, French, and Slovenian people. Intermarriages and conversions in the following generation have further blended county residents.

The accommodation is exemplified by the story of Verda Petersen, who slipped on an icy sidewalk in Price in November 1976, breaking her pelvis. During her hospital stay she was visited by the local Catholic priest, Methodist minister, Greek Orthodox priest, and a former LDS stake president. After her release, a former student arranged for a new television set to be delivered to her home, with the stipulation that the four religious leaders be present. This was done, and, upon answering the doorbell and seeing the four men with the appliance, Verda was speechless. Her husband, however, said: "In Carbon County we may not all attend the same church on Sunday, but in everyday life we walk forward, arm-in-arm." 61

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Education of the children of the Price River settlers began with Sally Ann Olsen offering instruction, first in the home of Matthew Simmons and later in the old LDS meetinghouse. When a public school district was organized in 1884, William Branch was elected chair of the district and William Tidwell was appointed the first principal. The multifunctional log meetinghouse continued to serve as the schoolhouse.

By 1900 Scofield, Price, Helper, Wellington, and Castle Gate had their own school districts and boards of trustees. As new coal camps grew, they also formed new school districts. County voters elected a school superintendent who was responsible for distributing the tax money to schools throughout the county, holding a teachers' institute once a year, and certifying teachers.

The school districts built schoolhouses in Scofield, Sunnyside, Castle Gate, Wellington, Helper, and Price. By 1898 Price had just over 200 students and the little schoolhouse was too small, so Ernest Horsley, bishop of the Mormon ward, began readying the log meetinghouse for a school and an extra teacher. The next year

Reuben Miller, Price district chair of the board of trustees, asked Salt Lake City architect R.G. Kletting to design a new building. The board accepted the plan but did not agree to pay Kletting. Kletting threatened a suit, and Miller finally paid him from his personal funds.² Contractor Charles Watkins began work on the new eight-room building located close to the city hall and completed it by 1904.³ The new school welcomed that year 285 students—132 girls and 153 boys.

Within a couple of years, new schools were built in Castle Gate and Scofield. In 1905, when the school in Sunnyside burned, Sunnyside residents, the coal company, and the LDS church opened homes and buildings to receive students until the new Sunnyside School District completed its new building. The county, sometimes with the help of the coal companies, built schoolhouses in Storrs, Standardville, Cameron, Hiawatha, and Kenilworth. In a few of these towns the teachers used tents until permanent buildings could be constructed. In 1906 county schools expanded to include the ninth grade. The county needed a high school; however, there were not enough students in one district to justify the construction and staffing of a high school. Consequently some districts discussed the possibility of consolidation. In the meantime, Price Academy opened under the auspices of the Methodist church.

In 1906 the Methodist church opened the new academy in Price on the second floor of the First National Bank, advertising it as a school with all grades from one to twelve. That first year the school attracted students through the first eight grades only. The principal of the school was a Methodist educator. One of the school's first principals was Professor Ransom Park. The academy usually hired teachers from the Midwest to come to the small community of Price. Local Methodists hoped that students would flock to the new high school, but they were disappointed. The tuition of ten dollars a year was too expensive for most people of the county. Even though the school granted tuition scholarships to some students, by 1909 the academy had only twenty students from grades one through twelve. In three years, however, enrollment doubled.

In 1911 the Utah State Legislature passed a bill which allowed for the creation of a new high school in Carbon County. County resiEDUCATION 261



Price Methodist Academy, c. 1915. (LDS Church Archives)

dents voted on the location of the school; Price won, receiving 356 votes, with Wellington in second place, receiving 107 votes. People were excited about the high school and the chance for their children to receive a free education. A year later the county finished the new Greek Revival style building at a cost of \$45,000. The new high school had twenty classrooms, a gym, a swimming pool, and a large auditorium with a stage. The school opened in 1912 with eleven faculty members. Seven years later the number of faculty had increased to eighteen, and the school offered courses in domestic arts, science, English, business, mechanical arts, art, and physical education.

Increased enrollment at Price Academy led to the construction of a new two-story frame building in 1912. The ground level contained classrooms and the second floor served as a women's dormitory. Two years later the academy built another dormitory. In 1914 a Mr. Ferris was the principal and taught one class, a Mr. Clark and a Miss Fields were his assistants. Among the other teachers was Glen Ballinger, a local man, who served as the director of athletics and coach of the basketball team. The team played their games on the

Methodist church grounds. The school also organized a literary society. The school took on the characteristics of a boarding school in order to accommodate children of more affluent people from the coal camps and students from outside the county. By the end of 1914, the school had completed its eighth year, had a new women's dormitory with classrooms, employed a faculty of six teachers, and had a full high-school curriculum of math, business, languages, history, English, science, social science, and agriculture classes.

The county high school team played the Price Academy team in basketball and easily defeated the less-experienced academy team. Academy students performed a play on the stage of the Eko Theater. The academy usually conducted graduation exercises for the eighth grade at the local Methodist church, and, on one occasion, the high school and academy held a joint high school graduation at the Price LDS tabernacle.

As the public high school expanded, many students left Price Academy. Another major problem for the private school was the turnover of teachers and principals, as most teachers stayed only one year. The academy always felt that it could recruit personnel, but it could never solve its financial problems because the tuition was inadequate to finance the complete operation. Even generous contributions from local supporters failed to support completely the running of the school, which meant that the national Methodist mission had to send funds to Price. Despite these problems, in 1917 at a meeting of the academy trustees the principal, Reverend A.C. Hoover, complimented the faculty and students and predicted a bright future for the academy. When the school closed its doors that spring, it had no graduates, but the Sun, the local newspaper, predicted a bright future because, "It ranks as one of the best schools for the West." At the conclusion of the next school year, however, the Price Academy ended its existence. In April Reverend John J. Lace, who was in charge of the Utah Methodist Mission, came to Price to try to interest the Carbon County School District in purchasing the buildings and property. The purchase was made at a price of \$15,000, and the buildings were used as men's and women's dormitories for the high school. Carbon County School District offered a position to A.C. Hoover, but he declined, going instead to Denver, Colorado, where he became a chaplain with the Young Men's Christian Association.⁶

In January 1915 the Price Central Elementary School building caught fire. The fire started at the large smokestack at the rear of the building and burned for a considerable time before it was discovered. Price citizens took quick action, and, while the fire raged, neighbors worked together to rescue the desks on the first floor and called for help from the volunteer fire department. However, by the time the fire was put out, only the walls were still standing. Elementary classes moved into rooms in the library, high school, the old log church house, and the old adobe schoolhouse. In order to help raise money to build a new building, the district advertised the sale of the brick from the old building, and Stanley Price purchased 12,000 bricks for construction of his house. The district built a new Central Elementary School just north of the new LDS tabernacle at a cost of \$20,000.7

After 1915 the school board became the policy-making body for the school district, with the responsibility of hiring a superintendent of schools and coordinating all education in the county. Soon the new school board had its hands full with a teachers' strike.

World War I brought about inflation in the prices of goods, but teachers suffered because their salaries were fixed. In 1917 area teachers organized a Carbon County Education Association, with C.H. Madsen as president, R.E. Davidson as vice-president, and J.N. Ellertson as secretary, for the purposes of improving teachers' salaries and contractual agreements and establishing a professional organization for teachers. In January 1918 area school principals Madsen, Woodward, Rasmussen, and Jensen met with the board and asked that the school term be shortened from nine months to eight months but that the teachers be paid for nine months. This schedule would allow teachers to find work during the summer. The board refused the request. It was moved that the board allow teachers to work on Saturdays and holidays, but the board again voted negatively. The board felt that teachers were generally underpaid but that they had a legal obligation to finish the term. In response, twenty-five teachers and six principals, almost half of the county's educators, resigned.8

Because the nation was at war, some people accused the teachers

of being unpatriotic. A.W. Horsley, local Mormon stake president, pleaded with the teachers to withdraw their resignations. He said that they had entered into a contract to work for a certain amount of money and that breaking those obligations was not right. Others, like Dr. C.A. Wherry, supported the teachers' action, describing how female teachers in Helper were forced to live in very poor conditions because of their low salaries. Wherry blamed the board for the women's situation; however, with their patriotism in question and charges that they were breaking their contracts surrounding them, most of the teachers went back to the classroom, although a few left the teaching profession permanently.9

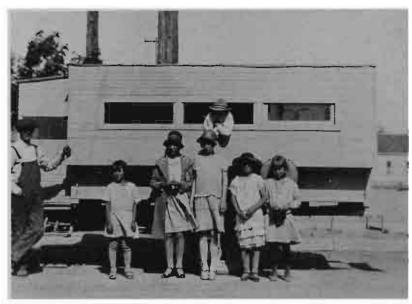
Problems over teachers' salaries continued for the next few years. Finally, in 1920 the board adopted a new salary schedule that they felt compensated the teachers adequately. The new salary schedule, however, did not meet with the approval of most of the teachers in the county; consequently, fifty of the county's seventy teachers resigned and had to be replaced.¹⁰

In the early years of the public high school, students from outside the Price area who could not return to their homes at the end of the school day boarded with families in Price. After the Price Academy buildings were acquired by the school district in 1918, they were converted into dormitories to house out-of-town students. Students paid four dollars per week for board and room and had to assist in the care and upkeep of the two buildings, which included providing coal and kindling for the stoves, heating water for washing purposes, caring for the clubhouse, and taking care of the pigs housed nearby." In 1918 the dorms had twenty-eight students; a year later thirty-six students filled the dorms, with twenty boys and sixteen girls in addition to six other students living in homes in Price. Keeping their students at the dorms was very difficult financially for most families, and those parents made great sacrifices for their children's education. In time the financial and emotional expense of housing children away from home and parents led families in Kenilworth to petition the school district for bus service. The district granted their request, but parents had to pay for the bus service.12 Other students, including those from Sunnyside, continued to use the dorms until 1929.



R. A. Fowler, principal of Carbon High School. (LDS Church Archives)

Almost every year the number of students in the district had grown. In 1901 there were just over 1,400 students in grades one to eight, and about 25 percent of those were in Price.¹³ By 1919 there were over 3,400, including high school students; by 1931 total student population had grown to about 5,000. The school census dropped by a few hundred during the early 1930s, the height of the Depression; but by 1939 student enrollment reached nearly 5,200



Early school bus used in Miller Creek, c. 1930. Melvin Henry is on the left. (Courtesy Mona Marsing)

people. In 1921 the high school had 328 students in four grades; ten years later enrollment had swelled to 770, much more than originally planned for the building. The number of buildings also increased. By 1931 there were twenty-three school buildings in the county, with almost every community, including Kiz, having a school. Price had Central and Southside elementary schools and Harding Junior High. By that year Harding Junior High was bulging with students. Latuda, Helper, Hiawatha, and Sunnyside also had junior high schools, some of them including ninth-grade classes.¹⁴

The number of teachers also increased. In 1900 there were twenty teachers; in 1920 there were seventy teachers; and in 1933 there were 159 teachers. The number of teachers expanded only slightly during the years of the Depression.¹⁵

With the completion of the high school in 1912, students in Price, Helper, and Wellington had access to twelve grades of school. The remainder of the county schools included classes only to the ninth grade, limiting schooling unless parents could pay the fee at the school dorms. In the early 1920s buses began to run from Spring

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Canyon and Castle Gate to Price; by 1933 eighteen buses brought students from the coal camps to Helper and Price. The first school buses were converted trucks. One of the early students, Mona Livingston Marsing, whose father drove a bus, told about her experience in Miller Creek:

There was no school bus out here then and there were several children that needed to go to school so with the permission of the school board he [LeRoy Livingston] and his neighbors rigged up a truck covered with a wagon cover (tarp) and run that the winter of 1925–26. The roads were bad, no gravel, several culverts were half washed out and no bridge across Miller Creek. It wasn't easy but they made it through the school year. By the beginning of the next school year they had built a body on a truck which was a lot nicer.¹⁶

With the use of buses, the district no longer needed the dormitories and therefore remodeled those buildings for other purposes. The district converted the boys' dormitory into classrooms to teach sewing to the students of Harding School. Later the district offices moved from Harding to the old dormitories.¹⁷

The children attended school until afternoon. They had a break for lunch, and those who lived in Price or near elementary schools in their communities went home for lunch. Those who were bussed had to bring a lunch. Many educators felt that those who brought a cold lunch from home did not receive the nutrition contained in a hot lunch. New Deal administrators also were concerned that children from poor families did not get nourishing lunches. In 1933 the federal government provided some assistance, and the Carbon County School District provided poor students with hot lunches for a nominal price. The district later began an enlarged school lunch program after World War II. 18

Besides regular classroom curriculum, elementary and junior high schools participated in contests with each other. In May 1921 pupils from Castle Gate, Heiner, Helper, and Spring Glen met at Helper for academic and athletic contests, including arithmetic speed and accuracy, spelling, and penmanship. Each school also displayed students' art, notebooks, maps, essays, and examples of domestic art.

Students participated in races, a tug-of-war, and two baseball games. At times the junior high schools participated in interscholastic basketball, football, track and field, and baseball.

The high school sponsored various clubs including a Carbonette club for girls, pep club, and lettermen clubs, as well as clubs for languages, science, and homemaking. The high school devoted part of its early curriculum to domestic science and farming, with many of the boys participating in farming projects. As the area became more economically diverse, the high school curriculum shifted to college preparatory classes, mechanical arts, and general education. Students attending Carbon High School participated in debate and other academic contests with students from other high schools. In addition to its outstanding bands, Carbon High School produced some excellent choruses and choirs through the years. In the 1920s and 1930s, E.M. Williams taught both chorus and band. The drama department produced plays for the benefit of the community, including in 1932 the Lass of Limerick Town.20 Dances such as the junior prom were special highlights of the year. In 1932, because of the Depression, the principal banned the purchasing of flowers for the prom, considering flowers as an unnecessary expense in very difficult economic times. However, the Depression did not keep students away from the proms, as nearly 1,000 attended the 1933 prom at the Silver Moon.21

In 1923 Carbon County School District hired Edgar Milton Williams, usually referred to as E.M. or Toot, as musical instructor at the high school.²² A native of Emery County, Williams studied at Brigham Young University, where he earned a teacher's certificate. He began teaching in Morgan County elementary schools in 1918 and agreed to organize one of the first high school bands in the state, using instruments and equipment of a defunct city band.

Williams immediately set about to improve and expand the ninemember Carbon High school band. His first success was to convince the high school principal to purchase two sousaphones. Williams also needed uniforms for the band. After listening to the band, the personnel director for the D&RGW agreed that the railroad would purchase uniforms for the band. The band also earned money by playing at funerals; the Miners Welfare Organization paid the band fifty dollars for each funeral. The band also gave concerts in local coal camps



Carbon High School Band in front of Price Carnegie Library, 1933. (Western Mining and Railroad Museum)

to raise money to purchase instruments for band members.²³ Williams taught his students the fine arts of music and marching and was ready to do more.

In 1930 Williams, with full support from the Price Chamber of Commerce, which was promoting the highway to Grand Junction, Colorado, took the Carbon High School band to Grand Junction to compete in a high school band competition. Somewhat apprehensive about the level of competition they faced, Williams recalled, "Surprise of surprises and wonder of wonders! Our little inexperienced band, seemingly from out of nowhere, walked off with every possible award." His forty-four-student band took the trophy for first place in the concert performance in the Class A division and a first-class cup in marching. The Montrose, Colorado, band which had won the trophy two years previously and was on the verge of retiring the trophy with a third win protested the Carbon High School entry because the band had come from Utah. The Grand Junction committee declared the Carbon band the winner of the trophy, but it barred

Carbon High from the contest for the next three years. The judges were awed that such a small group with incomplete instrumentation could render the difficult selections nearly perfectly. Williams, his band, and the people of the county were thrilled.

The success of the Carbon High School band stimulated Bill Toy, secretary of the Price Chamber of Commerce and pianist in a local theater orchestra, to suggest that an invitational band contest be held in Price. He organized a committee of businessmen to make the necessary arrangements for a contest, and early in April 1931 eighteen bands and over 1,000 students came to Price for the largest band contest ever held in Utah to that time. The band committee grouped the bands in classes according to the size of the band, with two competition categories—concert and marching. The contest also featured a special dance for participants from the combined bands at the Silver Moon. The Price Chamber of Commerce provided transportation and furnished beds in local homes.25 In its second year thirty-three bands attended, with over 1,400 students, and the Carbon High School band took first place in the marching contest, with 99 out of 100 points. The judges deducted one point because they were sure that the band had made at least one mistake, even though it was not noticed. Among the thirty-three bands were two others directed by Williams, and, of the four top bands in the marching contest, Williams taught three of them—Carbon, Harding, and Notre Dame. The Helper band took the grand prize with the most awards in solo and ensemble participation.26

The success of the Carbon Band Contest stimulated state high schools to sponsor a state contest. Carbon County continued to sponsor an invitational contest at Price, but in 1932 Logan hosted the first state contest, at which Carbon High took first in marching and concert categories. Contest officers designated the band as the national Region Ten winner, which entitled the band to enter the national contest in Chicago the following year. The band needed \$8,000 for the trip to Chicago; but, even in this difficult Depression year, clubs, merchants, and people of the Carbon County raised the money, and the D&RGW railroad furnished transportation. Williams's doctor told him he could not attend because he was suf-

fering from phlebitis in both legs, so Helper Junior High band leader A.B. Caseman took over for Williams.²⁷

Early in June 1933 the eighty-five-member band departed, supplied with leaflets about Carbon County. The band gave a concert at Pueblo, Colorado, and took a sightseeing tour of St. Louis before reaching Chicago. At the national contest the band placed in the first division in the marching contest and in the second division for playing. According to a Sun-Advocate reporter, "The Carbon entry was acclaimed by the judge as the greatest marching unit ever to enter a national contest." Williams many years later said that the band was named number one in all the nation in marching maneuvers. "Motion pictures showed their lines to be perfect from any angle."

On their return band members stopped in Kansas City and toured the city. At the Grand Junction stop, the band was serenaded by the Grand Junction band and provided refreshments. When the train passed through Wellington at 4:00 A.M., the Wellington band also played for them. Returning to Price, they received a royal welcome, with dignitaries giving them commendations and later holding a special dance in their honor at the Silver Moon.³⁰

With all this fame, the Carbon High School band was in great demand at county and state events. In September the band serenaded corpsmen at the Joe's Valley Civilian Conservation Corps Camp, and a month later it played at the Utah Educational Association meetings in Salt Lake City, demonstrating marching on Main Street. That same month the band also participated in the Brigham Young University Homecoming parade.³¹

In 1934 Price hosted the divisional contest for the national band contest, with about 5,000 boys and girls from seventy-five schools participating. This was the biggest band contest that Price hosted; participants were housed in homes, schools, churches, and vacant buildings, with Fort Douglas in Salt Lake City supplying folding cots.³²

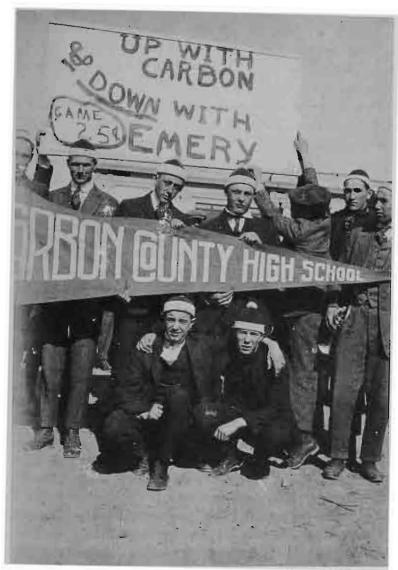
From 1935 to 1941 the Region Ten held divisional contests in Provo, Price, and Ogden. When Price did not host the regional meet, it sponsored its own invitational meet. In 1937 Price hosted the national regional event, with over fifty schools and 2,500 students. The committee encouraged people to take students into their homes.

Housing continued to be a concern every year, even though there were fewer students to accommodate than in 1934 and 1937.³³ Communities on the eastern side of the Colorado Plateau always sent bands to the contest; and, after those first few years, Carbon High School or a band from the Carbon School District traveled to Grand Junction and participated in their band contests.³⁴

Williams was a pioneer in the development of bands in Utah. The success of the Carbon High School band electrified the entire county and created interest throughout the state. It provided a unifying element for the county with its diverse population. Hy Summerhays, owner of a Salt Lake City music store said, "Please keep in mind that the big push for bands in Utah actually started in Price. Other communities had bands previously, but the actual competition at Price was the biggest thing of its time, and I don't believe that participation of any contest in Utah has exceeded the competition of the early 1930s held in Carbon County." ""

Musical bands became part of the elementary and junior high school curriculum in Carbon County. The schools of Harding, Latuda, Wellington, Hiawatha, Spring Glen, Sunnyside, Helper, and Notre Dame became feeder schools for Williams's bands through the years. The high school band grew until it had close to 100 students and contained an A and B band, with students playing almost every instrument imaginable. Williams was a perfectionist, never losing sight of his goal of producing excellent bands throughout his career in Carbon County. He always wanted to win; but foremost he wanted good relationships with other bands and other leaders. Besides teaching music, he also taught his students good sportsmanship, loyalty, honesty, and a sympathetic feeling for others.

Carbon High School also had some good choirs and choruses. The music festival featured not only bands but also choruses, small groups, and solo voices. A few voice productions were community events. In 1938 the newly organized Carbon Oratorio Society began to perform Handel's *Messiah*, directed by E.M. Williams, with 100 singers and a fifteen-piece orchestra. World War II interrupted band days; they continued after the war, but for only a few years. About a decade after World War II, *Messiah* presentations began again under the direction of Dorothy Brown.



Carbon High School students prepare for a game against rival Emery High School. (LDS Church Archives)

Until 1938 Carbon High School athletic teams were known as the "Miners," and sometimes the "Coal Diggers." They competed against Grand High in Moab, North Emery in Huntington, South Emery in Ferron, and Central High School in Castle Dale in basketball, track,

and baseball. At the end of the season, the best athletic teams in that league participated in a tournament with schools from the Uinta Basin. In 1933 the Carbon High School boys' basketball team with Vernon Merrill as coach won the Region Five championship and went to the state tournament."

Travel for the various athletic teams was always hazardous. In 1927 the school football team traveled to Moab just before a storm and flash flood devastated the road. The boys with their coach Stubby Peterson had to rebuild the road over one of the dry creek beds before they could continue on to Moab. They arrived in Moab late but were still able to play the game. The Coal Diggers were heavily favored, but the players were exhausted from rebuilding the road and the game ended in a 6 to 6 tie.³⁶

There was no league for the Carbon High school football team; only Grand High in Moab had a football team in the area. Without a league, participation in the state tournament was based on the team's record. In football the Miners played Spanish Fork, Provo, Ogden, and usually South High or Jordan in the Salt Lake Valley. These teams always had their leagues, so for them contests with Carbon High School were non-league games. Carbon traveled long distances to play teams in Grand Junction and Las Vegas, and they usually did well. In 1924 the football team played a scoreless tie for the state championship with LDS High in Salt Lake City. In 1933 and 1934 the team went to the semifinals of the state tournament only to lose to Box Elder each year. The following two years, they lost to Box Elder again, these times in the championship game. The following year they again lost to Box Elder in the semifinals.

In 1938 the newly christened Carbon High School Dinosaurs posted victories over Jordan, Tooele, Grand Junction, Provo, Moab, Las Vegas, and North Cache before entering the semifinals again. Even with this display of consistency and power, a Salt Lake City newspaper said that Carbon High had not really been tested in state competition. The Sun Advocate writer replied that was "a statement which could hardly be expected to come from any high school journalism class student without ridicule. Of course, victories over Jordan, Provo, Tooele, and North Cache leaves Carbon without having been 'really tested in state competition.'" In the semifinals the



Notre Dame School, 1937. (Jerome Stoffel collection, Catholic Diocese)

Dinosaurs beat Ogden 13 to 7; they then played against Jordan in the finals, a team they had defeated 6 to 0 at the beginning of the season. The game was scoreless until the final quarter when Carbon High's George Farlaino passed eleven yards to Bob McKinnon, who scored the winning touchdown; thus Carbon High School became state champions in football.⁴⁰

In 1939 state sports officials excluded Carbon High from the state football tournament because the school had been defeated twice early in the season. After those two defeats, the team went through their schedule undefeated, even defeating Box Elder High, which won the state championship. Carbon High School officials protested the decision to exclude their team, but state officials would not reconsider. In 1940 Carbon again went back to the state finals only to lose to the Jordan High School Beetdiggers 7 to 6.41

In June 1927 Monsignor Alfredo Giovanonni announced that the Catholic church would build an eight-grade school to be run by the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, often referred to as the Sisters of Charity. Notre Dame School was an instant success, attracting 150 students. The school provided transportation for students from Castle Gate and Helper, with Father Giovannoni as the regular school bus driver for a number of years. On 4 May 1928 Bishop John



Notre Dame school children. Father Alfredo Giovannoni on the right. (courtesy Francesco Stella)

J. Mitty of the Salt Lake City Diocese dedicated the new school.⁴² The Sisters of Charity performed yeoman service, devoting themselves to the teaching of a basic educational curriculum. One of the teachers, Sister Mildred, came to Notre Dame when it opened. She first taught third and fourth grades, then seventh and eighth grades, and finally ninth and tenth grades. She was the school's music director and directed the show *Oh Doctor*. Many of her students recalled her and the compositions they were asked to write as a penalty for chewing gum during class hours. Sister Mildred left in 1946, going to DePaul University in Chicago, Illinois.⁴³

In 1932 Notre Dame School added a ninth grade. Carbon School District encouraged the expansion because of overcrowding at Harding Junior High School and financial problems within the district. In 1938, when the last two grades of Carbon High School were housed with the newly established Carbon College, Notre Dame added a tenth grade. After World War II eleventh and twelfth grades were added to give Notre Dame School full status as a high school. Teachers concentrated on the basic curriculum of reading, writing, and mathematics. There was also a band along with football, basketball, and track teams coached by the priests. At the outset the school operated on a very tight budget, and to aid the school financially Father William Ruel organized a carnival which included booths, raf-

fles, and a large banquet attended by many people in the community."

Until the crisis of the Great Depression, Carbon County School District had been able to meet its expenses; however, in 1931 the district showed a deficit of \$20,000. The board discontinued many programs, even cutting the high school bus from Hiawatha to Price despite protests from Hiawatha parents. 45 Superintendent W.W. Christensen asked the people of Price to go back to the practice of an earlier era and provide board and room for as many outside students as possible. The school district also adjusted the salaries of bus drivers. Because of the budget cuts, the district had a small surplus by the end of 1932. However, tax revenues fell short of previous years, and by the end of the school year of 1933 the board cut almost \$40,000 from the previous year's budget. With the help of federal monies during the 1930s, the district was able to build a new junior high in Helper, add a combination auditorium and gymnasium at Wellington, make additions to Gordon Creek and Kenilworth schools, add an annex building to Price Junior High, and add a new gymnasium to the college/high school campus.

During World War II, U.S. Steel opened Horse Canyon Mine and built the new community of Dragerton for its miners. The location of Dragerton in eastern Carbon County meant that the district had to build a new junior high and elementary school there. Later, Kaiser Steel Corporation built a new Sunnyside Mine community called Sunnydale, and the district constructed a new elementary school there and made additions to the Dragerton school. Because of a housing shortage at Sunnyside, Utah Fuel Company renovated the old hospital for teacher apartments.

In the early 1950s Price had grown in population, and the district constructed a new elementary school in the north end of town and added on to Southside Elementary School, expanding it to include grades one through six. The district also built a new addition to Helper Junior High and constructed a bus garage. In 1954 L.E. Durrant, who had been on the school board for nineteen years, resigned and C.W. Petersen, who had been on the board for fifteen years, moved out of his district and also had to resign. The board named the new Price north side school after Durrant and the new

Sunnydale school after Petersen. Price Southside Elementary School was named the Reeves School after the past superintendent.

With the decline of the coal industry and the closing of most of the area coal camps during the 1950s, all elementary schools in the coal camps were closed and the remaining students were bussed to Helper and Price. By the mid-1950s there were four elementary schools in the county—Helper, Spring Glen, Price, and East Carbon; three junior high schools—Helper, Price, and East Carbon; and one high school—Carbon High School in Price.

Many people from the east end of the county resented the long bus commute for their high school students and desired that Carbon School District construct a high school in their area. Responding to their wishes and to the need for a new high school facility in Price, the school board undertook an ambitious building program in 1959 with the construction of two high schools—one in Price for approximately 900 students and three grades, and one in East Carbon for about 300 students and three grades. Carbon High School was relocated three blocks east of Carbon College. Kaiser Steel donated the land for East Carbon High School, and Kaiser Steel and U.S. Steel donated money for the building and the swimming pool. A decade later the district decided to replace the old Price Junior High, originally constructed in 1912, because of structural problems. In the 1970s the district built a new junior high on the old Kiwanis football field and named it Mont Harmon Junior High School. The district also razed the old Greek classical building and built a recreational field on its site.

In 1970 Notre Dame School discontinued its grades ten, eleven, and twelve, sending those students to Carbon High School; the following year it added a pre-school and a kindergarten. Thirty-three percent of Notre Dame's funding comes from tuition, 20 percent from fund-raising projects, and 47 percent from parish subsidy. The school recently has enlarged the main building and added a church on the grounds. The relationship between the school district and Notre Dame has always been amicable, but because Notre Dame is a private religious school, the school district could not support it financially. In 1972 Notre Dame had a staff of four Daughters of Charity, one being the principal, and five lay teachers. Many people

have volunteered countless hours there. A few, such as Penny Sampinos, taught at Notre Dame after retiring from the county school district.⁴⁸

Carbon High School had won glory in years prior to World War II in football, but the school then had to wait more than a decade for another chance. In 1951 the Carbon High School football team breezed through their conference, winning against Provo, South, and East high schools. They scored at least three touchdowns in nine separate contests and were victorious over almost every team by three or more touchdowns. The Salt Lake Tribune wrote, "Carbon has a backfield that is sheer, blinding speed. Louis Mele is the big gun, but Martin Bezyack, Tom Tasker and Dick Morley have broken up more than one game." For the title game, fourteen buses of fans traveled to Salt Lake City, and even Governor J. Bracken Lee, former mayor of Price, attended. Carbon defeated Box Elder in the championship game 27 to 0.

The high school baseball team also did well during those years. From 1940 on most of the team members were from Helper and had played for American Legion teams that dominated Legion baseball through 1945. In 1944 seven starters for the Carbon High School baseball team were from Helper. The high school team played South High for the state championship that year, losing by a score of 9 to 4. State titles became scarce after the 1951 football title. In 1980 the girls track team won a state championship; the school then had to wait seventeen years until 1997 when the girls basketball team defeated Uintah High 57 to 51.

Given some of the unique aspects of the county, the school board developed a somewhat flexible policy for dealing with special circumstances. For example, in response to a request from the Greek community, it allowed Greek language classes to be taught in the Columbia schoolhouse. While the board was unwilling to allow professional boxing and wrestling matches in the high school gymnasium, it did permit a boxing match that was sponsored as a polio benefit. In 1954 when the Price LDS Third Ward building burned, the school board allowed the Mormon church to rent the Reeves School until a new church was built. The board also purchased the old church lot adjacent to the Reeves School. The board would not allow



Elementary Class in Sunnyside, 1930. (LDS Church Archives)

Notre Dame students to ride school district buses; but when the Notre Dame bus to Columbia needed repairs, the school district transported those students until Notre Dame had its bus repaired. The board also allowed Notre Dame teams to practice and play on the Kiwanis field next to Price Junior High.

In the 1950s and 1960s the school district started a kindergarten program for five-year-olds and a special-education program for disadvantaged children. In the 1960s the district began to obtain funds from federal educational programs and also hired attorney Luke Pappas to advise them on legal matters.⁵⁰

One of the most difficult periods for the school board and its teachers occurred between 1967 and 1969 when labor negotiations threatened what were normally good relations between the two groups. Salaries were the central issue—especially compensation for more experienced teachers. For the 1967–68 school year the Carbon County Education Association (CCEA) elected as its president Robert Milano, a Carbon High School government teacher who was educated as a lawyer. At the beginning of the school year, Milano asked his faculty representatives to make a list of what the teachers wanted. Salary increases and fewer students per class topped the list.

After study, the CCEA negotiating committee concluded that the district budget could be more carefully drafted to squeeze out dollars for salary increases and reduced class sizes. The negotiating committee asked each CCEA member to sign a power of attorney to the Carbon County Education Association to act in his or her behalf. The response was nearly unanimous; only five teachers refused to sign. From their earlier discussions with teachers, the committee drafted a master contract, which was in effect a personnel policy for the teachers with the board.⁵¹

In February 1968, when the Carbon County Teachers Association began its discussions with the school board about salaries and contracts for the next year, the new master contract was put on the table. The contract included a statement providing that "both parties have equal status." Board members stated that they did not want to enter into a negotiating agreement with the teachers association. As far as the board was concerned, agreeing with the statement of equal status would allow the CCEA to be a party to all discussions in board meetings, and the board could not allow that. School board attorney Luke Pappas argued that agreement with that phrase would give the CCEA team the right to sit down with the board and decide such issues as mill levies and budgets. Robert Milano, CCEA president and chief negotiator, commented that teachers knew that the board would not accept all the proposals in the master contract, but they wanted the master contract agreed to before the two parties negotiated salaries. John J. Nielson, board president, said, "The fact is the board feels this agreement is illegal. We're bottled down by this agreement to the point we cannot get anything else done."52

The board said it would consider the master contract and the salaries together; but essentially it was stymied over the master contract. The two sides came to a stalemate in late July and remained deadlocked through August. The board finally offered a nineteen-page personnel policy counterproposal to the CCEA's master contract. Within the next few days, both sides made considerable progress, but the board could not agree in writing to the collective bargaining principle.⁵³ Finally, Dr. T.H. Bell, state superintendent of public instruction, offered the services of his office to arbitrate the stalemate. With the help of Bell, the two sides made progress on the

negotiations and on 9 September the teachers went back to work after twelve days of withholding services and seven days of lost class-room time. In the meantime the board passed a resolution penalizing teachers the number of days they did not work. The state board of education finally deducted three days' pay from the teachers' salaries. ⁵⁴ This loss of pay left bitter feelings with district teachers toward the local school board and the state board of education which resurfaced during contract negotiations the next year. ⁵⁵

Negotiations stalled by the middle of August 1969, and, as the time grew closer for returning to school, both the education association and the school board recognized that the teachers would not be in classrooms on time. The main issue for the association was that teachers would not lose pay for the time they withheld services and were out of the classroom. The two sides finally agreed on a salary increase and the loss of three days' pay, but two of those days would be made up during the year. The executive committee of the CCEA urged teachers to accept the proposal; however, the teachers voted 79 to 57 against it. The teachers were opposed to losing one day's pay. In a surprise move, Evelyn Jones, chair of the board, and superintendent J. Grant Kilfoyle announced that any teacher who wanted to report to work would be offered the same contract, but three days' pay would be deducted from the yearly salary. Milano recognized that this was a move to split the CCEA, and, to counter the district's tactic, Milano called the teachers back to work.56

The Utah Education Association (UEA) studied the situation in Carbon County and reported that one of the underlying problems was ineffective communication between the sides. At times the superintendent failed to make carefully documented recommendations, and the board frequently acted in an administrative role. The report also recognized the excellent educational program in Carbon County and commended both the board and the teachers for their fine schools.⁵⁷ The CCEA executive committee felt that the UEA had not supported them and generally felt that the UEA was a useless instrument in their battle with the school board.⁵⁸ County teachers stuck together and supported the efforts of the CCEA executive committee.

Since the problems of 1968 and 1969, there have been no major

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Kenilworth school class, c. 1920 (Western Mining and Railroad Museum)

obstacles between the school board and the education association. In May 1970 teachers quickly ratified the agreement the board offered. Superintendent Kilfoyle commended both sides, saying, "The environment for negotiations has been good. I just feel it's been a real effort on the side of both parties here." The Salt Lake *Tribune* headlines read, "New Twist in Salary Talks: Carbon Teachers Sign." 59

Over the next several years, the school district developed policies for students and teachers. It clarified sick leave, published a free-lunch policy, and worked on dress standards. The latter caused great discussion at Carbon High School, with both parents and students becoming involved. Carbon High School Principal Loman Hutchings had sought help from student leaders on a policy. They agreed that girls should wear skirts or perhaps even culottes to school. Some parents suggested that girls be allowed to wear slacks or pantsuits. Finally, in August 1972 about thirty-eight students stayed out of school in order to protest the new dress code. Some parents took the issue to court, and Judge Edward Sheya threw out the dress code except for one provision stating that boys' hair should be clean and neat.

In the 1960s the county rallied behind the efforts of Ann Self, who founded a school for the handicapped—the Castle Valley Day Care and Training Center. Self organized the school, publicized it, and helped raise the necessary finances. Numerous small donations came from various Carbon County clubs, and the Utah Sate Department of Health and Welfare also provided some funds. Later, Carbon County School District took over the school of the handicapped, and Emery County School District also sent its handicapped students to the Carbon school.

The 1970s was a decade that featured new buildings and new programs in the school district. In 1974 Price Elementary burned and had to be rebuilt. Fortunately, the old Central Elementary building which the district had vacated a few years before was still vacant, and classes moved into it until the district built a new building.

In the 1980s the district built Castle Heights Elementary School in north Price, a new Wellington elementary school, Creekview Elementary School in the south part of Price, and Castle Valley Center for the multiple handicapped, which was earlier named the Ann Self Center after its founder. In the late 1980s the district closed Price Elementary School and completely remodeled it into the new Westridge Middle School for sixth and seventh graders. After the construction of Creekview Elementary, the district no longer needed Reeves School and sold the building. The district razed Clear Creek School, which had been used for a summer program, because it no longer met the fire code. In 1994 the board decided that because of declining student population it no longer needed two elementary schools in north Price and closed Durrant Elementary School. Harrier High School, which had been established in the late 1970s as an alternative high school, was also closed.

The Carbon County school system is more complicated today than ever, with the school district budget being composed of local, state, and federal funds. Each funding source supports different types of programs. There is a bilingual program, a gifted and talented students' program, advanced placement classes, an education program for the handicapped, special needs programs for underachievers, and a career ladder for teachers. The district has also added classes to teach students computer literacy. High schools went to a six-period

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day and then to a block system where students attended eight classes, but only four of them each day. Because of the needs of handicapped students, the district built chair lifts in the high schools.

During the boom years of the late 1970s, forty-eight school buses were being used in the district. The district sold its older buses and purchased new buses on a regular basis. At one time the district obtained buses through a bidding process from local car dealerships. In recent years the district has purchased county school buses at lower prices through a state contract.

The College of Eastern Utah and Carbon School District have had a good relationship since their separation. The district donated about \$100,000 to a new vocational building on the college campus. The school district has also allowed students to attend the college and concurrently receive college and high school credits.⁶¹

In 1993, on the eve of his retirement, Superintendent Robert Hanson recommended closing East Carbon High School. The district had been losing \$191,000 a year, and closing East Carbon was a way to cut the district's deficit. Within a few weeks interested parties began to work out a reasonable compromise. The school district agreed that if the East Carbon community would raise \$140,000, the school would remain open for another year. Jim Leonard, a local businessman, headed a "Save the High School" effort and obtained generous grants from the landfill company, East Carbon Development Corporation, Sunnyside Coal, UMWA Local No. 9958, and East Carbon City, as well as donations from local citizens to keep the high school open. 62

Because the board of education is an elected body, it has always seen some change. Some board members have served longer than others. L.E. Durrant, who retired in 1953, spent nineteen years on the Carbon County School Board. C.W. Peterson spent fifteen years there to 1953 and then returned to the board in 1957 before leaving again in 1970. As a Draper from Wellington, whose father had been on the first board in 1917, served on the board from 1971 to 1996. Until 1972 the school district had been led by only three superintendents since 1940: G.J. Reeves, Mont Harmon, and J. Grant Kilfoyle. There have been a number of superintendents since then.

Over the years the numbers of students in the district and the

schools reflect the population and some of the history of the county. In 1927, 4,671 students were enrolled in Carbon County School District. Of that total, 2,236 attended elementary schools in the coal camps. By 1940, of a total of 4,598 students in elementary schools, only 1,223 were in elementary schools in the camps. In 1952 the numbers from the camps was 1,195, but total student population had increased to 5,635. By 1966 only 494 students came from the East Carbon area, which might be classified as a coal camp, and total student population dropped to 4,670. By 1980 there were 2,614 elementary students, with only 294 of them from Petersen Elementary, located in the East Carbon area. By 1990 there were 2,865 elementary students, with only 167 of them in Petersen Elementary.

Other interesting numbers come from the high schools. In 1927 Carbon High School had 575 students in four grades. By 1940 it had 599, but they were only in two grades. In 1966, seven years after the split of the two high schools, Carbon High School with three grades had 892 students and East Carbon High School had 267. By 1980 East Carbon had 200 students, while Carbon had decreased to 712. In 1990 Carbon High School had 890 students in three grades; East Carbon High School had 190 students in six grades.⁶³

Carbon County has been favored by hundreds of dedicated teachers whose efforts helped educate and prepare thousands of students for college and other careers. It is impossible to mention all of these teachers, but four-Carl Marcusen, Carmen Lewis, Vernonica Heinlein, and Sally Mauro—represent the best among those who served the county's students. Carl Marcusen began teaching in Price in 1902. The following year he became a school principal and stayed at the position for a number of years. In 1907 Marcusen won the election as county school superintendent and continued in that position until his defeat in 1914. Later county voters elected him as a member of the county board of education; and, still later, he served as a member of the state board of education. Carmen Lewis started teaching in Sunnyside in the 1920s; after her marriage, she taught in Price—first at Harding and then at Price Junior High. In 1933, when Harding was overcrowded, Lewis taught classes in the basement of the Carnegie Library.⁶⁴ Veronica Heinlein started teaching English at Carbon High School in the late 1920s and continued giving exemEDUCATION 287

plary service until her retirement in the 1950s. Sally Mauro, a Colorado native, started teaching in Helper in 1928 with only two years of college. She later finished her degree in summer sessions and eventually earned a master's degree. In 1948 the school board named her principal of Helper Elementary School. When that school burned down in 1964, she worked with residents to establish an emergency school in the civic auditorium. The school board later named the new building in west Helper after her.⁶⁵

ENDNOTES

- 1. This certification process led to problems when two teachers charged religious discrimination against I. W. Bowman, county superintendent, for failure to recertify them. The state school board exonerated Bowman. *Eastern Utah Advocate*, 6 January 1904, 20 October 1904.
- 2. Eastern Utah Advocate, 11 May 1898, 29 September 1898, 15 February 1900, 17 May 1900, 24 May 1900, 13 November 1902, 4 December 1902, 1 January 1903.
 - 3. Ibid., 24 July 1902.
 - 4. Ibid., 28 June 1906, 13 September 1906.
 - 5. Ibid., 8 December 1910.
- 6. Ibid., 28 June 1906, 16 November 1911, 16 July 1914, 10 September 1914; *Sun*, 16 February 1917, 9 March 1917, 5 April 1918, 17 May 1918, 24 May 1918.
 - 7. Ibid., 7 January 1915.
 - 8. Deseret News, 31 January 1918.
- 9. Sun, 23 November 1917, 11 January 1918, 1 February 1918, 15 February 1918; Carbon County School District Board of Education minutes, 5 January 1918, 19 February 1918.
 - 10. News Advocate, 18 March 1920, 1 July 1920.
 - 11. Sun, 30 August 1918; News Advocate, 11 December 1919.
- 12. Gertrude Lloyd Johnson, "Memories of Kenilworth," in Kenilworth Memories, 33–34.
 - 13. Eastern Utah Advocate, 22 November 1900, 4 December 1902.
- 14. News Advocate, 14 August 1919; Sun, 13 October 1921; Sun Advocate, 24 August 1933, 14 September 1933, 7 September 1939.
 - 15. News Advocate, 1 July 1920; Sun Advocate, 14 September 1933.
 - 16. Mona Marsing, Reminiscences, paper in possession of the author.
 - 17. Sun Advocate, 19 January 1939.

- 18. Ibid., 26 October 1933.
- 19. Sun, 5 May 1921.
- 20. Ibid., 12 January 1932.
- 21. Sun Advocate, 19 March 1933.
- 22. Derral Lewis Siggard, "School Bands in Utah: Their History and Development between 1928 and 1975," Ph.D. draft, University of Oregon, 1975.
- 23. Edgar M. Williams,"The Life and Times of Edgar M. Williams as Remembered in the Year 1977 at the Age of Eighty-eight," 18, paper at College of Eastern Utah.
 - 24. Ibid., 23.
 - 25. Sun, 12 April 1931, 19 April 1931.
 - 26. Sun, 14 April 1932, 21 April 1932.
 - 27. Siggard, "School Bands," 6-8.
 - 28. Sun Advocate, 8 June 1933, 15 June 1933.
 - 29. Williams," Life and Times," 26-27.
 - 30. Sun Advocate, 15 June 1933, 22 June 1933.
 - 31. Ibid., 7 September 1933, 5 October 1933.
 - 32. Williams," Life and Times," 27.
 - 33. Sun Advocate, 6 May 1937, 21 April 1937, 20 April 1939.
 - 34. Ibid., 26 April 1934, 23 April 1936, 11 March 1937.
 - 35. Siggard, "School Bands," 1.
 - 36. Sun Advocate, 30 November 1939.
 - 37. Sun, 9 March 1933.
 - 38. George D. Watt, Reminiscences, LDS Church Archives.
 - 39. Sun Advocate, 17 November 1938.
 - 40. Ibid., 1 December 1938.
- 41. Ibid., 9 November 1939, 16 November 1939, 7 December 1939, 21 November 1940.
 - 42. Sun, 4 May 1928.
 - 43. Sun Advocate, 24 March 1946.
 - 44. Ibid., 6 September 1934, 16 May 1937.
 - 45. Sun, 19 February 1931.
 - 46. Sun Advocate, 1 June 1933.
- 47. See Carbon School District Board of Education Minutes, 25 October 1943, 10 March 1945, 13 February 1951.
- 48. Daughters of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paul, Seton Provincialate Archives, Los Altos Hills, California.

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- 49. Salt Lake Tribune, 10 November 1951, B1; 11 November 1951.
- 50. See Carbon County School District Board of Education Minutes, 1943–67.
- 51. Robert Milano, Reminiscences, 1995, paper in possession of the author.
- 52. Salt Lake Tribune, 2 August 1968; Carbon County Board of Education Minutes, 13 March 1968.
- 53. Carbon County Board of Education minutes, 16 August 1968, 19 August 1968, 30 August 1968, 1 September 1968.
- 54. Salt Lake *Tribune*, September 1968, B2; 28 September 1968, 23; 29 September 1968, B1; 30 September 1968, 27; Carbon County Board of Education Minutes, 28 September 1968; Milano, Reminiscences.
 - 55. Carbon County Board of Education Minutes, 9 May 1969.
 - 56. Salt Lake Tribune, 6 September 1969, 19.
 - 57. Ibid., 2 October 1969, 4D.
 - 58. Milano, Reminiscences.
 - 59. Salt Lake Tribune, 7 May 1970, B12; 8 May 1970, B1.
- 60. Carbon County Board of Education Minutes, 21 January 1971, 3 June 1971, 24 August 1972, 16 November 1972.
 - 61. Carbon County Board of Education Minutes, 4 March 1992.
 - 62. "East Carbon/Sunnyside Newsletter," May 1993, April 1994.
 - 63. Figures furnished by Carbon County School District Office.
- 64. Eastern Utah Advocate, 28 April 1904, 19 December 1907, 5 November 1914; Sun, 9 December 1927.
 - 65. Sun Advocate, 7 April 1982.

THE COLLEGE OF EASTERN UTAH

The success of Carbon County's high schools led many county students to institutions of higher education both in- and outside the state of Utah. As more and more students left home for colleges and universities far away, a small group of Carbon County residents began to develop plans for a two-year college within the county. Among them were school superintendents D.C. Woodward, W.W. Christensen, and G.J. Reeves. After Woodward's death in 1929, his successor, W.W. Christensen, took up the junior college cause. Due to Christensen's influence, the Carbon County School Board and the Price City Council issued a resolution supporting a college.1 State senator William Miller, who moved to Carbon County from Emery County, began to discuss that issue in the state legislature.² In 1933 Superintendent Christensen conducted a study that showed only 18 percent of students in the six counties of eastern Utah intended to pursue a college education, although over 80 percent wished they could go to college.3 Also in 1933 the Utah Department of Education, through county superintendent W. W. Christensen, stated that it would be possible for students not near an institution of higher learning to take classes if there were enough students to justify the expense of a teacher. For a few years some area students took extra classes through this program, but they did not receive college credit.

Early in 1934 a Price Rotary Club committee reported that eastern Utah was a logical choice for a junior college since the high schools of the six counties of Carbon, Emery, San Juan, Grand, Uintah, and Duchesne had graduated 370 students the past year. Carbon County did an excellent job of sending its students to schools of higher education, with 150 attending colleges in 1934, six of whom attended the junior college at Grand Junction.5 The Rotary Club continued to gain support for the college initiative when the Associated Civic Clubs delegates, meeting in Helper, enthusiastically endorsed the establishment of a junior college in Price. The six mentioned counties' school boards came out in favor of the proposal, as did the Price Chamber of Commerce. After a meeting in December 1936, it was clear that the junior college proposal had the support of all segments of the community. Senator Miller announced that he would donate approximately twenty acres for a campus for the new college. Both Price City and the school board also offered to donate property. Superintendent G.J. Reeves, school board president O.H. Guymon, Dr. Charles Ruggeri, and George Ockey drove to Salt Lake City to meet with Governor Henry H. Blood and members of educational circles. They told Blood that they anticipated that annual student enrollment would be 400. Blood appeared favorable to the idea but would not commit himself.6

G.G. Lindstrom, state senator from Spring Canyon, and D.A. Tidwell, representative from Wellington, introduced a bill for the college to be a branch of the University of Utah. It was later changed to make the proposed institution a distinct entity of its own. In Tidwell's introductory speech, he made a plea that because there was no institution of higher education in the eastern half of the state the legislature should respond favorably to the junior college initiative. There were several skeptics among legislators, however, including Representative Rulon Garfield of Utah County, who argued, "I believe we will sacrifice our senior colleges if we start out on a half-cocked junior college program." Garfield eventually voted for the new junior college, however. Only two representatives in the house, Emily D.

Aird and Maud B. Jacob, both from Utah County, voted against the bill. The state established Carbon Junior College on 20 February 1937.

The original plan was to have the junior college share the same facility with junior and senior classes from Carbon High School. The state appropriated \$150,000 in building costs with a \$27,000 operating fund for the first year. Included in the construction costs were a \$122,000 federal grant and \$86,000 from the Carbon County School District for the gymnasium and the renovation of the Carbon County fair building.8 The city wanted the privilege of donating ground for the college and Mayor J. Bracken Lee insisted that the city offer be accepted ahead of all others. Price City donated the fairgrounds property and the school was constructed on the site at 400 North and 400 East. The Carbon County School District sponsored construction of the gymnasium, and the old fairgrounds building which had housed cattle and horses became the music and drama building. Price condemned private property on First North to open up Fourth East from Main Street to the college. Despite strong support from Carbon County's political leaders and Governor Henry Blood, legal issues delayed building work until 14 March 1938.9

Work progressed nicely until April when hod carriers went on strike. The carriers, working at fifty-five cents an hour, contended that the contractors had promised them sixty-five cents an hour. The two groups finally compromised at sixty cents an hour. The next problem was to decide which entity should furnish electricity to the college—Utah Power and Light Company or Price City. An agreement was finally reached with both sides providing power; however, Utah Power and Light was the major source. Residents kept a close eye on the proposed curriculum, and a sizeable segment requested that courses of classic and modern Greek and Greek history be included in the college curriculum, a request that was never filled.

Dr. Elden Sessions was hired to be the first president of the college. He hired eleven teachers, with some of those teachers teaching both college and high school classes." By fall 1938 the construction crew finished the main building; the gymnasium and renovation of the music and drama building soon followed.

When classes began on 3 October 1938, more than 100 students



Carbon Junior College, 1938. Now the College of Eastern Utah. (Utah State Historical Society)

representing nine states enrolled, with a little over 50 percent of them coming from Carbon County. A month later, in November, evening extension classes began with an emphasis on business and occupational courses. The administration felt that these classes would provide a way to reach out to the community and that older people would be anxious to take advantage of the courses. These evening classes continued only until February, however; the administration then dropped the classes with no notice as to when they would be offered again. In December the school held its first social event—an inspection of the campus and a dance for students, faculty, parents, and friends.

In January 1939 junior and senior high school students transferred to the new campus. Harding transferred its seventh- and eighth-grade students to the old Carbon High School building, forming a junior high with grades seven through ten. Fourth and fifth grades transferred from Central Elementary School to Harding, thus relieving the overcrowdedness of those two schools. This also began a different type of organizational problem. College president Elden Sessions was in charge of the college campus, and at first former high school principal Melvin Wilson was his assistant; but Sessions, trained as a college administrator, never understood high school

administration. Within two years Wilson asked the school board to make him principal of the junior and senior grades. Wilson informed board members that the high school students and teachers did not know where to go for advice and guidance. Board members notified the Utah Department of Education that the board intended to keep the identity of the high school separate from that of the college, and they made Wilson principal over the high school once again.¹²

During the remainder of Sessions's tenure, the institution functioned as a two-headed organization. Two faculties reported to two different administrators. The state paid the college instructors at a higher wage scale than the school district paid high school teachers, causing some friction. Some of the high school instructors even encouraged their students not to attend the college. The school had to field a high school and college team in every sport. There was no lighted field in town, so this caused quite a logistical problem.

Carbon College moved rapidly to establish sports, cultural, and other programs. Leaders organized a Golden Eagles basketball team, a debate club, and drama classes for the purpose of producing plays. The second year the drama department produced a three-act play, The Late Christopher Bean, in the civic auditorium. The school elected student body officers, with John Holman as president. The high school and college did share some social events like dances. Both high school and college students attended sports events; but usually the high school students attended the high school games and vice versa.

Carbon College students in the county could use the school bus for a fee, but they usually did not; however, there was enough demand that the college ran a bus to Hiawatha. Just before the beginning of the college's second school year, the school district agreed to pay the state department of education \$11,000 for rental of the college buildings.¹³ The high school library of over 1,000 volumes was moved to the college, and in 1939 the college purchased another 1,000 volumes. To help promote the college, Mayor Lee produced a motion picture entitled, *A Day at Carbon College*, which the Price Kiwanis Club took to Grand, San Juan, and Emery counties. Thirty-seven students graduated in the first graduation class. A little over two years after the founding of the college, there were nineteen

instructors and more than 600 full-time students, including the high school juniors and seniors. The college had also added evening classes again. At the beginning of World War II, the college also sponsored a civilian pilot training program.

During the Depression, one of the New Deal programs was the National Youth Administration (NYA), which provided jobs for youth in the country. One reason for the growth of Carbon College was the enrollment of over 100 National Youth Administration youth who helped build an addition to the vocational education building; then these NYA students remained longer at the college than originally planned in order to add another section to the building. The college housed them in a dormitory on South Carbon Avenue. They spent their free time building the extra section, which provided the college more room at very little expense.

By 1943 the NYA students were gone. Many of the county's young men were in the military service and its young women were working as World War II brought an end to the long Depression years of unemployment; consequently, college enrollment dropped to twenty-seven students in 1943. Some college instructors volunteered to teach high school classes in order to have enough work, and the school district paid them for teaching those classes.

In 1944 Melvin Wilson retired as principal, and the Utah Board of Education asked Elden Sessions to head both the high school and college. Sessions was unwilling to accept the assignment and resigned as president of Carbon College. The state board then asked Aaron E. Jones, who had been a faculty member of the college, to take on both positions, and he accepted. Early in his administration, the teachers who taught both high school and college classes worked under two contracts, one from the state and one from the district. Less than a decade later, Jones separated most classes into high school and college classes; however, some of the classes such as band and chorus still included both high school and college students. The two educational institutions were never fully compatible. High school students needed more discipline and a little regimentation; college students needed more freedom and a more challenging classroom environment.

Five years after taking over the joint position, Jones requested the

separation of the two schools; but the school district, because of indebtedness, was not able to build a campus for the high school. ¹⁵ Jones also prepared the college for accreditation from the Northwest Accreditation Association, which it received in 1948. ¹⁶ The end of World War II saw a jump in enrollment. Many veterans returned to school, with the federal G.I. Bill covering tuition and books and providing a modest monthly living allowance.

In the meantime J. Bracken Lee had become governor of the state of Utah and moved to Salt Lake City with the projected aim of cutting state expenditures. In December 1953 he proposed to a special session of the legislature that three junior colleges—Weber, Snow, and Dixie—which had been received from the Mormon church in 1932, be given back and that the state terminate Carbon College and the two vocational schools in Salt Lake City and Provo. Such a move would have ended the junior college system in the state.

Some people felt that if Lee gave back the three colleges to the Mormon church but still retained Carbon College he would be showing partiality to his old hometown. A group of prominent county citizens including Frank Bonacci, renowned labor leader and the legislator who had proposed the college back in the 1930s, journeyed to Salt Lake City and discussed their views with Utah legislators.

President Jones, who had experienced some difficulties with Lee in Price, felt that Lee was acting for personal reasons against him.¹⁷ The difficulties appear to have begun when East High School was playing Carbon High in basketball and fans disagreed with several calls that were made. Jones, at the prompting of the referees, tried to calm the crowd. He later walked over to Lee, who had been a part of the disgruntled group, to talk to him, but Lee would not listen.¹⁸ In 1948 Lee complained to the board of education that neither teachers, students, nor patrons had any respect for Jones and asked that the board investigate.¹⁹

On 18 December 1953 the state senate passed the bill to close Carbon College, with Republicans (except Orval Hafen of St. George, who thought closure needed further study) voting for the proposal and Democrats voting against it. ²⁰ A few days earlier the senate had passed a bill to transfer Weber, Dixie, and Snow colleges to the LDS church. The colleges would continue under the current system until

the end of the school year. On 24 December the Sun Advocate wrote: "As chief executioner, Governor Lee has done a memorable job in destroying our pride in a college, impairing the educational opportunities of the young people of this area; eliminating the only state institution in Southeastern Utah; centralizing educational advantages into the vast state capital city, and saving the taxpayers an infinitesimal amount, if any, in the process."²¹

The night the bill passed, Jones called a meeting in the city hall. The meeting was so well attended that it became necessary to move it from the city council chambers into the auditorium. Jones explained that the only way supporters could save Carbon College was to place the issue on the ballot and have the people vote on it. No one at the meeting offered any opposition, and everyone voted unanimously to begin the process. Gomer Peacock was elected chair of the committee to save the college. Some were apprehensive because Peacock had been friends with Lee, but Jones supported Peacock.

The "Save the College Committee" had sixty days to circulate petitions, obtain signatures, and send the petitions to the Utah secretary of state. The committee had to obtain signatures of 10 percent of those who voted in the last election, and those signatures had to be from at least fifteen counties. The Weber College committee, which was opposed to returning Weber College to the Mormon church, stated that it would help with the Carbon College petition if Carbon College would reciprocate. The Carbon College committee accepted this offer. Peacock, his hand-picked committee, and the teachers of the college worked diligently. Frank Bonacci signed the petition on 20 January and died a few hours later. Many people living in Carbon County who had moved from other counties volunteered to take petitions to their home counties. A day or two before the deadline, several committee members made trips to other counties and then took the petitions to the state office. Almost 33,000 names were needed to get the referendum on the ballot, and it was found that over 56,000 people throughout the state had signed the petitions to save Carbon College.22

The Carbon Board of Education did not take an official stand either way. At first it discussed what would happen if the college were discontinued. Then when the petition and voting process were taking place, board members discussed keeping the college open for the remainder of the school year if the vote failed.²³

Peacock now moved from being petition chairman to becoming a fundraiser and organizer. His committee set up a booth at the state fair, published pamphlets, sent out speakers, and did all its members could think of to bring the matter to the attention of the people of Utah. A month before the election, Salt Lake City newspapers released a poll that showed most people favored saving the college, but the committee continued to work as diligently as before. At the November 1954 election, voters overwhelmingly voted for the continuation of Carbon College and also chose to retain Weber, Snow, and Dixie colleges as state institutions.²⁴

In its 4 November issue the *Sun Advocate* published a letter from Gomer Peacock expressing his thanks to everybody: "If you feel your cause is just, it is amazing what can be accomplished. Space and time are not sufficient here to name the hundreds of individuals, civic and professional club leaders, women's organizations, teachers, students and businessmen who gave time and money to prevent the closing of our Junior College." Some consider saving the college to be the greatest accomplishment in the history of the county.

Carbon College continued to grow; it added new buildings, including married student apartments, to the campus. At the end of World War II, the federal government offered buildings from Camp Kearns to the college. The college transported two army buildings to the campus, using one as the science building and the other as apartments for women. Student carpenters built an addition to the vocational building for welding classes. In 1956, after hearing that the Utah National Guard was going to build a new armory, Jones went to General Maxwell Rich and convinced him to place the new building near the campus. With further appropriations from the legislature, more lockers, showers, bleachers, and two classrooms were added which enabled the college to host basketball games there. The college also constructed dormitories for sixty men and later used some temporary buildings for a small student union and bookstore.

In 1959, the year Aaron Jones retired as college president, the state legislature passed a bill making Carbon College a branch of the University of Utah. Also in 1959 the local school district began a new high school campus and sold its portion of the campus to the college for \$235,000.26 The relations between the college and the high school had never been completely amicable, but somehow the two institutions had survived together and worked out their problems for twenty years.

Beginning in the late 1950s and continuing into the 1960s, the college undertook a large building program. It had been using older buildings with new additions built by carpentry and vocational students, but the college needed new buildings to attract students. In 1953 President Jones had asked for an appropriation of \$240,000 for a new auditorium and theater building to be added to the west side of the main building; but the building, named in honor of drama teacher Elmo Geary, was not completed until 1960 at a cost of \$600,000.²⁷ In the 1960s, with the help of federal funds, the college built a new music building, a science center, and a library. The \$2.5-million federal grant also built an administrative wing on the east end of the main building, a heating plant, and a 100-unit dormitory.²⁸ In the 1970s the college added a new career center, which housed vocational-oriented programs; it added a new sports complex, known as the Bunnell-Dimitrich Center, in the 1980s.

Some people felt that Carbon College represented more than just Carbon County, and it certainly drew a good number of its students from nearby Emery County. In 1963 a bill was proposed and defeated in the legislature to rename the college the College of Eastern Utah. In 1964 Omar Bunnell promised voters that, if elected, he would support renaming the college. With Bunnell's support, Representative Russell S. Williams from Carbon County introduced such a bill on 21 January 1965. It passed through the legislature without a dissenting vote, changing the college's name to the College of Eastern Utah (CEU). A few days later Governor Calvin Rampton signed the bill. The name change brought a greater acceptance for the institution by the people of southeastern Utah and allowed for the expansion of the college into that area of the state.²⁹

Its connection with the University of Utah had helped the school, but in 1969 the Higher Education Act eliminated the branch relationship of CEU with the University of Utah and established the Utah State Board of Regents as the governing body for all state-run

colleges and universities. In the meantime the college began to focus more on a community-college concept and began offering classes in other counties of southeastern Utah. A small campus was established at Blanding in several buildings rented by the college. By 1994 the Blanding CEU campus had expanded to 350 students.³⁰

Immediately following World War II, the college had expanded to about 200 students. This number remained quite constant for a number of years, but by 1965 it had risen to just over 600 students. Twelve years later, in 1977, the student population had risen to 919. By 1982 the college had 1,132 students and was no longer the smallest college in the state; and by 1990 the student population had nearly doubled to more than 2,000. Five years later there were 3,123 students enrolled at the combined campuses of the college, with 2,476 students attending the Price campus. Almost half of the students at the Price campus came from Carbon County, and about 67 percent of the students on the Price campus came from Carbon and Emery counties. The college recruited students from all the counties of Utah but has always felt that eastern Utah was its special area of concentration.

Because Price has a limited housing base, the college has had to build dormitories to house many students who come from outside of Price, although some students from Carbon and Emery counties often live at home and commute to school. For many years the college dorms included Sessions Hall with over 100 beds and the old Aaron Jones apartments with thirty-two beds, plus off-campus married student housing. In the late 1970s the administration determined that the college could not grow unless it could accommodate more students on campus. To assist in this matter, the CEU Foundation was formed. It acquired land adjacent to the campus and built a sixty-four-bed apartment unit. In 1985 the foundation agreed to assist the college in developing a 102-bed apartment dormitory. Needs continued to grow and adequate community housing still was not available; therefore, the CEU Foundation once again became a partner with the college and developed a three-building complex to house 200 students.31

The College of Eastern Utah has maintained a strong vocational curriculum, offering students certificates or associate degrees in var-

ious areas such as auto and diesel mechanics, accounting office computer systems, drafting, welding, and interior design. Because CEU is located in the midst of a coal field, it has placed great emphasis on coal mining supervisor's classes, and presently it is the only school in the state to provide mine-safety training. It also sponsors mine-safety seminars for coal operators and miners. One was held in April 1986 when the Utah Coal Operators, the Utah Industrial Commission, the county chamber of commerce, CEU's Advisory Council for Mining Education, and the Utah Job Service sponsored a two-day seminar. Top experts in the field of mine safety spoke to participants. That fall nine coal companies supported eleven teams in rescue contests sponsored by the Rocky Mountain Coal Mine Rescue Association. Two years later, at this annual mine rescue competition, CEU hosted twenty teams, some coming from as far as Pennsylvania and Kentucky. In 1983 James Randolph, president of CEU, commented that the growth of the school had resulted from specialty classes, vocational classes, and classes that took advantage of the area's uniqueness.33

The College of Eastern Utah has sponsored many extracurricular activities, including homecoming events, Eagle Week, and other social events. Eagle Week in 1973 included a carnival, volleyball game, bonfire, powder-puff football game on the athletic field, and a preference ball at the Elks Club.³⁴ In 1987 a twenty-two member cheer, yell, and song-leading squad won a second-place trophy at the Universal Cheerleading Association training camp held at the University of Utah. The college also has done fairly well in basketball some years. Its team won its league men's division championship five times, and in 1965 it took third place in the National Junior College Athletic Association championship tournament.

After the 1963 season, CEU faced the problem of large expenses for a football program at a very small college. President John Tucker finally recommended that the college drop football from its activities. Two years later the Intermountain College Athletic Conference (ICAC) told the school that it had to leave the conference or restore football; therefore, President Tucker wrote a letter resigning CEU from the league.³⁵

In 1979 CEU reestablished a full football program after a com-

mittee appointed by the college concluded that football would increase enrollment and produce positive public relations for the college. It also was believed that the state legislature would provide additional funds for the reinstatement; however, not one of these factors materialized. The football program showed a fiscal deficit each year, which put a strain on the college's limited financial resources. The community gave very little support to the football program. After a decade of frustration and unfulfilled hopes, the football program was dropped in 1988 and emphasis was placed on other intercollegiate sports.²⁶

The college developed an outstanding forensics program. In 1978 CEU students at a national forensics meet held at the College of Idaho took nine trophies, and in the 1980s and 1990s they continued to bring home trophies in forensics and debate meets. Neil Warren, then debate and forensics teacher, built a nationally-ranked program. His forensics program has been ranked between tenth and third among all colleges and universities in the nation. In 1981 the National Junior College Forensics Association bestowed the name of the Neil Warren Fellowship to annual awards given to the top student and coach of the year at the national forensics competition.

The college has sponsored a Carbon County history program, with speakers coming from all over the state. It has hosted art displays and women's conferences and has developed such innovative programs as wilderness activities in which students earned recreation credits in backpacking, whitewater rafting, field trips, and tours throughout a four-state area.

Art and literature have been encouraged; for example, "Utah 86: Painting," a traveling exhibition representing Utah artists in various painting media, was a popular attraction. In 1987 fifteen former CEU artists exhibited their paintings for the school's fiftieth-year celebration. That same year, Patricia McConnel, an award-winning writer from Moab, came to the college to read from her works."

In 1982 the college appointed a development director to help acquire federal and state grants and to establish a private donation program. The college has encouraged its faculty and staff to write proposals for federal and private funding, and over the years many programs at the school have received grants and contributions.⁴⁰

The college has also encouraged gifted high school students to take classes at the college. In 1981 Congress voted to drop the college social security aid program for students who were not enrolled by May of the next year. CEU encouraged affected students to begin their college work early so they would be able to have those benefits.⁴¹

The college has always placed great emphasis on faculty who placed teaching first, but presenting papers at professional meetings has also been encouraged. Many outstanding instructors have taught at the college. Elmo G. Geary was an Emery County native who taught at various schools in Emery County and had been principal at North Emery High School in Huntington, Utah. From 1946 until 1950 he worked as a salesman for the National Biscuit Company. In 1950 President Aaron Jones asked Geary to join the faculty at Carbon College to teach speech and drama. Geary's presence at the school helped recruit Emery County students to Carbon College. During the drive to save the college in 1954, Geary shouldered a large responsibility: he coached successful speech teams and produced a number of plays and helped organize the Price Community Theater, directing several of its plays. He worked for a number of years to obtain approval of a theater building at the college and helped extensively in its design. Due to declining health, Geary retired in 1960; the Geary Theater on campus was named in his honor.42

Al Trujillo, a Colorado native, graduated from Brigham Young University and worked for two years before coming to the college in 1952, where he taught chemistry and math. In 1960 he completed his master's degree from Utah State University in physical chemistry, and he finished his doctorate in fuels engineering in 1971 from the University of Utah. For nine of his thirty-five-year college career he served as academic vice-president at CEU, and for fifteen years he was chair of the Division of Science and Technology. In 1986 he received the Utah State Board of Regents' Excellence in Teaching Award. He was also a faculty representative to the Intermountain Athletic Conference for twenty years and a member of the national advisory committee on minorities in engineering at the National Academy of Science.⁴³

Joy Peterson created a women's intercollegiate athletic program at the college. Her first organized team competed in gymnastics in 1970. By 1976 she had organized teams for competition in volleyball, swimming, fast-pitch softball, and basketball. In 1976 the Women's Intercollegiate Athletic Council elected her as president, and in 1987 she was elected as a region director for the National Junior College Athletic Association.

In the spring of 1996, Michael Peterson, the seventh president of CEU, took the position of associate commissioner for academic affairs in the Utah System of High Education, leaving CEU, with which he had been associated for many years. The Utah Board of Regents began a nationwide search for a new president and finally selected Grace Sawyer Jones, a former vice-president for multicultural affairs at the State University of New York at Oneonta, New York. Jones became the first woman college president and the first African-American college president in Utah. In September the college gave her a reception at which "practically the whole town turned out to welcome her to the College of Eastern Utah." Elated, she said, "They came because this is their college. It belongs to them, and they are very proud of it."44

The college had a difficult beginning, being established during the Great Depression; but Price and Carbon County continually have supported this important educational institution. The College of Eastern Utah is a permanent fixture in the community, bringing funds to the area; but the college is even more important as an educator of the area's population. It has an excellent vocational training program and a fine academic program which sends many on to other educational institutions for additional education. The college is a valuable asset which the community almost lost. Many of the young people of the county could never have been able to afford an education without the red-brick campus of the College of Eastern Utah.

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HEALTH PRACTICES

Health practices in the early part of Carbon County's history were primitive, and illnesses were usually treated with folk remedies. When contagious diseases were diagnosed, the sick and their families were quarantined; that is, they were not allowed to leave their homes and no one was allowed inside. Neighbors often brought food to the sufferers, leaving it on their doorsteps. If anyone died, the family placed the body outside, where it would be picked up and transported to the cemetery. In the spring of 1887 a measles epidemic raged throughout Castle Valley, and several small children died. At the beginning of February 1891, diphtheria struck. John and Mary J. Morrison lost two daughters; Frank Nickerson and his wife lost three children; and the Neils Marsing family lost seven children. Several other families also lost a child to the epidemic. Dr. J.S. Hoyt imposed quarantines on all families with the sickness, but the danger lasted several more months. Ernest Horsley received the bodies of the dead at the quarantined families' gates and took them to the cemetery for burial. Families could not even pay public last respects to their dead children.

Epidemics continued into the twentieth century. In 1901 health authorities quarantined the towns of Helper and Sunnyside. In 1900 many children contracted chicken pox, measles, diphtheria, and smallpox. In 1902 typhoid struck at Sunnyside with great severity, and scarlet fever closed school in Castle Gate for several weeks. Two years later scarlet fever and diphtheria prevented area schools from opening on schedule. August was always considered to be typhoid season, but other diseases also came in August. In August 1906 the town of Sunnyside reported 150 cases of whooping cough.

Pesthouses were constructed at Price and Helper; these houses accommodated sick transients and others who had no place to go. Townspeople ignored the pesthouse inhabitants until they either died or became well enough to leave the community. Rolla West remembered placing a man who had typhoid fever in the Price pesthouse, located in the southeast part of town. In Helper the pesthouse was on the east side of the tracks, near the ballpark.²

The county's first caregivers were folk medicine specialists and midwives. Sarah Jane Simmons, one of the first women in the Price River Valley, was also one of the early midwives and delivered hundreds of babies. Sidney Boyer Thayn, an herbal doctor in Wellington, always carried *Dr. Gun's Doctor Book* with her. When people came to Thayn, she found their symptoms in her book and prescribed herbs and other folk remedies. Emily Frances Davis was a midwife in Spring Glen who drove her black-topped buggy and white horse wherever she was needed. She would deliver a baby and attend to the woman for ten days at the rate of a dollar a day.

Sickness in southern European families was often explained by folk traditions. A headache, for example, might have been caused by someone giving the sick individual the "evil eye." Ethnic groups had individuals who could provide folk cures for several maladies; for example, a panacea for gastric ailments among infants was chamomile tea. The Greeks also often had a local matriarch or a patriarch who was sought for advice. John Diamanti, a folk healer of Helper, also interpreted dreams, predicted the year by reading the shoulder blade of the pascal lamb, and foretold the sex of unborn babies.

There were a number of doctors who came to the county for only

a short time. Dr. J.S. Hoyt was in Price in 1891 during the diphtheria epidemic, but he did not remain in the area. In 1895 county commissioners appointed Dr. W.S. Smith as the first county doctor, but there is no record of his practicing in the county. The coal mine companies also brought doctors to the county. Coal camp doctors were important in reassuring miners that they and their families would have good medical care and that a doctor would be on hand in the event of an accident.⁷

In time nearly every coal camp had a doctor who was provided with living quarters and a basic hospital. The Kenilworth hospital had an office, a consulting room stocked with pharmaceutical supplies, an operating room, and two five-bed wards. To cover the costs of medical care, each miner had a small amount, at first one dollar a month, deducted from his salary. The deduction did not cover the cost of delivering babies, or of tonsillectomies, appendectomies, and treatment of fractures or venereal disease. The doctor treated everybody in the camp with any problem. He delivered babies, treated mine injuries, vaccinated children, dispensed medicine for coughs, and attended to every injury and disease in the camp. When there was an accident in the mine, the doctor had to be ready to go immediately to the mine entrance. Early in the century, like everybody else, the doctor would be notified of an accident by the mine whistle. The doctor was always on call for emergencies and hesitated to leave town on weekends because he was often called upon to sew up a wounded miner who had been in a brawl in a local tavern.9

Dr. Andrew Dowd, a physician in Sunnyside, was probably the most famous physician in the county. He had one of the few cars in town and was always on call, visiting patients with his familiar black bag. Dowd was a rather rough man and would walk into homes without knocking. He constantly told immigrants to keep chickens and pigs out of their houses. One Austrian woman was butchering hogs five days after childbirth, and Dowd made her go back to bed. When her second child was born, the woman hired a girl to do her housework and went to bed in order to have her baby the "American way." Dr. Dowd dispensed large quantities of castor oil as medicine for various ills; children found ways of disposing of it, but he usually discovered the secret and cautioned mothers to make sure their children

took the medicine. Everyone idolized the doctor; even children were usually anxious to see him, whether for vaccinations or more serious problems. One former Sunnyside resident recalled, "They loved and trusted the blustering old crank." Dowd had two other medical doctor brothers in the county, Richard Dowd in Kenilworth and James Dowd in Hiawatha.

Coal camp doctors had a peculiar position in relation to the company and the miners. They were hired by the company, yet often, when problems arose between miners and the company, doctors were often called upon to help arbitrate differences. Although doctors were hired by the company, they usually sided with the miners. An incident in the life of Dr. Claud McDermid illustrates that sometimes doctors resorted to less-than-professional methods in caring for the welfare of the miners and their families. Dr. McDermid came to Sunnyside in 1911 to assist Dr. Dowd and then transferred to Castle Gate the next year. A new manager of the mine at Sunnyside who was determined to economize came into McDermid's office on a wintery day and informed the doctor that he was going to turn off electricity to miners' houses. "You are not,' said Dr. McDermid. I am,' the manager answered. 'They don't need it and don't deserve it.' Whereupon Dr. McDermid rose to his full six-foot six, hit the manager with his fist, and sent him sprawling."12

In 1899 Dr. F.F. Fisk arrived from Indiana to establish a medical practice in Price. Fisk gained a reputation for being tight-fisted with his money, and he usually demanded payment for his services immediately following a treatment. For his services, some of his patients paid him in land, and Fisk built up a considerable fortune in the county. Fisk also had the only automobile in town for several years prior to 1910. Unfortunately, the doctor's private life was not as successful. Fisk brought a young wife to Carbon County; but in 1901 she divorced him, left the county, and took their infant son with her. Later she sued him for being in arrears in child support."

Dr. William Caffey was the first doctor in Castle Gate. He died in 1905 from diphtheria. After his death, Utah Fuel Company hired Dr. E.M. Neher as its company doctor. Neher had been employed at St. Marks Hospital in Salt Lake City before being hired by Utah Fuel Company.

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Many medical procedures early in the century had to do with treating injuries caused by accidents in the mines or providing cough medicine and other remedies for the families. Doctors easily took care of routine procedures such as setting broken bones. In 1902 Dr. Fisk treated two Italians who had been working on the railroad for "mashed toes" after a heavy rail fell on their feet. The first recorded operation in the county took place in 1900 when, according to the newspaper, Dr. Fisk, "assisted by Dr. Holmquist of Helper, yesterday operated on Libbie, the little daughter of Marshal Wilson, for membranous croup. The throat was lanced and a tube inserted, with the result that the child is getting along very nicely today." In 1906 Drs. Neher and Fisk successfully performed an appendicitis operation.

Small hospitals were established in most coal camps. Routine types of accidents could be taken care of in these three- to six-bed hospitals, but more serious cases were sent by railroad to Salt Lake City. The first attempt to establish a hospital in Price was made in 1914 by Drs. Fisk, Cloward, and Chamberlain. They tried to convince the citizens of Price to subscribe to a hospital which they planned to build just east of the high school for a price of between \$15,000 and \$25,000. Their plan never materialized. Later other doctors did establish a hospital on 47 North First East Street, just north of Main Street.¹⁷

In 1918 an influenza epidemic swept across the country, including Carbon County. Local medical people had never experienced such a widespread epidemic before. Schools, churches, and other organizations closed their doors. The flu was not a respecter of persons or nationality; Dr. Fisk suffered from it, and Virgil Villard, a Frenchman, died from it, as did nineteen-year-old Mae Simmons. Seichi Nakai, a Japanese miner from Standardville, died, as did Mike Androulakis, a baker at the Greek bakery. Mrs. Charles Scalzo died; so too did a black man by the name of Sullivan. Neighbors helped take care of families and animals of the afflicted and helped nurse them. In Castle Gate the cook at the hotel made soup, and Thomas Harrison remembers driving it around to the homes of flu patients. "I would sit there and they would bring the pans up and I would dish them out the soup in their buckets and pans and whatever they brought out to fill." 18

The medical profession tried various remedies. After forty cases of flu were diagnosed in Helper, some people tried a vaccination at five dollars per shot, but Dr. F.S. Slapansky of Helper felt that this remedy was not worthwhile. Officials could not quarantine everyone, because too many people were already stricken. Still, in an act of desperation, some communities attempted to impose townwide quarantines. Doctors finally advised people to remain five feet apart—probably a sound idea, but impractical. Finally the flu ran its course, and in January 1919 the schools opened once again. Sunnyside lifted its quarantine at the end of March.¹⁹

With the expansion of the coal industry before and after World War I, coal operators hired additional doctors to care for miners and their families at Kenilworth, Spring Canyon mines, Hiawatha, Gordon Creek mines, Columbia, and Horse Canyon. When an accident happened in the 1930s the doctor would receive a telephone call and very shortly he would be in his automobile and on his way to the mine. The women in the town, upon seeing his car, would be on their porches worrying that their husbands might be injured. A few doctors such as J.C. Hubbard left their practices in the coal camps and established practices in Price.

Dr. J. Eldon Dorman arrived in Carbon County in 1937 to become the company doctor for the three mines: Sweets, Consumers, and National. Dorman immediately found that his time was consumed by doctoring duties. He could not leave town very often because he was needed for medical emergencies and routine medical problems. His experiences as a coal camp doctor were compiled and published in the book *Confessions of a Coal Camp Doctor*. The following are accounts from Dorman's practice.

Dorman dispensed cherry-flavored cough syrup until Dr. Ira Cummings of Standardville informed him that people used the cough syrup on their pancakes; thereafter, he obtained a more bittertasting cough syrup. One night he was called to the local tavern, where he discovered the assistant mine foreman with his throat cut from ear to ear. The foreman had been in a dispute earlier and his assailant, an Austrian by the name of Sam, had cut his neck. Much to Dorman's surprise, he found the wound to be only superficial, and, not desiring to take the miner back to the operating room, Dorman

decided to operate on the pool table. "The thump of the juke box never died and the drinking, smoking, and revelry only paused momentarily to inspect my stitches."

After finishing, Dorman went to find Sam, who had had thirteen beer bottles broken on his head without knocking him out. He found Sam in the bunkhouse holding a bloody washcloth to his bleeding scalp. Dorman wrote, "I asked him how he felt. He looked up and said: 'I feel pretty good, but I do got a leetle bit headache!' I spent the next few hours picking glass out of his bald head. I got back to my bed in Consumers just in time to hear the celebrants next door at the boarding house greet the dawn with loud but discordant verses of 'It's Only a Shanty in Old Shanty Town.'"²⁰

Many of these doctors had a hard time finding good nurses. Dr. Dorman finally found a good local woman who had taken some medical courses and used her whenever he could. In Castle Gate Catherine Larsen, who was a practical nurse, helped doctors deliver many babies. For a dollar a day Larsen took care of the mother and the baby; she washed their clothes, cooked their dinners, and bathed and cared for the other children.²¹

Occasionally patients and doctors would have some type of disagreement or trouble over their treatment. In 1928 Charles Meadows sued Dr. Hubbard for what he called the carelessness of the physician in performing an appendicitis operation. He had suffered an injury to his leg in the medical process and was asking for \$5,750 damages, representing \$750 in lost earning power and \$5,000 damage to his person. The court ruled, however, that the injury had resulted from Meadows coming into contact with a heated radiator while hospitalized at the Standardville hospital.²²

During the 1920s and into the 1930s, the hospital at Price treated an increasing number of patients. Unlike hospitals in the camps, the Price hospital had round-the-clock nurses, and it soon became the primary health care facility in the county. A typical week was exemplified by the last week in June 1931, when the hospital admitted six patients, three for tonsillectomies, one for the suturing of an arm wound, one a lower abdominal problem, and one for treatment of automobile accident injuries during one week. In August 1931 the small hospital at Price admitted thirty-two patients. The most com-

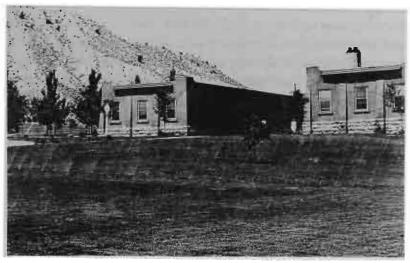
mon operation was the tonsillectomy, and seven admitted patients that week submitted to that operation, while ten had appendectomies. A tonsillectomy was a routine operation and required just a short stay at the hospital, but an appendectomy required at least seven days or longer in the hospital.²³ With more and more patients needing treatment, the hospital needed more space.

Finally, in June 1933 the hospital board decided it would take advantage of available federal funds and construct a much-needed new facility. In February 1934 Price City broke ground for a new hospital, located just north of the park. Estimated to cost \$50,000, it was to contain nineteen private rooms, a maternity ward, a surgical suite, a children's ward, an office, and a kitchen and dining room.²⁴

As construction of the hospital progressed, costs escalated, and funds were insufficient for completion. Dr. Frank Fisk agreed to loan the board \$15,000 in order to finish the hospital, with the provision that the Carbon County Medical Association should choose the hospital board. Fisk wanted to exclude the hospital from what he considered to be "needless politics." Mayor B.W. Dalton turned the offer down, reasoning that no outside organization should appoint the board for a municipal hospital. In July the Utah Emergency Relief Administration granted an extra \$36,000 for the building.²⁵

During the latter part of July 1934, Dr. Fisk died, leaving an estate worth more than one-half million dollars. Included in his estate provisions was a \$75,000 donation to the hospital, with the provision that the city name the hospital the F.F. Fisk Hospital. After the recent problems that the city had had with Fisk, city councilmen were reluctant to name the hospital after him; but, after much debate, the council agreed to the terms of Fisk's will. However, Fisk's son contested the estate, and the courts held up settlement of the will for another year. Work on the hospital continued without funds from the Fisk estate.

On 1 December 1934 the city held an open house and dedicated the new hospital. Construction of the much-needed hospital united the community in a common cause, and the community celebrated with a band concert, free barbecue, and dance at the Silver Moon. The hospital immediately became the focal point for health care in the county, and doctors from the coal camps sent more of their patients to Price City Hospital than ever before. In order to honor



Price Hospital, c. 1938. (Western Mining and Railroad Museum)

Fisk for his many years of service to the community, the city placed a small monument on the hospital grounds. The next year the court settled the Fisk estate and gave \$22,500 to Carbon County for health care. The county spent half of that amount to purchase the old Price Tavern and renovate it as an infirmary for the elderly.²⁷

Administration of the Price hospital was not without difficulty, including rivalries and animosities among doctors, according to Dr. J. Eldon Dorman's recollections. But, despite rumors of fistfights and other troubles, all doctors survived and helped many of the county's residents to do the same.²⁸

In 1939 Carbon County experienced the spread of poliomyelitis among its young people. The county organized an infantile paralysis group to inform citizens of the dangers of polio and to obtain new equipment for the hospital. Doctors reported six new cases that year in Price. County officials prohibited children under the age of sixteen from appearing in public gatherings for a month until the danger appeared to have subsided. Still, there was enough concern that churches, towns, and the county held fund-raising activities for the fight against this disease. The high school sponsored a basketball game from which all proceeds went to the infantile-paralysis fund. Kenilworth, Scofield, Price, and Helper held dances and donated

money to the fund. Wellington started a fund drive to purchase an iron lung for the hospital. In 1940 the hospital, with the aid of the donations from several sources, purchased an iron lung machine. A few years later, when the hospital contemplated buying a new iron lung, Dr. Hubbard told the community that the iron lung had saved at least one girl's life in the county. The county continued to raise money for additional hospital equipment for polio treatment.²⁹

Polio continued to plague the county until 1954 when Carbon County was selected as one of 105 areas in thirty states to be a test site for the polio vaccine developed by Dr. Jonas Salk. Beginning in April, county doctors and nurses gave the vaccine shots to the first three grades throughout Carbon County. According to a Sun-Advocate article, it all started when first grader Margie Ann Atwood of Wellington "bravely walked into a sunlit room at the Wellington school, had her arm daubed with disinfectant, then walked over to another desk where Dr. B. Kent Wilson was seated and without any consoling assurances from anyone other than the doctor himself offered her arm for the first injection in the nationwide polio vaccine test trials program." Medical personnel then gave two more shots through 1 June to the children.³⁰

The outbreak of World War II created new problems for Carbon County's health providers. Some of the doctors joined the war effort. Dr. Eldon Dorman tried to join the army but was turned down because he was four pounds underweight. Because Dorman was the only eyes, ears, and throat specialist in southeastern Utah, Dr. Cyril A. Callister, Utalı director of Medical Selective Service and Procurement, told Dorman that he needed to stay in Price and continue his practice. While Dorman carried on with his practice and administered physical examinations for area military inductees, he continued his efforts to join a branch of the military service. Finally Dorman was approved for a commission as lieutenant commander in the navy, but the notice did not arrive until a week after the Japanese surrendered, ending World War II and any urgency to serve.³¹

Shortly after World War II, Price City found running the hospital to be economically difficult. In 1947 Drs. Whiting, Dorman, Demman, and Hubbard met with county commissioners and asked

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that the county take over the hospital. The doctors argued that the institution needed 100 beds, especially since the Utah State Industrial Commission had recommended that all coal accident cases be hospitalized in the Price hospital. County commissioners appointed a committee to study the problem. A few months later the committee met with the commissioners and reported that the hospital had in eight years netted slightly more than \$3,000.32 Price City and Carbon County officials studied recommendations for joint operation of the hospital, which was approved in December 1948.33

In 1953 the American College of Surgeons failed to recertify the hospital, saying that it needed two surgery facilities, a separate obstetrics department, a nursery, a pediatric department, a new heating system, and new clinic rooms. Mayor A.D. Keller claimed that the hospital was a county obligation and said that acquiring the new facilities would require a bond issue. He emphasized that there were 696 births at the hospital in 1952, and among a total of 4,306 patients there had been 402 major operations and 769 minor operations. At first the county commission tabled the measure, but by early the next year the county was considering construction of a new addition to the hospital. In 1969 the city and county built a new addition to the front of the building and demolished the old building that had been constructed with the help of WPA money in the 1930s.

With the new construction and ever-increasing costs, revenue did not keep pace with expenses. By the late 1970s the hospital deficit had increased to the point where county officials decided to contract with Hospital Corporation of America (HCA) to administer the hospital. This led to a proposal from HCA to build a new hospital that would be completely under their direction. Price City officials and Carbon County Commissioners, finding it more difficult to run a hospital in such inflationary times, agreed. HCA built a new hospital on the west side of Price near the highway, and the staff moved into the new eighty-eight bed facility in June 1980. Medical costs immediately escalated, causing a great uproar among some of the county's citizens. Price City held a number of meetings, and some people proposed that the city and county reopen the old hospital; however, nothing came of the proposal, and county residents were forced to adjust to higher medical expenses.

In 1976 Dr. Quinn Whiting announced his retirement and Carbon County found itself with a shortage of doctors, a crisis that had been coming for some time. Physicians were desperately needed, and without Dr. Whiting there would be no obstetrician in the county. The HCA administrator commented that the community could assimilate from ten to twelve more doctors. The county formed an eleven-member committee to advertise the need, and through these efforts new doctors began coming to the hospital and the county.³⁶

When HCA built the new hospital, it did not use any equipment from the old hospital. Dr. Eldon Dorman and Karen Bliss, Dean of Development at the College of Eastern Utah, finally arranged that the city and county donate the old equipment to a hospital in Mexico." The College of Eastern Utah acquired the old hospital building and remodeled it into classrooms for a computer business building.

Dentists also were necessary to county residents. In 1904 a Dr. McKeehan came to Price but did not remain long. A traveling dentist, a Dr. Keysor, resided for a time in the Hotel Clark and advertised for patients. In 1910 Dr. M.V. Mallory moved to Price and established a practice. In 1915 he advertised that gold crowns cost five dollars, tooth cleaning one dollar, and silver fillings fifty cents and up. Dr. F.P. Amo arrived in 1912 and set up a practice in Price. Thereafter, Price always had a few dentists; but there were never as many dentists as there were physicians.

In 1930 Dr. Irvine Snyder Evans, who graduated from dental school in Kansas City, came to Price, where he practiced until his retirement in 1958. Another early dentist was Dr. C.R. Fahring, who practiced first in Mercur before moving to Sunnyside and then finally to Helper. He was still practicing part time at the age of eighty-seven when he was killed in an automobile accident in Helper in 1970. Dr. Dean Winters practiced in Price for a number of years; in 1962 the Price Chamber of Commerce elected him head of the organization, and in 1971 he accepted the chairmanship of the committee for culinary water fluoridation for the Price office of the Utah State Department of Health.³⁶

Dr. Joseph J. Dalpiaz, son of an immigrant and a graduate of the University of California dental school, established a dental practice in Helper in 1927 and continued practicing until 1973 when he finally retired. Dalpiaz's father had come to Carbon County in the early 1900s, only working a short time in the Castle Gate Mine before the 1903–1904 strike. After that he opened a business in Helper. When Joe wanted to work in the mines, his father retorted, "If you do, I'll break your neck." 39

In 1964 the county established a nursing home for the elderly close to the hospital. The nursing home had a manager and a number of nurses, and the doctors at area hospitals assisted when needed. The nursing home was planned to be a self-sufficient unit, but by 1974 it was running at a deficit. Ten years later the county sold the facility to a private firm.⁴⁰

In the mid-1960s Carbon County also began to provide health care to the home-bound, hiring a local nurse to provide this service. The county also set up an alcoholic rehabilitation center which provided a necessary health service that is now under the supervision of the Four Corners Mental Health facility. Also, the county supplements regular hospital care with home-care nurses.

Price City and Carbon County have retreated from the health care service they once gave the people of the county. At the present time, county health services are primarily centered in Castle View Hospital, owned and operated by HCA. A staff of thirty doctors provides necessary services for people of the region. Other specialists from Utah and Salt Lake counties provide additional services through Castle View Hospital.

Doctors came to Carbon County because mining companies needed to have good medical practitioners in the coal camps. These doctors were general practitioners, but specialists came to the county to augment their services. The company coal camps had small hospitals, but it was natural for a larger hospital to develop in Price to take care of major operations and industrial accidents in the mines. The early beginnings of medicine in the county ensured that Carbon County would have doctors and a hospital to serve the people of Castle Valley and eastern Utah.

ENDNOTES

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- 3. Wellington City on the Move: The History, Its Past, Present, and Future, 16–17.
- 4. Alexander George and Emily Frances Davis, family history, Frances Cunningham collection.
- 5. Notarianni, "Italianita in Utah: The Immigrant Experience," in *Peoples of Utah*, 327, 331.
- 6. Helen Z. Papanikolas, "The Exiled Greeks," in *Peoples of Utah*, 430-31; Helen Z. Papanikolas, "Magerou, The Greek Midwife," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 38 (Winter 1970): 50-60.
- 7. Andrea Smith, "Camp Physician in Kenilworth," paper at Western Mining and Railroad Museum, Helper, Utah; Marion Nottage Robinson, "Reminiscenses of a Doctor's Wife in a Mining Camp," Western Medical Journal 136 (January 1982): 2–3.
- 8. Report of the Property of the Independent Coal and Coke Company, 1918, Utah State Historical Society.
- 9. J. Eldon Dorman, Confessions of a Coal Camp Doctor (Price, Utah: Peczuh Printing Co., 1995), 15.
- 10. Lucile Richens, "A Social History of Sunnyside, Utah," paper at Utah State Historical Society.
- 11. Ila and Thilmer Jewkes, oral history, 21 February 1979, unnamed interviewer, Utah State Historical Society.
- 12. J. Eldon Dorman, "Reminiscences of a Coal Camp Doctor," in Carbon County: Eastern Utah's Industrialized Island, ed. Philip F. Notarianni (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1981), 61.
 - 13. Eastern Utah Advocate, 21 February 1901, 19 February 1909.
 - 14. Ibid., 17 July 1902.
 - 15. Ibid., 8 November 1900.
 - 16. Ibid., 24 May 1906.
- 17. Dorman, Confessions of a Coal Camp Doctor, 12, 15-16; Eastern Utah Advocate, 23 July 1914.
- 18. Thomas Harrison, oral interview, interviewed by Mark Hutchings, 16 April 1976, Charles Redd Center, Brigham Young University.
- 19. News Advocate, 5 October 1918, 10 October 1918, 17 October 1918, 24 October 1918, 31 October 1918, 21 November 1918, 26 December 1918, 2 January 1919, 20 March 1919.
 - 20. Dorman, "Reminiscences of a Coal Camp Doctor," 52-55.
- 21. Naomi Philips Parkin, oral history, interviewed by D. Mark Hutchings, 16 April 1976, Brigham Young University.

- 22. Sun, 27 January 1928.
- 23. Ibid., 2 July 1931, 27 August 1931.
- 24. Sun Advocate, 8 February 1934, 15 February 1934.
- 25. Sun, 24 May 1931; Sun Advocate, 31 May 1934, 5 July 1934.
- 26. Sun Advocate, 24 July 1934, 2 August 1934, 9 August 1934, 22 November 1934, 29 November 1934, 6 December 1934.
- 27. Helper Journal, 8 November 1935. The Price Tavern building has had several uses in the last fifty years. It was an infirmary for older men for only a few years. During World War II Carbon College used it for a men's dorm, and it has also been a school for the handicapped. In 1996 this building housed the senior citizen center, with a craft room, a library, and a dining room. It is from this building that the Meals-on-Wheels program originates, with presently over 100 meals being taken to area elderly residents in their homes.
 - 28. See Dorman, Confessions of a Coal Camp Doctor, 4-10.
- 29. Sun Advocate, 15 July 1937, 21 September 1939, 5 October 1939, 1 February 1940, 18 April 1940, 18 March 1943.
- 30. Ibid., 4 March 1954, 11 March 1954, 22 April 1954, 29 April 1954, 3 June 1954.
 - 31. Dorman, Confessions of a Coal Camp Doctor, 124-33.
- 32. Carbon County Commission Minutes, 18 February 1947, 15 April 1947.
 - 33. Ibid., 1 December 1948.
 - Ibid., 6 February 1953.
 - 35. Sun Advocate, 6 March 1969, 7 August 1969,
 - 36. See ibid., 12 August 1976, 23 December 1976, 30 December 1976.
- 37. Dr. J. Eldon Dorman, oral history, interview by Ronald G. Watt, 18 December 1995, transcript in possession of the author.
- 38. Sun-Advocate, 5 September 1968, 24 September 1970, 4 January 1962, and 16 September 1971.
- 39. "Dr. Joe J. Dalpiaz," paper at Western Mining and Railroad Museum, Helper; Joseph Dalpiaz, oral history, interviewed by Kendra and C. Tomsic, 12 March 1973, Marriott Library, University of Utah.
- 40. Carbon County Commission Minutes, 20 October 1964, 15 July 1974, 28 November 1984.

RECREATION

The Price River area's first entertainment center was also its religious and educational center—the log meetinghouse. The completion of the LDS meetinghouse gave the community a building where plays, musical productions, dances, celebrations, and other kinds of entertainment could be held. Apparently, the first play was performed in 1884. Produced as a fundraiser for the newly established community choir to purchase much-needed music, admission to The Red Light was twenty-five cents for adults and ten cents for children. The production featured Ernest Horsley, Seren Olsen, and Sarah Cox. Footlight reflectors were built from five-gallon coal oil cans fastened with pieces of wood bored for candles. The candles were made from the fat of animals killed on the railroad tracks. The background curtain was a wagon cover hung on a pole. Quilts served as the front curtain. The production included an orchestra, and variety acts were performed before and after the play. The success of this first performance led to the organization of the Price Thespian Club, which performed several shows each winter for the people of the Price River Valley.1



Castle Gate Brass Band, c. 1915. (Western Mining and Railroad Museum)

The first public celebration held at the meetinghouse was a May Day event, with Mary Ewell chosen as May Day queen and John Leigh erecting the Maypole. Settlers up and down the river brought their families by wagon to Price for the celebration, which included a dance in the evening. Some of the most enthusiastic arrived as early as 6:00 A.M. The celebration was augmented by stranded passengers from a Denver and Rio Grande Western train who had to lay over in Price while repairs were made to tracks washed out by a recent flood. The passengers spent the day celebrating until a blast from the engine's whistle signaled the passengers that the track was repaired. The dance ended with the community orchestra playing "Home Sweet Home."

People held dances for many occasions, with wedding dances being the most popular. Ernest Horsley, who remarried in 1903 shortly after his first wife's death, had a wedding dance that brought out the biggest crowd of the year. The community also held dances to aid the less fortunate; in 1904 a dance at the town hall was held for the benefit of "old man" Neilson and his family living east of Price.' In 1912 Theophile Auphand, called Mr. Frenchie, built Riverside Park

in Spring Glen with a dance pavilion, where he sponsored Saturday night dances, charging five cents per person.³

Musical bands were often the focal point for social gatherings and community celebrations. In 1907 the Price band gave a concert and a dance at the town hall, charging a small fee in order to purchase needed instruments. A Sunnyside Italian brass band led by Giovanni D. Colistro was very popular and played at celebrations from Helper to Sunnyside. Organized originally before World War I, the musical talents of Colistro from Grimaldi, Italy, provided great leadership to the band. It performed on Sundays at Sunnyside, accompanied operas in Price, and frequently played at funeral marches throughout the county. The Sunnyside Italian band also played at celebrations in Salt Lake City.4

Entertainment was also an important part of life in the county's coal camps. In the early part of the twentieth century, area coal companies built amusement centers where men at the coal camps gathered to play cards and socialize. The coal companies also sponsored dances featuring square dances and polkas. Music was performed by residents of the camp who owned and could play musical instruments. Later organized dance bands played in the amusement halls built by the coal companies. Various nationalities held their own dances and had their own bands. Dr. Joseph Dalpiaz of Helper remembered the superb Italian band of Castle Gate. Southern Europeans generally danced only at their own dances, with the participants being usually men only. Women did not participate in the dances. Italians sometimes would celebrate on 20 September, Italian national unification day.

After World War I community dances remained very popular with the people of Carbon County. In 1919 about 200 people enjoyed the St. Patrick's Day dance at the high school gym, with a Hiawatha orchestra providing the music. Whenever there was a countywide celebration, the festivities ended with a dance. In June 1919 the city of Price built an enclosed pavilion in the park, only to have it burn down two years later. In 1928 the Price Dance Hall Corporation built the Silver Moon Dance Hall just north of the city park, and for more than a decade all community and high school groups used it for dances. Groups in and around Helper used the Rainbow Gardens

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Rainbow Gardens Dance Hall in Helper. (Western Mining and Railroad Museum)

Dance Hall in a similar way, and it existed for about the same length of time. Another dance hall built in the county after World War I was the Rosalie in Wellington. Special dances saw the dance halls gaily trimmed with false ceilings and special frills. Women were given dance cards at the beginning of a dance and each tried to fill up her card. If a woman came with a date, she traditionally danced the first and last dances with him.⁶

Many dance orchestras, patterned after famous orchestras in the nation, played for dances in the county. Local musicians held full-time jobs during the day and played with their orchestras in the evening. In 1939 Jimmy Dart, fifteen years old at the time, organized his first dance band. The group performed throughout Carbon and Emery counties, including at the Silver Moon, the Belle Isle (an outdoor pavilion between Carbonville and Spring Glen), the Rosalie in Wellington, the Rainbow Gardens, Wilberg's resort (located between Castle Dale and Huntington), and McKees, located just north of Huntington. The orchestra also performed in Salt Lake City and at



Silver Moon Dance Hall, Price c. 1933. (Catholic Diocese)

Brigham Young University in Provo, and it also played at coal camps for regular dances, weddings, or other activities.⁷

The first recorded celebration in Carbon County was held at Price on 1 May 1884 when farmers from Spring Glen to Wellington gathered at Price to celebrate with children's stories, games, and an evening dance. In 1898 the town of Helper invited everyone in the valley to a patriotic Fourth of July celebration. Price also had a celebration that year. At Price the day started with the boom of a cannon and ended with a baseball game against Castle Dale.

The people of Carbon County annually celebrated Utah Pioneer Day on 24 July. In 1902 Price held a parade, dancing for the children, and a literary and musical program that evening. These early celebrations were simple festivities: lunch, games, and later a dance. The Fourth of July celebration was the biggest event of the year. Because of the difficulty of transportation, in the early years each community usually had its own celebration. In 1905, for example, residents of Nine Mile held a Fourth of July celebration. In 1911 Black Hawk, Mohrland, and Hiawatha camps combined their resources for a large Fourth of July celebration; activities included field events for the children, baseball games, and contests of mine rescue and first aid. In

1915 large celebrations were held in Black Hawk, Hiawatha, and Helper, while Price had a program for children.

In 1914 Carbon County joined with Emery County under the leadership of Arthur J. Lee to hold a county fair. The fair continued through 1916 but then was discontinued until 1927. In 1928 Governor George Dern attended the fair, and on its last Sunday there were approximately 4,000 people who attended. No fair was held in 1930. In 1931 county commissioners appropriated \$3,500 for the construction of an exhibition building which was built of cement blocks during the next year. The fair was successful the next few years, but it closed later during the Depression when funding was a problem.9

Following World War I, however, community celebrations generally became bigger than ever. On 4 July 1918 the I45th U.S. Artillery Band gave a concert in the county. In 1920 Price had a parade featuring the town band, floats, cars, boy scouts, cowboys, and horses; Carl Gunderson was the parade marshal. The Rotary Club captured first prize for its float and the Price LDS Sunday school took second prize. The band played at the park and all groups participated in the singing. Glen Harmon read the Declaration of Independence and Henry Ruggeri delivered a patriotic speech. National groups provided other speakers. That night there was a rodeo which was a great success. The county celebrated the Fourth of July in like manner for the next twenty years. There were some variations in the program for the day, but generally the day began with a parade, followed by games for the children in the afternoon at the park and a dance in the evening.10 Many communities in the county held a Fourth of July celebration in the 1920s. Helper and Price usually alternated hosting the celebration every other year and supporting the other town's efforts when it was their turn.

After World War I ethnic groups participated more and more in patriotic activities, especially Fourth of July celebrations. They entered floats in the parade and attended programs in the park, with their children participating in the children's games. In 1920 Angelo Georgedes decorated his new truck for the parade, putting an American flag on the right windshield and a Greek flag on the left windshield. Before the parade some locals spotted his decorated truck



Patriotic float in the July 24 Parade. Price, 1965. (Ron Watt)

sporting its flags and threatened to tear down the Greek flag. Georgedes persuaded them to leave him alone and later explained his problem to the sheriff. Georgedes told the sheriff that if they forced him, he would use his gun, and the sheriff promised protection. To make sure that nothing happened to Georgedes's truck, about forty Greek men marched with the truck in the parade and then stood guard around the truck at the park. The sheriff later arrested the would-be assailants and put them in jail overnight. Georgedes felt that there were a only few individuals who had such bigoted feelings against southern Europeans.¹¹

Even though the Mormon church sponsored the 24 July parade, all community businesses and other churches participated. Pioneer Day was usually only celebrated in Price and Wellington, but at least once during the period from 1920 to 1940 Helper held a parade. ¹² Carbon County residents also celebrated Armistice Day on 11 November, and coal companies had special days for their coal camp communities, such as the Spring Canyon outing held in the Price city park in 1928. After unionization of the coal mines, Labor Day became a grand day of celebration, with the unions providing free



Carbon High School band on band day, 1940. (Jerome Stoffel collection, Catholic Diocese)

soft drinks and beer for the crowd. The pattern was usually a parade, events at the park, a dance at the Rainbow Gardens or Silver Moon, and sometimes a baseball game. ¹³

In 1938 Price held a Christmas celebration which featured the arrival of Santa Claus at the airport, after which he led a big parade down Main Street and then gave candy and nuts to the children gathered at the city auditorium.

During World War II many celebrations were down-sized or were not held at all. For example, in 1943 the Fourth of July featured only a small parade with sports and games at the park and no fireworks in the evening. For the Twenty-fourth of July, there was no parade, but the Daughters of Utah Pioneers operated a concession stand at the park." After the war Helper no longer held a Fourth of July celebration, but in the spring the city sponsored a celebration, designated the "Days of 49," with parades and festivities.

From the 1920s through the 1960s the biggest area celebration was always the Fourth of July, which always included large parades, marching bands, and huge crowds of people at the local parks, baseball games, and dances. The day was an occasion for all to be patriotic—both those who had been born in the United States and those who had been born in other countries and become naturalized citi-

zens. Alongside those whose families had been in the United States since its founding stood immigrants proud of America and the opportunities the country had given them. They were especially proud of what their children had become as valued members of ball teams, marching bands, schools, and businesses.

By the 1980s, however, the Fourth of July was no longer celebrated in Carbon County, and only in Wellington was a 24 July celebration held with traditional activities including an early morning breakfast, parade, picnic in the park, ball games, and rodeo. Labor Day was celebrated only in Helper. As these traditional celebrations died out in the 1970s, Price began hosting a new celebration, International Days, in August. The celebration currently includes a parade and booths, and an emphasis on all people of the county coming together to share their diverse heritages with crafts, food, and music. This change in celebrations says much about the county, as the more one-dimensional patriotic, religious, and labor celebrations have given way to a celebration of togetherness through the county's multidimensional ethnic diversity.

Just as International Days became the biggest celebration in Price during the 1980s, the 1990s saw the Electric Light Christmas Parade come to Helper. First held in 1990 under the direction of Ben Cooper, Governor Mike Leavitt has recognized the parade as one of the premier tourism events in Utah. 15 Also in the 1990s East Carbon began celebrating East Carbon and Sunnyside Days, and Scofield celebrates Pleasant Valley Days.

Impromptu celebrations occurred whenever traveling shows and circuses came to town, brought in by the Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad, which provided easy access to the county. One of the first performances took place in 1905 when the Gentry Brothers' dog-and-pony show played in Price. Some 225 spectators came from Sunnyside. The Gentry Brothers show returned again in 1911. In 1906 a crowd of 1,200 people attended the Sells-Floto Circus. In 1908 Bennett's Big City Circus show came to the county, and in 1911 B.R. Benton's Amusement Company brought in ten "vaudeville" acts in its big tent. 16

Throughout Carbon County's history, baseball has been the most popular sport. Although historical records do not provide informa-



Playing baseball, c. 1930. (Western Mining and Railroad Museum)

tion on the first baseball teams in the area, by 1898 several communities had organized teams and joined in an informal league, with Price, Helper, and Castle Gate fielding the dominant teams. The baseball "park" at Price was a vacant lot north of the depot and west of First West. In one high-scoring affair, Price beat Helper in August 1898, 30 to 22. High-scoring games were common during that era; but poor equipment, inexperienced players, and a rough ball field probably contributed to the high scores. Two years later the teams seemed to be more evenly matched, but Helper lost again to Price, this time by the score of 32 to 31. During the first decade of the century, Price continued to dominate Helper; but Castle Gate was the strongest of the three teams. In 1910 Castle Gate and Helper met in the championship game, which Castle Gate won 13 to 6.17 The communities of western Carbon County in Pleasant Valley also joined the league. In 1904 Scofield defeated the Clear Creek nine by a score of 16 to 8, and later Castle Gate defeated Winter Quarters 18 to 16.18

When various groups played each other, often a small wager was made on the outcome of the game. For example, saloon keepers and their bartenders were said to have challenged the blacksmiths of Price to a game of baseball, with the losing team providing the victorious team two kegs of beer. Unfortunately, there is no record of the actual game. Sunday baseball games frequently drew more fans than church services, motivating the city fathers of Price to ban baseball on Sundays.¹⁹

A baseball game provided a great social occasion. Women wore their best dresses and hats to ball games and men wore their best suits. Teams were equally stylish, wearing uniforms purchased by their towns or coal companies. The Price Trading Company provided the Price baseball team with its uniforms. The nationality of a player was unimportant; only talent was recognized, especially with the camp ball teams. In 1904 strikers at Sunnyside of all nationalities discovered that because they had more time to practice they had become the best team in the Carbon-Emery League. As newer coal communities formed baseball teams, they began recruiting good ball players, who were supposed to work for the mines but not necessarily in the mines. Baseball games became a part of every major celebration held in the county. A highlight of the first twenty years of baseball in the century occurred in March 1915 when the Chicago White Sox came to town for a pre-season exhibition game.²⁰

Baseball after World War I remained popular in the county, with some of the teams becoming semi-professional. In 1921 Price businessmen organized the Twilight League, composed completely of teams from different stores or organizations. The league soon died, however, because of vacations, "bungled up fingers, sore ribs caused by wild pitches, and fights with the umpires." ²¹

In 1919 a group organized the Victory League, with Price, Helper, Castle Gate, Hiawatha, and two teams from Emery County—Mohrland and Huntington. Castle Gate won the league championship and then played the touring St. Paul (Minnesota) Saints, champions of the American Association League; but the locals lost 17 to 2. In 1920 the Victory League had teams in Castle Gate, Sunnyside, Kenilworth, Hiawatha, and Mohrland. In 1921 the league changed its name to the Eastern Utah League and added teams from Storrs-Peerless and Rains; but, by the end of the season, only Price, Mohrland, and Rains were left. Over the next few years, the main



Standardville baseball team, c. 1925. (Western Mining and Railroad Museum)

teams in the league continued to be Castle Gate, Helper, Price, Hiawatha, Sunnyside, and Mohrland.

Often baseball games involved controversy and disagreement with the umpires. In 1927 Price lost the first game of the season to Mohrland by a score of 5 to 4. The *Sun* reported:

The game was a battle from start to finish with first one team holding the lead and then the other. The game was also a battle from the stand point of the fans and the umpire, DeFreis, who did not seem to know what it was all about. The turning point of the contest came when Ockey Evans scrappy third baseman of the winners, deliberately placed a fair ball over the foul line with such a sleight of hand that the Mohrland ump called it a foul ball.²²

Of course, the correspondent for the *Sun* believed the ball was fair and the Mohrland umpire was blind.

Baseball game rivalries carried beyond the playing field. In 1928 Steve Diamanti, a player for Hiawatha, and John Badovinac, Price's shortstop, got into an argument over a game, and Diamanti shot Badovinac twice in the thigh. Diamanti was taken to jail but was released on \$10,000 bail. Badovinac, who must have had a superficial

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wound or been exceedingly tough, was playing ball a few days after the incident.²³

Each team had its stars, but one who stands out was a young man by the name of J. Bracken Lee. Lee played almost every position on the ball club and was a key factor in the Price team finally winning the league title. On 23 September 1927 the Sun reported, "Bracken Lee's big war club played a prominent part in another Price victory, when his terrific line drive over short scored two runs and put Price in the lead Sunday." In the first game for the title against Hiawatha, which was played in a snow and wind storm, "Brack Lee played a great game for Price in the outfield and made several sensational catches." **

The decade after World War I was difficult for baseball players in the county. People continued to be enthusiastic over the game, but the coal mines were not as prosperous as they once had been. With better roads, county baseball teams expanded their range of play. In 1930 Helper and Price joined the Utah Central League, and the next year Helper entered the Utah State Baseball League, comprised of Salt Lake City, Ogden, Provo, and American Fork teams. In 1931 a countywide group reorganized the old Eastern Utah League, but it struggled and finally died at the end of the 1934 season. The next year Price and Helper joined the Utah Central League, composed of Helper, Nephi in Juab County, and Payson, Dividend, and Springville in Utah County. In the next few years, the Blue Blaze team from Consumers sometimes played in the Utah Central League. Later only one team from the county, called the Carbon team, joined the Industrial League. This team played half of its games in Price and half in Helper; the next year the only Carbon County team in the league was from Helper.25

In 1930 the American Legion organized two junior leagues—one for those over sixteen years of age and the other for those under that age. By 1931 there were over 200 boys participating, and in Price there were two four-team leagues. An all-star team from Price that year went to the state tournament. Helper also organized an American Legion team that continued to improve throughout the 1930s. These teams were sponsored by businesses and organizations in Price and Helper such as the Elks, Kiwanis, and Moose clubs, the

Price Commission, and Price Trading Company, which purchased uniforms and helped with the equipment. In August 1931 Price sponsored the state American Legion baseball championship tournament.²⁶

In 1940 the Helper American Legion team won its first state championship. In the final game Angelo Venturelli pitched twelve innings for an 8 to 7 victory. Venturelli struck out the last six batters. One observer wrote: "With that blazing third strike, Angelo Venturelli crumpled to the ground. He had truly 'pitched his heart out.' They carried him from the field, completely exhausted; but he had done his job. Helper polished it off for him by scoring the final run." The Helper team then won two of the next three state legion championships. Helper baseball teams have been a mainstay in the state tournaments since then. Helper has had many great players, but none was better than Rex Berry, who pitched and played outfield for the baseball team and also was an all-state performer in basketball and football.

In 1943 area towns organized the Coal League with teams in Helper, Price, Dragerton, Sunnyside, and Columbia, as well as an African-American team from Sunnyside called the Monarchs. In later years Hiawatha, Kenilworth, and Spring Glen also participated at various times. Ballplayers from Helper usually played for the Spring Glen Mud Hens. The Industrial League resumed after World War II, and the Helper Merchants became a member of that league. The Merchants, always an outstanding team, imported a few good players, but most of the players were home-grown. In 1948 Helper won the semi-pro championship of Utah and played the champion of Denver, Colorado, in Helper. Much to the disappointment of local fans, the Denver team won the series and went on to the national meet.

The Helper ball field was situated in a beautiful location and was always kept in excellent condition. After World War II Helper added lights and expanded the bleachers. Sunday night games were a weekly summer event for the town and the whole county. One of the townsmen was an excellent telegrapher, and he would telegraph a play-by-play transcription to the radio station. The radio station announcer would then broadcast it out to the rest of the county. Because the



U. S. Fuel Women's baseball team, Hiawatha, c. 1938. (Western Mining and Railroad Museum)

team brought business into the city, businessmen of Helper supported the team financially and the city provided the park. One of the greatest sporting events in the county's history occurred in the late 1940s when the traveling House of David, made up of Jewish ball players, came to town and played the Kansas City Monarchs, a powerhouse in the segregated Negro League, before a overflowing capacity crowd of more than 2,000 spectators.

In 1952 the Little League for boys came to Carbon County, and Helper's first all-star team finished second in the state tournament. Since 1956 the county has been involved in the Western Boys Baseball Association. The Helper WBBA all-star team has usually finished high in state competitions. Helper has hosted many tournaments at the new league baseball field and has also hosted the WBBA Little League World Series. In 1967 the Helper all-star team won the regional championship by defeating the Wasatch National team 7–0, qualifying for the WBBA World Series tournament held at Springville, Utah. The team defeated Tooele, then Santa Monica, and finally Rose Park to win the WBBA World Series. In the seven tournament games, both regional and world series, the Helper team hit

fifteen home runs; Kim Tomsic hit six and Nate Ellington had four for the championship team.²⁸

Other towns in the county also have had baseball teams, but Helper's teams generally have been more successful than most others. Helper's population has provided consistent adult leadership, and many adults who were once in the program as boys have remained involved with the program over the years. No one exemplifies that more than Walt Borla, who was involved as a boy in the American Legion games during the 1940s, played in the Coal League, and has since inspired young men as coach and administrator of Helper Little League teams.

In 1935 the county organized junior and senior softball leagues. Dinosaur Super Service, the *Sun Advocate* newspaper, Rotary Club, Elks Club, and other businesses and clubs sponsored the junior league. The senior league included teams from Price, Standardville, Castle Gate, Helper, Spring Canyon, and Wellington. Softball evoked the enthusiasm of the old baseball leagues; a smaller field was used, but the games were as exciting as baseball games.²⁹

One of the most exciting teams in the 1950s was Mitchell's Mummies, a women's softball team sponsored by Mitchell Mortuary in Price. There were only a few women's softball teams in the state with the caliber of the Mummies. The team played a few teams in Carbon County, but no women's teams in the county could match their talent and competitive spirit. The Mummies finally turned to teams in cities farther afield, and in 1954 the team traveled over 1,700 miles to play the best teams in the state. In 1951 they beat the Merchanettes of Grand Junction 3 to 1 and then went on to win the Provo Gold Cup tournament with a 5 to 4 victory over a team from Spanish Fork. In 1953 they joined the Central Utah League and in 1954 won third place in the Utah State Women's Softball tournament, receiving the sportsmanship trophy. The Mummies went on to have several outstanding seasons.³⁰

After World War II the Mormon church organized softball leagues for both high-school-age boys and for men, with some outstanding teams resulting. For several years teams traveled to regional post-season tournaments held in Utah County. The most successful of those teams was the Price Fifth Ward slow-pitch softball team that

played in the all-church slow-pitch tournament from 1964 to 1967. In 1964 and 1965 the team lost in the final game; the next year this group of men took third place, and in 1967 the Fifth Ward team defeated American Fork Sixth Ward 4 to 1 to win the LDS all-church championship, with Jim Kulow being named as the most valuable player. That same year Wellington First Ward took the consolation division championship in the tournament.³¹

Like baseball, boxing was also very popular in the county. In 1907 in Price, Andy Malloy of Leadville, Colorado, knocked out Frank Matell of Philadelphia in the twelfth round. Boxing in the state and in Carbon County received a lift when an adopted Utah man, Jack Dempsey, went on to win the world heavyweight championship. In 1916 Dempsey fought George Christian, an African-American, in the Eko Theater in Price. Local authorities thought Christian would be too much for Dempsey and installed an extra rope around the ring to prevent Dempsey from being knocked out of the ring into the orchestra pit. Instead, Dempsey knocked Christian down with his first punch and knocked him out with his second.³²

Boxing remained popular after World War I. The coal camps sponsored boxing matches as often as every two weeks in one camp or another. In 1927 Richard Sheik Davis of Spring Canyon fought Tommy Hilton of Castle Gate, with Davis knocking out Hilton in the first round. That same evening Mel Young knocked out Dickey Ireland of Salt Lake City. Young was a farmer in Wellington who obtained needed extra money for his farm through boxing. He fought thirty boxing matches, losing only three. One fight held in Helper against Elmer Shultz was billed as the Intermountain Welterweight Championship; Young won by a decision.³³

In 1938 Lee Robertson of the county became the intermountain heavyweight champion and later traveled to the Midwest, fighting under the name of Robert E. Lee. The best young boxer from the county was perhaps Gene Robertson, who was also an outstanding halfback on the high school football team. He won the Intermountain AAU senior division heavyweight title in 1939.³⁴

Wrestling seemed to have had a varied reception in the county. In 1921 wrestling interest centered around two local men, Ben Sevdy and Gustav Pappas. They wrestled a few men from outside the area

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and refereed each other's matches. Wrestling matches emphasized showmanship. When Sevdy fought a wrestler by the name of Micael Yokel, Yokel was able for a time to keep Sevdy from getting a third fall, but, according to the report, a "vicious toe hold provided Yokel's undoing and after standing the torture for several minutes and exerting every means he could to get out of it and failing, his shoulders were forced onto the mat." In March 1931 woman wrestler Betty Bushey of Chicago came to Carbon County for the second time to meet Carol Huff of Helper in the main event of a boxing and wrestling program.³⁵

The people of the county also participated in other sports. In 1910 Castle Gate organized a soccer team, but it lasted only a few years. In 1932 a ski club was organized in the county; a bowling league was formed in Price in 1939; and there was even a marble tournament in 1933. Horse racing and track and field events were held in the county, but they were never very well attended. Black Hawk for a time had a rifle club with an indoor range. In 1911 Castle Gate organized a tennis team, but there was no record of a tournament in the county until 1928.

The popularity of basketball remained low during the first decades of the twentieth century because of the lack of indoor facilities. The only indoor gymnasium, at Carbon High School, had a small court. Most games were low-scoring events; but in 1919 the YMCA of Helper challenged the Carbon High basketball team, losing by the wide margin of 115 to 9. In 1934 a group organized the Carbon Independent Basketball League, composed of teams from Spring Canyon, Kenilworth, and Becker's Beer Company. Two years later the league included Becker's Uintah of Helper, the Cardox Giants, the Price M-Men, Spring Canyon, Blatz Beer of Helper, and the local Civilian Conservation Corps team. The next year only Spring Canyon and Becker's Beer teams of the original teams remained in the league. The league added other teams sponsored by Fisher Beer, Eastern Utah Electric, Sunnyside, Oliveto's, Standardville, and O.P. Skaggs Company. The Mormon stake also started a church M-Men league in the 1930s.37

In 1927 Price and Helper competitors met in the first of a series of intercity golf matches at "Cow pasture Pool," the Price golf

course.³⁸ The first countywide golf meet was held in 1930, and interest in golf in the county continued to grow. On 5 April 1930 Leslie Williams of Helper made the first recorded hole-in-one in Carbon County.³⁹ In 1947 Preston Summerhays chaired a committee that purchased and developed a new nine-hole golf course at the Blue Cut on a bend of the Price River between Spring Glen and Carbonville. In 1995 the county enlarged the course to eighteen holes.

Price City completed a new swimming pool at the northeast end of the city park in 1942. Soon after the Star Bowling Alley was opened, and a bowling league was soon organized. Both Price and Helper appointed summer recreational directors, with Jackson Jewkes directing activities at the north park and Howard Bliss keeping things running at the south park in Price. Summer recreation programs featured many types of activities including some as varied as classes in plaster casting, painting, dance instruction, and flute playing. George Pizza was the recreational supervisor in Helper in the early 1940s, and he coordinated many activities, especially baseball.⁴⁰

The first rodeo in Carbon County was part of the 4 July 1920 celebration. On 24 July 1932 William Lines held a well-attended rodeo at his ranch at the mouth of Soldier's Canyon. In September 1933 Lines held a two-day rodeo at the Price ball park. The winning cowboy received a fancy decorated stock saddle.⁴¹

In 1937 a rodeo was held in Price, and in September 1938 the county held the Robbers Roost Roundup Rodeo in conjunction with Labor Day. This rodeo was a scheduled three-day celebration that began with a parade followed by three days of organized rodeo activities, with bucking horses, calf roping, and other events. Not to be left out, women riders participated in barrel riding and, later, bull riding. When the rodeo first began, William Lines, using ten horses in relay, rode the thirty-six miles from his ranch to Price in a reported one hour and forty-five minutes. The Robbers Roost rodeo became an annual event thereafter, except for 1942 when World War II caused its cancellation. The name of the rodeo later was changed to the Black Diamond Stampede. Rodeos remain a popular activity in the area as third- and fourth-generation cowboys continue to develop the skills of their forebears. High school students participate in sanctioned rodeos as members of the high school rodeo team.

Hunting has long been a popular diversion. Rabbit hunts often turned into competition between groups of hunters. In 1908 W.F. Olson and his small army of hunters bagged seventy-six rabbits; Carl Gunderson and his group shot seventy-five. The losers gave the winners a dance. Deer hunting was also popular. In October 1900 George Faucett and Ed Stewart came home from their deer hunt with twenty-six bucks. After their success, others joined the hunt. Soon thereafter the county game warden visited Sunnyside to ascertain the lawfulness of some of these deer hunts and discovered that hunters had slaughtered large numbers of deer. The warden apprehended some of the hunters, and the unauthorized deer hunts soon ended.

A few men hunted for bounties. In 1904 Thomas Walsh of Scofield presented ninety-six coyote and six mountain lion pelts to the county clerk to collect a bounty.43 In 1920 the young men of the Knights of Pythias challenged the older men of the Knights to a rabbit hunt. In the late 1920s the Price Chamber of Commerce sponsored a "bunny" hunt in Clark's Valley, with the bagged rabbits being distributed to the poor of the community. Duck hunting season was during October, November, and December, with a limit of twentyfive ducks per day. The Utah State Fish and Game Department limited hunters in the designated hunts to fifteen quail, sixteen grouse, and two pheasants per day. In the 1930s the Utah Fish and Game officials began scheduling elk hunts, and deer hunters were restricted to one buck deer.4 Deer hunting became such a popular activity that area schools began to schedule a deer hunter's holiday—either the last Friday before or the first Monday of deer season—because many boys skipped school anyway and the school district suffered financially because of the extraordinarily high absence rate.

Earlier in the 1930s local fishermen and hunters organized a Carbon-Emery Fish and Game Association with H.B. Goetzman as president. In 1932 the organization distributed 450 pheasants in the two counties, and the next year 200 birds were brought in, which pleased local hunters. County farmers objected, however, because the birds fed on their crops. The association also planted fish, especially in Scofield Reservoir.⁴⁵

Fishing was an enjoyable sport for many. As early as 1900 the north fork of Fish Creek was used for planting and breeding. In 1902

the Utah Fish and Game Department informed county commissioners that Carbon County had been allotted 50,000 young trout for planting in the county's streams. In 1901 most of the fisheries of the upper Price River had been destroyed by flood waters; consequently, the state doubled the number of young trout to be planted, with most being planted in Fish Creek above its confluence with the White River. State fishing regulations required fishermen to use only a hook and line, and no fish under seven inches long could be kept.⁴⁶

In the 1920s Horsley Dam was built at Scofield, and the resulting Scofield Reservoir became another recreation area. Because of safety concerns about this first dam, in 1943 the Bureau of Reclamation built a new dam just downstream. The Utah Fish and Game Department planted fish in the reservoir and also in upper and lower Fish Creek, which provided excellent stream fishing. Later, however, trash fish introduced into the reservioir, especially perch and chub, became so prevalent that many fishermen avoided the area. Periodically, the Utah Fish and Game Department has poisoned the lake and then replanted the reservoir with trout. This procedure prevented any fishing during the years of poisoning and replanting, however. Carbon County residents have also enjoyed the mountains of Emery County, with Huntington Canyon and Electric Lake, Joe's Valley Reservoir, and Ferron Canyon just a short driving distance away.

In 1911 a new form of entertainment came into the county, the silent moving-picture show. The Eko Theater in Price presented picture shows three times a week—Monday, Wednesday, and Friday. These silent movies played before large audiences, with an admittance of ten cents per person. By 1914 the Sylvania building just east of Carbon Avenue on Main Street housed another movie house, the Bonita.⁴⁷

The motion picture business continued to grow. The largest innovation in the movie industry during this early period was the introduction of the "talkies," which meant that people no longer had to read captioned segments. With the introduction of sound, talking and music became part of the movies. The Strand Theater in Helper was built in 1922; in 1934 John Littlejohn built the Bonnie Theater.⁴⁸ Touring groups, booked by an agent in Salt Lake City, also performed vaudeville shows on their stages, allowing entertainers to have a performance night between Salt Lake City and Grand Junction.⁴⁹ In Price

the Bonita and the Eko gave way to the Star and Lyric theaters; later owners changed the names to the Carbon and the Utah. In the mid-1930s the Price Theater was built. In 1931 the Utah State Board of Health inspected the Price and Lyric theaters and found that the temperature in both theaters was too high. A dog also was lying in one lobby. Both situations violated board of health regulations and had to be rectified.⁵⁰

Movies continued to be popular during the war period throughout Carbon County. The cinemas ran a short newsclip about events of the day and the progress of the war in Europe and the Pacific. The entertainment also featured a cartoon, which was often more enjoyable to many than was the main feature. Theaters changed the shows frequently, which added variety. During the last week of 1943 at the Price Theater on Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday Lana Turner and Robert Young starred in Slightly Dangerous. On Wednesday Betty Grabel, Victor Mature, and Jack Oakie played in the Songs of the Islands, and on Thursday and Friday Van Heflin, Ruth Hussy, and Lionel Barrymore starred in Tennessee Johnson. The Bonnie Theater in Helper on the weekend played Silver Skates, with Kenny Baker and Patricia Morrison. Townspeople could choose from a great variety, and those in the coal camps also had movies once and sometimes twice a week at the camp amusement halls. Various churches also began sponsoring old movies once a week for a nominal fee.⁵¹

In the 1930s people began to purchase radios and listen to Salt Lake City stations. J. Bracken Lee had one of the earliest radios in Carbon County. In 1936 Sam G. Weiss purchased a tract of land between Price and Helper and established KEUB radio station, which later became KOAL, with a 178-foot tower for the new station. The station began operating at the end of October.⁵²

Television was introduced into the county during the late 1950s and early 1960s. TV allowed people to stay at home and see entertainment. Churches have tried to have more church-centered recreation to attract area youth, who continue to have their activities at the high schools and the college, supported by the adult population.

During the 1930s, under the direction of New Deal programs, the county organized a recreational program which provided many types of sports activities including a horseshoe tournament, junior singles and doubles tennis matches, boys' and girls' softball programs, a tapdancing revue, and a swimming program.⁵³

In September 1938 Works Progress Administration employees took a survey of how people used their leisure time. They counted the number of people in the nine beer parlors of Price at 9:30 P.M. for a week and found an average daily attendance of 144 men and fifteen women. In the month of July, they found a daily average of 352 people in the city park, including 86 men, 69 women, 102 boys, and 95 girls. They found seventy-five swinging, sixty-four on the teeter totter, fifty-seven picnicking, twenty-seven playing tennis, twenty-three playing croquet, fourteen playing softball, eight playing horseshoes, and eighty-four not doing anything in particular.⁵⁴

That same year WPA employees polled 500 people in Price and 500 people in Hiawatha and Spring Canyon and asked them what they did with their leisure time. Not surprising, most people in both groups said they read. More people in the camps hunted and fished than in Price; and no one in Price said they played baseball, whereas twenty-two in the camps said they played baseball. People in the camps also were more involved in the other liesure-time categories of sewing, visiting with friends, working on a hobby, gardening, listening to the radio, going to the movies, playing cards, or just going on a car ride than were the people in Price, although perhaps they were also more forthcoming in the interviews.⁵⁵

As Carbon County residents face the twenty-first century, the technological world of television, computers, and other forms of home entertainment has made significant inroads into community-centered recreation; however, many traditional forms of recreation and entertainment remain. In the past Carbon County residents have balanced their leisure time among family, community, and personal recreational pursuits that include both traditional and new activities. History suggests this is likely to continue in the county's future.

ENDNOTES

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auditorium. High schools in the county also put on a number of dramas. See Sun, 6 November 1919; Sun Advocate, 2 February 1933; The Carbon (yearbook), 1930, 90-91, Price, Utah.

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 - 33. Sun, 16 September 1927, 30 September 1927.
 - 34. Sun Advocate, 6 April 1939.
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- 36. Lucile Olsen, oral interview, interviewed by Carole and Eldon Miller, 5 December 1993, Western Mining and Railroad Museum, Helper, Utah.
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 - 42. Sun, 8 July 1920, 28 July 1932; Sun Advocate, 1 September 1938.
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 - 50. Sun, 5 March 1931.
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CLUBS AND FRATERNAL ORGANIZATIONS

One distinctive element of Carbon County's social history is the extensive involvement by residents in clubs and organizations. Fraternal organizations, service clubs, civic groups, ethnic organizations, women's clubs, and youth organizations have all contributed to the development of Carbon County life.

Among the earliest of these organizations were fraternal groups such as the Masons, the Odd Fellows, and the Knights of Pythias. Originally the fraternal organizations brought together people of like circumstances and gave them opportunities for social and community service. At first, these organizations accepted as members only those who could prove that their families had been American citizens for several generations. Partly in response to this discrimination, and strongly influenced by Old World traditions, immigrants organized their own ethnic fraternal organizations such as the American-Hellenic-Educational-Progressive Association (AHEPA) for Greeks and Stella D'America for Italians. These organizations provided members with the chance to meet, socialize, and pursue common interests and goals. As fraternal organizations such as the Elks and the Masons



Knights of Pythias Banquet, Price, 1919. (Western Mining and Railroad Museum)

opened their membership ranks, immigrants and their children became active and important members of these organizations as well.

Organizations such as the chamber of commerce, Lions Club, and Kiwanis Club were established to promote economic prosperity and service to the community. Most members were businessmen who wanted to promote their community. There also were a variety of other organizations in the community. The Daughters of Utah Pioneers, the American Legion, and even Girl Scouts and Boy Scouts were patriotic and historical clubs that promoted pride in country, state, and community. Clubs were important in helping immigrants adapt to life in Carbon County and provided a means by which all citizens could come together from diverse backgrounds to work for common goals.

Perhaps the first fraternal organization in Carbon County was the Knights of Pythias. Members constructed halls at Scofield and Sunnyside and possibly at other locations in the county. Following the Scofield Mine disaster in which a number of members lost their lives, the Knights of Pythias erected a memorial to their dead comrades in the Scofield cemetery. The Knights of Pythias held a statewide convention in Price in 1919 and again in 1921, but apparently disbanded in Carbon County sometime in the 1920s. The Odd Fellows had lodges in Price, Helper, and in six coal camps in the county; the Helper lodge survived the longest, until 1946.

Late in the nineteenth and early in the twentieth century, Italians established several fraternal organizations including Stella D'America, founded in Castle Gate on 19 January 1898, and the Societa Fratellanza di Mutuo Succorso, Principe Di Napoli, Loggia No. 77 della Federazione Colombiana della Societa Italiana D'America in Castle Gate on 14 February 1901. The former lodge primarily served northern Italian immigrants, while the latter was founded by southern Italians. Later the Castle Gate lodge merged with the Stella D'America lodge in Helper. In 1924 Italians, with the cooperation of the Catholic church, organized the Knights of Columbus in the county.

In 1928 the Sun announced that Greeks were organizing a fraternal order called the American-Hellenic-Educational-Progressive Association (AHEPA). The new organization elected Dr. T.J. Anton as president and George Georgedes as secretary; by 1934 it sponsored a four-state AHEPA convention in Price. By 1933 the lodge had formed a junior order especially for the purpose of sponsoring a team in the junior baseball league in the summer. The elections of 1935 showed that AHEPA was truly a countywide organization, with George Karras from Helper as president, Nick Sirmost from Castle Gate as vice president, and Gust Saridakis from Price as secretary. In 1937 the national head of AHEPA, V.I. Chebithes, an attorney from Washington, D.C., visited Carbon County and gave a brief talk over the radio and a lengthy speech at the American Legion Hall in Price. On 13 November 1930 another group of Greeks organized the Greek-American Progressive Association and elected George Zeese as its first president, Steve Pavlidakis as incumbent president, and Gust Kouros as secretary. Those Greeks from Crete also organized a Minos chapter of the Pan Cretan Brotherhood in the county. In 1939 they held a gathering at the Silver Moon with speeches, a short program, and a dance.4

In 1910 Masons organized Carbon Number 16 Lodge at Price.



Mrs. Peter (Tressia) Bosone is shown in front of the float she helped build for the Italian Lodge of Helper for a Fourth of July Parade about 1920. (Western Mining and Railroad Museum)

The first worshipful master was James Bradford Middleton, and many prominent men in the county became Masons. In 1923 they built a temple in Price for educational pursuits and ceremonies. Another group of men organized Joppa Lodge No. 26 on 6 February 1924, which was chartered on 14 February 1925 with Robert J. Turner as the first worshipful master.⁵

In 1913 Sorosis, the first organized woman's club, met on the second floor of the First National Bank building in Price and elected Janet Manferding as president, Grace L. Fouts as vice-president, and Lulu Thomas as recording secretary. The group's goals were to improve the minds of its members and to serve the community. Sorosis had literary and civic departments. The literary group studied and reported on books, and the civic department helped with projects in the community. The Sorosis civic department organized and ran the Red Cross in Carbon County during World War I. After the war, women of Sorosis helped raise money to pipe water to the cemetery as well as raise funds for graveling walks and roadways and planting trees in the cemetery. They donated money for school playground equipment and small silk flags for everyone gaining citizen-

ship papers. The women also assisted the Red Cross in helping families after the Castle Gate mine explosion of 1924. In 1937 the club sponsored an art exhibit in Price City Hall and purchased three paintings which members presented to the high school.⁶

Women organized some auxiliaries or women's groups of men's fraternal and club organizations a few years after the men organized the clubs. In 1915 Masonic women organized the Eastern Star auxiliary with nineteen women. A year later the Rebekahs, an auxiliary of the Odd Fellows, organized in Helper; later there were five Rebekah lodges in the county—at Helper, Price, Kenilworth, Castle Gate, and Spring Canyon. In the 1930s they all consolidated at Helper. The Rebekahs lasted until the 1970s.

Sometime early in the century, a few people led by J.M. Whitmore and Arthur W. Horsley organized the Price Commercial Club with the purpose of promoting commercial development in the county, especially railroads, roads, and businesses. In the early 1920s the Price Chamber of Commerce superseded the Price Commercial Club; it had the same purposes and included more people. The News Advocate charged that the Price Commercial Club had been too exclusive and that this likely led to its downfall, while the chamber of commerce movement was expanding nationally. In 1931 the chamber funded the high school band, allowing the young musicians to travel to Castle Dale and Ferron for Peach Days. The chamber later raised funds to send the band to Grand Junction, Colorado, where it entertained a number of political dignitaries in the area. The Price Chamber of Commerce lobbied to have the road to the gas well just east of Wellington improved. In the 1930s Helper organized a chamber of commerce, and the Price and Helper groups met periodically to discuss tourism and such things as Labor Day celebrations. In the late 1930s the Price chamber organized a junior chamber of commerce for people under the age of thirty-five.7 In the 1970s the Price Chamber of Commerce became the Carbon County Chamber of Commerce.

Service clubs began to organize in the 1920s to work on civic projects that benefited the community. They sponsored socials and also raised money for civic projects. These groups, like the fraternities, were part of national organizations. The first service group to



Kiwanis Stadium, c. 1935. (Jerome Stoffel collection, Catholic Diocese)

organize in the county was Rotary Club. One of Rotary's worthy projects was to grant loans to needy students, and in 1921 the group hosted a banquet for teachers. In 1934 Rotarians sponsored the comedy *Broken Dishes* to raise funds to light the Price municipal tennis courts. In 1921 a Kiwanis club was organized in Price; another was organized later in Helper. The main fund-raising project for the Helper Kiwanis was the Kiwanis Follies, a dance that almost everyone in the community attended. A third service club, the Lions Club, organized in 1944, and, unlike the other two clubs, it had a women's auxiliary. One of the first women's service clubs was the Business and Professional Womens Club; it began in 1929 but was reorganized in 1937 with Viola Oberto as president. This club donated \$100 for equipment to the prenatal care unit at the hospital, thirty dollars as partial payment for an encyclopedia for the hospital, and a scholarship for a deserving freshman girl at Carbon College.

In the 1920s the Moose and the Elks clubs, two other fraternal lodges, were organized in the county—the Elks in Price and the Moose with lodges in both Price and Helper. In Helper the Moose was the only fraternal organization in town. Price Moose Lodge 166 was organized on 9 July 1937 with Theodore Thomas as the first gov-

ernor. There were individual members of the Elks in the county as early as 1914, but they held no organizational meeting. In 1921 state Elks clubs sponsored a meeting in Notre Dame Hall in an attempt to organize a lodge in Carbon County. Boxing and wrestling matches were held at the meeting, but little interest was shown in the Elks. In 1929 the Elks Club brought together a formal organization, with Dean D. Holdaway as the first exalted ruler. Two years later the Elks hosted a state convention in Price, and more than one thousand Elks from all parts of the state attended.¹⁰

In the 1920s a number of patriotic and historical clubs formed. In order to keep the fire of American patriotism kindled, a group of men organized the American Legion in 1920; a women's auxiliary was started in 1923. Two prominent members of these organizations were Mr. and Mrs. Henry Ruggeri, who served as officers. Nick Bernadi and James Pappas, sons of immigrants, also were members. The American Legion sponsored social and fund-raising activities, citizenship classes, and youth baseball teams in the county. The American Legion also decorated graves of war dead and sold poppies to raise money needed for its projects. In 1921 Price Rotarians challenged legion members in a rabbit hunt. On Sunday, 12 December, legionnaires traveled to Emery County and bagged sixty-five rabbits. The next day Rotarians traveled to Big Springs, just south and west of Sunnyside, and brought in 130 rabbits. On Thursday evening the two groups had a banquet at the high school with rabbit as the main course.11

One unusual club was called the "Last Squad," a group of 101 World War I veterans organized in 1940. The squad had annual meetings in Helper and elected E.A. Crissman as first major. The last living member, J. Bracken Lee, died in 1996. In 1920 Alice Ferguson helped begin a patriotic group of women known as the Service Star Legion who had been actively involved in assisting the war effort or had sons who had served in the army during World War I. The object of the Service Star Legion was to help make Memorial Day and Armistice Day important in the lives of the people of the county. Price City donated the land for Memorial Park to them, commemorating those who had died and served in World War I, and the women planted over 100 trees at the park and also sodded the area. Even though the

park was owned by the Service Star Legion, Price City took care of it just as it did other parks in Price. In 1929 the Rotary Club erected a flag pole in the park which was dedicated by the American Legion, and in 1938 the Service Star Legion raised funds to construct a monument to the war dead.¹²

The Woman's Club of Price, organized in 1921, promoted literary, social science, music, and dramatic arts with Mrs. J.R. Sharp as first president. For a time the club sponsored a chorus. Because many women joined the club, in 1926 a group particularly interested in literature organized the Literary League as an auxiliary to the Woman's Club. The Literary League finally had to limit membership to forty-five women. The Woman's Club later organized the New Century as another branch. By 1941 the club was devoting its efforts to the defense program. Another women's club was organized in Helper and existed for several decades.

In 1923 a group of local women who were descendants of Utah pioneers held the first area meeting of the Daughters of Utah Pioneers in the Price LDS tabernacle and elected Katherine MacKnight as president. By 1940 they had five camps in the county. The staff in the Salt Lake City headquarters prepared monthly lessons, which were then presented by members of the camps. The DUP limited its membership to women who had ancestors in the state before 1869. Because of this time limitation, this group had mostly Mormon women members.

In 1932 two women from Ogden journeyed to Price and organized the Escalante chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR), with Mrs. George West as regent. This organization sponsored an essay contest for high school girls, using the American Revolution as a topic and presenting the winner with a medal. The chapter later set up libraries in Wattis and Consumers and gave awards for needlecraft, sewing, and cooking in the Price and Helper junior high schools. In 1932 this group had twenty-two members, but by 1941 it had dwindled to eleven members.¹³

The numerous women's clubs in the county promoted a wide variety of activities and community services and encouraged women to be better homemakers. Homemaking clubs included the Sewing Circle, Knit-Wits, So-Ettes, and Better Mothers Club. The Dansante

Club and the Entre Nous were more oriented to organizing social activities for their club members. The Delphians sponsored lessons that included art, literature, and science. The Beauceants sought to build loyal friendships and render humanitarian service. The Nile Club gave assistance to the crippled children's unit of Shriners Hospital in Salt Lake City. Before World War II there were some forty-two women's clubs in Carbon County. Women of the county committed themselves to service, friendship, and fellowship. In this era before television, they found time to devote themselves to many projects through the clubs they joined.

In 1940 the Sun Advocate devoted a column every week for eighteen weeks to outstanding women in the community. Of those women, one was a college student, one had been in the county since 1882, eight were Mormon, three were Methodists, one was a Catholic, and five mentioned no religion. Nine were members of the Sorosis Club, five were members of the Woman's Club, four were active in the Red Cross, and the remaining women also were involved in other clubs and organizations within the county.

Isabella Birch Bryner came to Price in 1882. She ran a boarding house for railroad men and clerked in the first store owned by Fred Grames. When the townsite of Price was selected, she owned the southern part of the land, which she deeded to the town government.

Lula Christian grew to maturity in Kansas and Missouri and taught in Marysvale, Utah, before marrying Fred J. Thomas. Shortly after the couple came to Price, Lula helped organize Price Academy and was actively involved in the Price Community Church, leading the church's first choir. She was active in the Red Cross during World War I and received the Service Cross; she also lost one son in the war. She was a charter member of the Service Star Legion, the American Legion Auxiliary, the Daughters of the American Revolution, and the Sorosis Club.

Katherine Heystek MacKnight came to Price with her husband in 1916 and later took charge of the junior girls department of the Mormon Mutual Improvement Association for the Price LDS Ward. She became the fifth president of the Eastern District of the Utah Federation of Women's Clubs. She joined the Sorosis Club, was active in the Red Cross, was a charter member of the Woman's Club, was

the first president of the DUP, and was a member of the library board.

Florence Piacitelli, Price city librarian, selected reading books for the library. An active member of the Catholic cliurch, she served as president of the Children of Mary sodality. She sponsored a doll booth at the Catholic carnival each year and was a member of the Business and Professional Women's Club. Besides the women mentioned here, many others made valuable contributions to county life.

The county's youth also had clubs and organizations that reflected their interests. Sorosis sponsored the Micra Adelphe to promote general literary and social culture among youth. The largest youth organization, the 4-H program, was sponsored by the county extension program and organized clubs in almost every town and coal camp in the county. Leaders taught girls about homemaking and taught boys and girls about gardening and raising farm animals. The 4-H clubs started in 1927 and regularly exhibited their items at the county fair. F.S. Slaugh spent that first summer organizing some 300 clubs, 120 for boys and the rest for girls. One of the outstanding clubs was a swine club; Juanita Wilson had the winning pig at the county fair, and Norma Livingston and Margaret Pierce won the swine judging contest. After 1929 the 4-H clubs virtually died out locally, but they were revived again in 1937. 15

Mormon wards, the Price Community Church, the Catholic church, the Moose, and also the Kiwanis in Helper organized Boy Scout troops, and the scouts held countywide scout jamborees annually before the outbreak of World War II, with as many as 400 scouts attending. Girl Scout troops lacked institutional support, but many devoted women organized and supported Girl Scout troops. The Camp Fire Girls were organized locally as early as 1921 in Carbon County; Girl Scout troops were organized in 1931, with nearly 100 girls involved. Bliss Hubbard organized Girl Scout troops in Columbia, Hiawatha, Helper, and Price. Margaret Lee also actively campaigned for Girl Scouts; she captained a group for three years and served six years as a member of the county Girl Scout council. Lee was a vivacious woman who loved to talk, especially using her hands. Wrote one: "She admits that she couldn't talk without them, nor

could we imagine her without that spontaneous laughter that seems to bubble up with the sheer joy of living."16

Three youth clubs remain strong and active in the community. Boy Scouts have sponsoring units that help raise funds and organize troop activities. Girl Scouts raise money by selling cookies; devoted leaders run the troops from their homes. Both organizations are linked with their national headquarters. The 4-H organization also has clubs throughout the county.

The 1930s and 1940s were the great years for clubs in the county. Almost everyone in the county—girls, boys, men, and women—joined one club or another. Some joined several different clubs. These clubs benefited the county in many different ways as well as in helping bring greater unity to a diverse cultural population.

Clubs continued to flourish after World War II but not at quite the level as before. The Rusty Dozen Club in Wellington was organized in the 1940s and was limited to a dozen women members who fostered handicrafts and met for social events. Sixteen women organized the ONO Club (Our Night Out) Club in Wellington. Their activities started with sewing quilt blocks and moved to charity work and building a float for the 24 July parade.¹⁷

Presently there are fewer clubs with fewer members. The Masons still have two lodges, Carbon Lodge Number 16 founded in 1910 and Joppa Lodge founded in 1925, with membership of over 200 for both lodges. Both hold monthly meetings and have a charity fund to sponsor crippled children in the Shriners Hospital. Connected with them are the women's Eastern Star auxiliary and Job's Daughters for young women's. Both support social events and service projects for the community. The Kiwanis, Rotary, and Lions clubs support various community projects; for example, the Lions Club helps people with eye problems. In 1995 they had twenty-six members, but have had as many as eighty-five. This decline in membership is typical of most local organizations. The Fraternal Order of the Elks constructed a building in Price on the northeast corner of Carbon Avenue and First North in the 1960s. In the 1950s and 1960s the group had more than 1,000 members, including men from Emery County. Today many other groups rent these facilities for dinners, reunions, and dances. The Elks continue to provide college scholarships to young people.



Senior Citizens Kitchen Band in Price, 1984. (Western Mining and Railroad Museum)

They have a drug awareness program and sponsor a basketball shooting contest for young people. An annual golf tournament helps raise money for their Sub-for-Santa program each Christmas. They sponsor classes for prospective citizens and decorate the graves of servicemen each Memorial Day. The American Legion has organizations in Helper, Price, and East Carbon. The Helper Legion women's auxiliary also maintains a concession booth at local ball games in order to raise money.

The Sorosis Club meets monthly, sponsors a musical every year, and gives scholarships to the College of Eastern Utah. The Business and Professional Women's Club continues to encourage professionalism among its members and participates in various service projects in the county. The Soroptimist Club membership is by invitation only; it gives scholarships to CEU students and raises money through a wine-tasting event. A newer group is the Beta Sigma Phi, a sorority with three chapters in the county, with the aim and purpose of enhancing life, learning, and friendship. The first chapter was organized in 1946 and the latter two in the 1970s. Beta Sigma Phi raises

money by various means and donates it to charities in the community. It helps the needy during the holiday season, helps students with various projects, and assists in the beautification of the area. Beta Sigma Phi also has a young daughter affiliate called Nu Phi Mu. Camps of the Daughters of Utah Pioneers sponsor lessons about Utah history.

Newer clubs and organizations have also emerged. The Carbon County Historical Society, the Castle Valley Archaeology Society, and the Utah Friends of Paleontology are concerned with the preservation of human and natural history of Carbon County and the region. A few organizations such as the Castleview Hospital Pink Ladies are devoted to serving one institution. The Carbon County Sheriff's Posse assists the Carbon County Sheriff in search-and-rescue operations and rides in most parades in the county.

Service clubs, fraternities, sororities, and similar types of organizations have enriched the community greatly. They return much to the county and its towns, schools, and individuals that could never be accomplished by church or governmental organizations. They promote friendship and a sense of belonging; more than that, they benefit the needy of the community, struggling college students, and developing youth, and they provide leadership to many segments of the population. They have helped unite a county composed of many different nationalities.

ENDNOTES

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- 3. Philip Notarianni, "Italian Fraternal Organizations in Utah, 1897–1974," Utah Historical Quarterly 43 (Spring 1975): 173.
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 - 5. Sun Advocate, 2 October 1941.
 - 6. Ibid., 27 November 1941.
- 7. Sun, 15 April 1920, 3 June 1920, 16 September 1920, 3 March 1932, 26 November 1931.

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- 14. Ibid., 25 January 1940, 22 February 1940, 9 May 1940.
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GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

Politics and government have been a vital part of Carbon County's history. Since 1932 the Democratic party has dominated politics in Carbon County, an unusual fact in the Republican dominated state. In 1932 every office except that of sheriff was won by Democratic candidates. For many years after 1932 there was often no Republican opposition for offices, although Republicans such as J. Bracken Lee stepped onto the local political stage as independents or progressives. In a state often described in recent decades as the most Republican of the fifty states, Carbon County is a political anomaly. Yet while Carbon County has followed a different political road, the workings of its city and county governments, with few exceptions, have been efficient and effective. Law enforcement has seen different challenges over the years, with prohibition, gambling, and prostitution being three of the most colorful and notorious. At the same time, war and depression have left their marks on the county.

In the early years of the county's history neither the Republican nor the Democratic party dominated at the national or local level. In Carbon County voters gave 690 of their 776 votes to William Jennings Bryan, who, despite nearly 90 percent of Carbon County's votes and 80 percent of the state's vote, lost the national election to Republican William McKinley. Four years later, in 1900, the tables were turned as McKinley won over Bryan in Carbon County by a majority of 128 votes. In nearby Emery County, Bryan won by a similar majority over McKinley. Carbon County continued to vote Republican in the presidential elections of 1904 when Theodore Roosevelt was elected president and in 1908 when William Howard Taft, Roosevelt's hand-picked successor, won. Taft also took Carbon County in 1912 but lost the national election to Democrat Woodrow Wilson, to whom Carbon County gave the majority of its votes in 1916.

In local politics the pattern was just as erratic. Newspapers reported a mix of Republicans and Democrats elected in 1896. The entire Republican ticket was elected in 1904, but only three local Republicans were winners in 1916. Thereafter, until 1932, Republicans and Democrats divided county offices fairly evenly.

Until 1910 the Utah Fuel Company controlled local politics through the Republican party and the party's local mouthpiece, the Eastern Utah Advocate. In 1909 Mark Braffett, attorney for the Utah Fuel Company, was assigned responsibility for political affairs within the county. Braffet soon found himself in conflict with an emerging group of reformers who challenged the Utah Fuel Company by establishing the Progressive party, which aspired to take control of county government. Progressives were allied with the Carbon County News, which had been founded in 1907 and would become the News Advocate in 1915. The News railed against big business, alcohol, gambling, prostitution, the Utah Fuel Company, and its spokesman, "King" Braffet.

In 1912 the two-story Carbon County Courthouse with its impressive rooftop statue of "Justice" pointing skyward with her sword was completed on the southeast corner of Main Street and 100 East. That same year Republicans lost control of the county commission as two Progressives joined one Democratic commissioner. The new commission launched its first attack on the Utah Fuel Company's saloon-owning arm, the Magnolia Trading Company.



Carbon County Courthouse constructed in 1912 and demolished in 1960. (Western Mining and Railroad Museum)

Shortly after taking office in January 1913, Carbon County commissioners decided that Magnolia Trading Company could not hold a monopoly on liquor licenses in Utah Fuel's camps. The issue simmered until April 1913 when Utah Fuel Company began fencing its

property around Sunnyside in an attempt to keep unwanted retailers out of town. County commissioners responded by condemning property for a road right-of-way into the town which could not be fenced. When an independent liquor dealer tried to enter Sunnyside, several company guards tried to prevent his entry even though the dealer was backed by nearly 300 coal miners. The miners stood firm against the coal company and its superintendent, who proclaimed the miners' actions to be illegal. Mark Braffet was not allowed by the miners to speak. They told the superintendent that they would buy where they wanted. Without the authority of county government to back him, the superintendent had no choice but to accept the miners' position for the time being.²

In 1913 women members of the Progressive party took the lead in a campaign to eliminate prostitution in the county. Although not completely successful, law enforcement officers were successful in urging a dozen prostitutes to leave the county in the fall of 1913. Encouraged by their success, and recognizing that there were other areas that needed attention, the women organized a Women's Betterment League in 1914.

Utah Fuel Company, however, was not willing to relinquish political control without a fight. In municipal elections of 1913 Utah Fuel Company candidates won several offices. In 1914 two-year county commission positions were again contested and Utah Fuel campaigned vigorously for its hand-picked candidates. The Sunnyside mine superintendent even threatened the miners that if the Progressives won again and levied higher taxes on the coal company those costs would be passed on to the miners in the form of higher rents. The threats did not work; independent candidates backed by the Progressive party won every office but that of county clerk. Following the elections, Utah Fuel Company turned to the courts to overturn the elections, but the courts ruled that alleged voting irregularities had not interfered with the elections.³

The new Progressive commission now raised the assessment on the coal lands. Braffet immediately took the issue to the district court, suing for unlawful taxation, and the court issued a temporary restraining order. Later the court considerably reduced the assessment. In 1915 Price and Helper campaigns centered on Utah Fuel-backed candidates and their opponents, the so-called Citizens party—a joint Democratic and Republican union. Braffet's Republicans easily won the Price elections but lost in Helper.

Shortly after the election, Utah Fuel replaced Mark Braffet as its political point-man; but, in the 1916 election, company candidates did not win. As the threat of American involvement in World War I in Europe loomed, Utah Fuel Company focused its energies on economic opportunities created by the war and gave up its overt attempts to control local politics.⁵

From the outbreak of World War I in August 1914 to America's entry into the conflict in April 1917, many articles appeared in the county's newspapers about the war. Like most Americans, however, the majority of Carbon County residents felt that the war was distant and could not affect them. All that changed after 6 April 1917 when the United States declared war and seventeen young men from Carbon County immediately volunteered for the army. The United States government established a draft for the first time since the Civil War, and soon the county's young men were faced with the prospect of military service. The only men deferred were married men, those engaged in government work, and some farmers.⁶

War hysteria immediately struck the county. County sheriff George Collingham hauled an Austrian emigrant from Consumers to jail for alleged anti-war statements. Upon further investigation, however, the sheriff could not discover that the man had made any statements against the war. The sheriff did learn that the man had physically abused his wife; however, at his wife's request, the prisoner was released from jail. The sheriff brought a German from Mohrland to Price because of his statements in support of Germany. The man was kept in jail for two weeks before he was sent to the enemy-alien internment camp at Fort Douglas in Salt Lake City. Many foreignborn residents must have had some fear for themselves and their property, for Sheriff Collingham issued a proclamation assuring foreign-born residents that their property would be protected and they would be free from personal molestation.⁷

By June 1917, 2,050 county men had registered for the draft, and during the first selection held in July 1917 some 801 Carbon County men were called for service in the army. Of these, 221 were Greeks,

an unusually high number. Most of the Greek inductees went willingly, but about thirty asked for exemptions; they claimed they were not citizens of the country and felt that they did not have to serve in the United States Army. Besides that, they would rather fight for Greece. Their position was not received with favor by the rest of the population. The *News Advocate* called these men draft dodgers and editorialized:

Fathers and mothers who are sending their American boys to fight in Italy if need be and for the safety of both Greeks and Italians and all other races are getting more and more incensed at the whelps who think nothing but getting American dollars under the American flag but who would not turn a hand over to save that flag from being dragged in the dirt by the Kaiser's bloody cutthroats.

At the end of August 1917, the first men left to report to their assigned army bases. The county responded by giving them a reception and a dance; it also honored the remainder of the men leaving for war in the same way. In January 1918 the Sun reported that Edward J. Crawford of Castle Gate had died, becoming Carbon County's first victim of the war. Women also volunteered to serve as nurses, and in August 1918 Eva Olsen of Price and Nettie Anderson of Kenilworth joined the army nurses school."

The war effort took center stage in local affairs. Families expanded their traditional vegetable gardens, soon labeled "Victory Gardens," and joined the rest of the nation in observing "wheatless" and "meatless" days. Financing for the war came from loans made by the American people, who subscribed millions of dollars for government liberty bonds. Carbon County oversubscribed all four Liberty loan bond drives held in the county, with a total of \$946,950.¹² The county was second in the state in purchasing war savings stamps.

A Red Cross chapter was organized in the county in May 1917 through the efforts of the Sorosis Club. Elizabeth Stevenson was elected president, and meetings were held in the Sorosis Club rooms on the second floor of the First National Bank.¹³ Within a month the Red Cross had 200 members, both men and women. Father Markos Petrakis, Chatlain Staes, and Tom Dinos represented the Greeks at that organizational meeting. Locals of French descent also con-

tributed liberally, and the local Red Cross chapter was able to send \$400 to the Denver headquarters. By the end of the war over 3,100 local people had joined the Red Cross, representing about 20 percent of the county's population. By the end of June 1918 every county community had a Red Cross organization, and Carbon County had contributed \$5,000, double its original pledge. The next month the Red Cross formed an auxiliary to make "comfort bags" and garments of every kind for the men at the front and for boys and girls overseas. One town's Red Cross auxiliary would cut out the patterns and others would do the sewing, thus streamlining the process.

The women's auxiliary also raised money through various means. Members canvassed the towns requesting people to donate to the Red Cross, and people responded. The women also asked businesses for donations, and many gave liberally. Local theaters held Red Cross nights and donated their ticket collections. Lowenstein's Department Store donated a silk quilt which the Red Cross raffled. The women sold homemade candy at a chatauqua in Price. The Castle Gate band held concerts and dances and donated over \$1,000 to their local Red Cross, and the Utah Fuel Company provided their amusement hall for those performances. At Sunnyside the Pythias Lodge had a parade and dance for the Red Cross that featured the Italian Silver Band.

In March 1918 the Red Cross also organized children and young people into a Junior Red Cross, with many schoolteachers volunteering their time. The "Juniors" labored diligently until the end of school and made eight afghans, forty baby blankets, 135 baby caps and hose, 122 bed socks, thirty-four baby quilts, thirty-one children's underskirts, 163 hot-water-bottle covers, forty-six mufflers, and many other items. Mrs. Josephine Wood of the National Red Cross wrote of their work, "I wish to congratulate your members upon the beautiful work contained in this shipment as special mention has been made by our inspectors concerning the little hoods and baby blankets." A Mrs. Ensey of the National Red Cross said, "It shows fine effort on your part. However, we did not expect less as we consider you one of our best chapters." "I

Newspaper reports gave high praise for the contributions of Red Cross women to the national war effort. At the end of June 1918 the Carbon County Red Cross shipped thirty-seven boxes of knitted articles and fifty boxes of other items, ten coming from the Junior Red Cross. The items included hundreds of winter pajamas, bed socks, convalescent suits, bathrobes, operating gowns, comfort pillows, pillow cases, towels, gun wipes, sheets, and many other items. According to a report at the end of the war, the county Red Cross had raised and used \$50,000, made 19,000 hospital garments, 25,000 surgical dressings, 4,673 knitted articles, 706 comfort bags and Christmas boxes, and had processed ten tons of old clothes and shoes. In addition, 8,508 articles had been prepared by the Junior Red Cross. 18

In January 1919, a few weeks after the 11 November armistice ended the fighting in Europe, the national headquarters of the Red Cross issued orders to "stack your needles," as the nationwide effort to produce clothing and other items for the war effort ended. There was still much to be done, however; for example, soldiers in transit and those being demobilized needed attention. The local Red Cross, assisted by generous grants of food from its auxiliaries and local businessmen, set up a canteen east of the Price railroad depot to feed soldiers passing through Carbon County. After the Salt Lake Red Cross closed its canteen, the local Red Cross women continued operating the Price canteen, the only canteen still in service on the entire Rio Grande railroad line. Finally, on 1 November 1919, the Price canteen closed its doors, ending the chapter on World War I."

During the war all the nationalities in Carbon County had pulled together and had donated to the war loans. All nationalities gave generously to the war-bond effort and to the Red Cross. Coal companies held special days "to get out the coal," and the Greek men of Castle Gate responded to the challenge. The Greeks of Winter Quarters purchased \$9,000 worth of liberty loan bonds and stamps and also helped the Red Cross. The Sunnyside Italian band played for a Red Cross benefit dance in Sunnyside where the dancers contributed \$300. Earlier in the day Sunnyside miners had contributed \$6,000 from their pay envelopes. Near the end of the war, Independent Coal and Coke Company gave a large fifty-seven-foot flagpole to the Kenilworth community for its donations to the war. The newspaper noted that when the flag was raised in that large assemblage of

"Americans, Greeks, Italians, Austrians, and others, not a head remained covered during the playing of the national anthem." 20

At the end of the war, there was a sense of exhilaration among residents of Carbon County that their nation had won and they had accomplished great things. People throughout the county had worked together without regard for nationality. In many ways the World War I experience of unity in the face of a common enemy and for shared objectives foreshadowed a more unified and tolerant county that would emerge after the turbulent decade of the 1920s.

In addition to themes and issues covered elsewhere, Prohibition and its accompanying illegal alcohol and "bootleggers" was an important aspect of Carbon County during the 1920s. Prohibition of alcohol first appeared on a statewide ballot in Utah in June 1911. The measure was defeated both in Carbon County and throughout the state, although the majority of voters in Spring Glen and Wellington favored the initiative. That was not the end of the matter, however, as a Utah Federation of Prohibition and Betterment League was organized with strong support from the Mormon church. The 1915 state legislature passed prohibition legislation which was vetoed by Republican governor William Spry. In 1917 the legislature once again passed a prohibition bill; this one was signed by newly elected governor Simon Bamberger. Utah became the twenty-fourth state to enact legislation prohibiting the consumption of alcohol. Two years later the Eighteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution made Prohibition the law throughout the nation.

Prohibition was anathema to the traditions and lifeways of most Carbon County immigrants, who could not understand why people would not want some type of alcohol in their homes. They drank wine with their meals and made this beverage every fall when the grapes were harvested. At first, liquor interests tried to ship the beverage into the county. In December 1918 Marshal Orson Larsen seized a wagonload of liquor in barrels and a few bottles at the Monte Seglio Hotel in Price, and he arrested Jean Chabre, Jean Montaberry, and Frank Goin. In June 1919 a "special agent" arrested H. Pappas and G. Kallas when they paid for and loaded some boxes into their wagon at the Helper freight depot. The boxes contained seventy-two bottles of whiskey, fifteen of which had broken en route. In



Wellington City Hall, 1997. (Ron Watt)

September Marshal John Bryner raided three establishments—the Athens, the Carbon, and the Allies hotels. Those arrested were charged with violating the state prohibition law.²¹

One avenue for alcohol continued through the railroad; but it became more difficult with close surveillance by federal authorities. Stills which produced homemade brew became the most common way to circumvent the law. In January 1920 Sheriff Kelter found a still made by two Japanese men in a cave and seized another at a Kenilworth home. In November 1927 federal officers raided the home of John Russ at Sunnyside and found 400 gallons of wine and 200 quarts of home brew. Russ was fined \$200 and released. Others were also guilty of violating laws against the production and consumption of alcohol; however, few, if any violators considered the law to be warranted. Consequently, Price developed a reputation throughout the state as an open city—a city which did not enforce Prohibition. In response, Mayor W.F. Olson of Price wrote the *Deseret*

News a letter protesting that conditions in Price and Carbon County were different than in other parts of the state. He observed, "We have in this county so many different nationalities, so many different organizations and religions that it is to be expected that under these conditions more violations of the prohibition law will occur." He wrote that it was a matter of educating the people of the county and he denied all charges of violations of gambling laws, gambling being often considered a twin vice of those who broke the Prohibition laws.²²

Olsen was right in maintaining that Carbon County was not the only place in the state where enforcement of Prohibition was difficult. Stories of bootleggers and still operators were repeated from all parts of Utah; however, Helper resident John Diamanti was considered by some to be one of the two most successful manufacturers of illegal alcohol in the state. Neither age nor community standing were spared by the tentacles of bootlegging. One story from Spring Glen involved the discovery of two bottles of bootleg whiskey concealed in the pockets of a large overcoat worn by an eight-year-old boy during the heat of the day. J. Bracken Lee recalled the potential danger when the bootleg whiskey was improperly stored:

Someone gave me a gallon of moonshine and I went to the druggist and asked him if he had any empty wooden casks. He gave me a small, empty formaldehyde barrel and told me to wash it out several times with boiling water. Later that day two friends came by and I offered them a drink. I saw them the next day down town. Their mouths were blistered. I found out you can't ever get formaldehyde out of wood.²³

As the 1930s dawned and the crisis of the Great Depression worsened, most Carbon County residents were eager for the end of Prohibition, although some clung to the idea that a better society would emerge if Prohibition laws were properly enforced. Early in February 1933 local Mormons held a mass meeting at the Price LDS tabernacle opposing a pending state bill permitting the manufacture of beer in Utah for sale and consumption. When the measure came before the state legislature a few weeks later, however, both Carbon County legislators, Reva Beck Bosone and W.R. Wayman, voted in the

majority and Utah became the thirty-sixth and deciding state to approve the Twenty-First Amendment which ended Prohibition by repealing the Eighteenth Amendment.²⁴

Utah and Carbon County did not revert to the wide-open days before Prohibition when liquor distributors and saloons seemed a part of everyday life. In 1935 the state of Utah began the practice of controlling liquor by regulating its sale through state-operated stores.

Prostitution joined bootlegging and gambling as the third member of the trinity of vices for which Carbon County came to be known. Single coal miners who lived in boarding houses in the coal camps and railroad workers who stayed in dormitories and cheap hotels were attractive customers for an assemblage of prostitutes who made their appearance and took up residence in hotels in Helper and Price during the early decades of the twentieth century. In the 1930s when Reva Beck Bosone came to Helper to practice law, an attractive blond woman came into her office to have Bosone help her with a contract. Bosone wrote: "She was pretty and well dressed, but looked hard as nails. This was the first time in my life I had met a prostitute. My heart was pounding for I was really nervous." 25

Raids by police on both gambling and prostitution activities usually resulted in arrests. The sheriff periodically raided both gambling casinos and hotels for illegal activities. In August 1943 sheriff's deputies and state officials seized fifty-eight slot machines from thirty different business establishments in the county. In January 1944 the sheriff seized fifteen slot machines and three pinball games classified as gambling devices. When J. Bracken Lee was campaigning for governor in 1944, Francis W. Kirkham, a member of the Utah Tax Commission, visited Price. In his subsequent report, he wrote that he found three houses of prostitution and fourteen casinos that openly displayed gambling equipment and tables. In July 1947 sheriff's officers seized three slot machines from two different night clubs. In July 1951 sheriff's officers arrested twelve women and four men from seven different hotels in Price and Helper for suspicion of prostitution, and they also confiscated eighteen slot machines. The efforts against localized and small-time crime would continue, but the year 1951 saw about the last of publicized gambling and prostitution problems in Carbon County.26

The Great Depression struck Carbon County with severity. Families were disrupted as men left the area in a desperate search for work. The county's coal miners and farmers were especially hard hit, as work in the mines was curtailed and prices for farm goods sank to rock-bottom levels. While men searched in vain for work, government and business leaders sought to expand relief programs which in the past had been needed by only a few.

By the end of 1931 the administrator of the county relief program, Henry Fiack, enlisted the aid of the Price Chamber of Commerce in the expanded relief effort. A member of the chamber solicited businessmen of Price for donations and obtained over \$1,500 in pledges for the program. A few weeks later the Price Moose club sponsored a dance at the Rainbow Gardens to help the program for the needy and requested one dollar in food as a donation for admittance. The Price post of the American Legion recommended a winter work project to the city council. The Rotary Club decided to donate the cost of its weekly meal to the relief fund, and Elks and Moose members staged a charity rabbit hunt and donated the rabbits to needy families of the county.²⁷

With the donations that the county groups had so generously given, the Carbon County Emergency Relief Committee was able to supply all 140 families on its list with food and coal for the Christmas holidays. Toys and cash donations came to the relief committee and were distributed throughout the county. The Star Theater held a matinee and asked as the admission price one or more jars of food. The Elks had a benefit dance and donated eighty-five dollars worth of merchandise it received. The Rotary Club received donations from all areas of the county totaling \$1,017.72; the people of Price donated \$357, the residents of Helper \$330, and the Carbon Teachers Association \$283.²⁸

In January 1932 county commissioners began discussing a way to unify relief plans for the county. The relief committee asked employers to ask their employees to donate a small amount from their salaries and wages; Columbia Steel Company agreed, and other companies soon followed. Price postmaster J.F. MacKnight suggested that Price City obtain materials from the abandoned school buildings of Carbon County and employ unemployed men to build a munici-

pal gymnasium, gravel unpaved streets of the city, construct curb and guttering, improve the cemetery, and care for the parks. He thought the city could take over public works, cutting some expenses and increasing revenue in the process. Governor George Dern suggested using people who were receiving relief to gravel the road to Hiawatha.²⁹

All work for relief to that point had been provided on an as-need basis. By the end of August 1932 a mass meeting created a permanent county relief organization, with George M. Miller as chair, J.P. Bosone as secretary, and Henry Fiack as treasurer. People at the meeting felt that relief should be given to those who could work, and Carbon County officials began putting men to work improving roads in the county. The county also had men replace the clay pipe drain from the swimming pool to the canal. Men also dismantled a home at New Peerless and transferred it to Price as a shelter for transients. In 1932 the local Red Cross chapter distributed 5,000 yards of cotton goods to people. In 1935 Father William A. Ruel, president of the local Red Cross chapter, announced that the chapter would distribute two railroad carloads of flour to needy families.30 Federal funds allotted through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation began to trickle into the county in 1932 to help with some projects, and much more was promised with the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt in November 1932.

In 1933 more county people were on relief than in any other year. From February to May, an average of 1,000 people per month were helped with relief in some fashion. Relief in Price and Helper was more than double that apportioned to the rest of the county. Despite the county's valiant efforts to establish a county relief program and to take care of its own, the New Deal relief programs of Roosevelt's administration were a godsend to Carbon County. Two of the most important relief agencies in the county were the Works Progress Administration (WPA) and the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC).

By June 1933 the federal government selected seventy-three men to fill Carbon County's quota for a Civilian Conservation Corps camp at Joe's Valley in Emery County. In 1935 a CCC camp which had formerly been in Kalispell, Montana, was relocated to Price. The CCC men first fenced 48,000 acres of grazing lands, mostly public domain, to the northeast of Price and also did considerable erosion-control work in the same area. The corpsmen primarily worked in the mountain areas improving the soil drainage but also worked on private farms, if approved by the camp superintendent, primarily in weed eradication. The Price CCC camp had 200 men each year—with over 2,600 men employed during its seven-year period of operation. In 1942 the camp finally closed as the nation's young men went off to war.³²

While the CCC program recruited young single males, the WPA programs provided employment for all ages on a variety of projects. The federal government established a branch of the reemployment service in Price which helped men find work in the public works program and also in private industry. Men repaired bridges and roads on school bus and mail routes, constructed a tunnel on the Price water line at Kyune, repaired streets, built municipal buildings in Price and Helper, post offices in both Price and Helper, the junior high school in Helper, and the hospital in Price. With federal monies Wellington replaced its wooden water pipeline from Price with cast iron pipe, the county leveled the fairways on the golf course, Helper built an underpass at Janet Street, and the state built the college in the latter part of the decade. In 1934 Price received a \$30,000 grant for landscaping city parks; it used the funds for planting trees in Memorial Park, clearing rock and brush, and planting lawns, trees, and shrubs at Pioneer Park. In 1937 Price City purchased a park site in the south part of Price; a year later the Service Star Legion Club erected a monument in Memorial Park in north Price to Carbon County men who died in World War I.33

Another New Deal program which benefited the county was the National Youth Administration (NYA), which by the end of the 1930s employed about one hundred youth on several projects. Forty youths worked on a noxious-weed-control program, another thirty worked on a pipeline to supply culinary water for fourteen families in Spring Glen, and twenty worked at renovating school buildings at various schools in the county. Clerical projects employed another ten at Helper and Wellington.³⁴

The 1930s was a period of significant change within Carbon

County. The United Mine Workers of America became an established institution when the Democratic party's New Deal legislation recognized the right of labor to bargain collectively. Carbon College, founded in 1938, gave the county the opportunity of local higher education for its residents. In politics the Democratic party took control, building on the party's pro-labor position and its well-received relief programs. The party grew because of new local political leaders like union organizer Frank Bonnaci and the loyalty that county residents showed to New Deal and World War II president Franklin D. Roosevelt, to whom Carbon County voters gave 70 percent or more of their votes in the elections of 1936, 1940, and 1944.

Carbon County's most famous political figure, J. Bracken Lee, however, was not a member of the dominant Democratic party. Instead, he became known for his conservative political philosophy. his election as Utah's governor on the Republican ticket in 1948 and 1952 and his three terms as mayor of Salt Lake City from 1960 through 1972. J. Bracken Lee was an ambitious man consumed with the political world, destined to leave the county for other places. He was a political anomaly—a Republican in a Democratic county which was possible because his political career centered in Price. Lee was a native of Price who volunteered for service at the outbreak of World War I but did not serve overseas. In 1931 he ran for mayor of Price against Rolla West and lost. In November 1935 Lee ran again on the Progressive ticket, winning by two votes. The election was challenged, and, after several recounts, Lee took office in January 1936. Lee loved politics and worked hard as mayor even though the Price mayor's position was only a part-time one. By the end of his first six months, the city government had spent less than it had brought in. Lee learned that the WPA would provide matching funds for building a city hall; therefore, he quickly approved such a measure. During his first term the city installed a traffic signal at the corner of Main Street and Carbon Avenue, established a new bookkeeping machine which provided a better accounting system, paved two streets of two blocks each, and started to tear down the old city hall.36

In 1937 Lee declared that the state liquor system was adversely affecting Price financially. According to Lee, it was worse than the old



East Carbon City Business District, 1997. (Ron Watt)

saloon system. He thought that the system's revenue should be more equitably distributed among the cities and towns. Lee ran unopposed in the 1937 election. Just after the election, he was once again in the news. In January 1938 state liquor inspectors raided and closed the Jones Club on Carbon Avenue in Price, charging violation of the liquor control act. Two agents remained in the building, making an inventory and a map of the place. After being notified early the next morning, Lee, with a patrolman from the police force and the proprietor, Merlyn D. Jones, went down to the club. The agent told them they could not come in. "Well, you better let us in," the mayor said. "Who the hell are you?" the agent asked. When the agents later testified, they said they were willing to let the patrolman in, but they did not want to let the "other fellow" in. After a scuffle the patrolman arrested both agents and booked them into the city jail for intoxication; they were later released.37 This was just one example of Lee's unorthodox and sometimes contentious approach to matters.

During Lee's second term, the city hall was completed; it included a large auditorium and gymnasium which the city rented out for basketball games and dances to civic and church groups. The fire department moved to new facilities in the north wing of

city hall. Also during this term, Lee supported the founding of Carbon College. He continued to improve the city by beginning a garbage-pickup program, establishing a beautification and cleanup campaign, licensing all dogs, and improving the lighting of the city. In 1939 Lee ran unopposed and easily swept his entire ticket into office. He continued winning city elections until he left office in 1947.³⁸

By 1942 Lee sought opportunities outside the county. In that year he ran for the United States House of Representative but lost by 269 votes. In 1944 he ran for governor on the Republican ticket and lost in the primary; however, in 1948 he became the Republican gubernatorial candidate and won the election, defeating incumbent Herbert B. Maw.³⁹ Lee's political career in Carbon County spanned two important episodes in the county's history, the Great Depression and World War II.

The thousands of miles that separated Europe from Carbon County did not prevent county residents from turning their attention from the economic difficulties of the Depression to the prospect of war, as Italy, Germany, and Japan became more belligerent in their demands for expansion and concessions. Those who remembered the war against German armies two decades earlier viewed Adolf Hitler with both disdain and fear. As Europe stood on the brink of war in 1938 when Adolf Hitler and British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain met in Munich to consider Germany's demand for annexation of the Sudetenland from Czechoslovakia, George Morgan, a local teacher, analyzed the dilemma in a talk to the Price Kiwanis Club. When war broke out on 1 September 1939 with the German invasion of Poland, Carbon County coal mines had already increased production, and the county's young men looked to an uncertain future as the nation reestablished the selective service military draft system in 1940.

In January 1941 twenty young men from the county left to serve in the army for one year. In May 1941 Preston Summerhays, coach at the high school, joined the army air corps. Sympathies of the people in the county were definitely pro-Allied, and in June 1941 the Women's Democratic Club sponsored a card party in the Helper civic auditorium for the purpose of discussing aid to Britain.⁴⁰ In

November the Carbon County Red Cross chapter set a goal of \$7,000 for British aid, with additional monies to be used for war victims in China.⁴¹

During 1941 the Lions Club sponsored a county drive for tin foil. Longtime resident J.H. Marshall brought in a large pile that he had been collecting for over twenty years. He said, "I never thought I'd ever have any use any more for this old tin foil, but I guess it was just the habit I formed during the last war that kept me picking up every little piece I ran across." In October 1941 the tin foil drive concluded; the Lions had collected a total of 203 pounds. Notre Dame won first prize among area schools for collecting the largest amount. ⁴²

That fall Carbon County and its cities set up defense councils. Brigham H. Young became the county defense coordinator. 43 Four days after the Japanese attack at Pearl Harbor on Sunday, 7 December 1941, the Sun Advocate printed a small announcement that the nation was at war. The following edition had a letter from Father Giovannoni, former pastor at Notre Dame Parish. He mentioned that it caused great sorrow to have the United States at war with Italy, "the country of our parents." He reminded his countrymen that the United States was not at fault and that their feelings of loyalty should remain with their adopted country. "It is only natural that we feel sentiments of attachment to Italy. The ties of blood tug at our hearts. For those sentiments we need not be ashamed; for them we shall not be blamed, certainly not by our fellow citizens."44 Local Italians never deviated from their allegiance to their new country, and area Greeks and South Slavs also wholeheartedly supported the war effort. In the heat of wartime hysteria, area coal companies concluded that all their Japanese employees were undesirable security threats and fired them. Consequently, what had been a substantial Japanese population in the county was reduced to only a few, as many migrated to northern Utah or elsewhere, where they generally worked on farms. A few such as Hirshi Aramaki volunteered to serve in the war; on VE Day Aramaki was hospitalized in Italy.45

Casualties of county servicemen came early. At the end of December 1941 the Department of the Navy notified the Donahues of Rains that their son, Ned Burton Donahue, was missing in action.

A few weeks later another letter informed them that Donahue had been killed at Pearl Harbor. 46

County residents soon felt the impact of war in other ways. With the need for vehicles on the war front, the federal government soon established quotas for tires and later issued ration booklets for many products. The county appointed Ruel Redd as tire inspector. In August 1942, upon observing many cars on the road, a warning was issued that everyone would be walking unless people saved rubber by cutting back drastically on their driving. The scarcity of rubber forced the ration clerk to hitchhike to work. In December 1942 gas rationing began, prompting the Associated Civic Clubs of Southern Utah to sponsor a "Share the Ride" campaign.⁴⁷

Shortly after the war began, Carbon County set up two ration boards, one in Price and one in Helper. County officials soon found that only one was necessary and consolidated the two boards in June 1942. In November 1943 L.R. Eldridge, E.B. Sessions, John H. Redd, and Marl D. Gibson resigned from the board, stating that the pressure of the rationing board was so time-consuming that they had neglected their private businesses. The county appointed a new board for the remainder of the war.⁴⁸ The Selective Service began drafting more men, taking all available and non-deferred men. Deferments for family men and for employment in certain jobs continued but became fewer as the war lengthened.

The county began to marshall all its resources. The Price Elks Club planned a home for children from the evacuated areas of the war. The Price Moose Club held a dance for the Army-Navy Relief Fund. Moose officers planned a dance every Saturday night to assist families of men in military service. Boy Scouts began to collect and store paper for the war effort, and the Greek AHEPA pledged \$30,000 for the purchase of defense bonds. The Price American Legion began a scrap-metal collection program and continued it throughout the year. ⁴⁹ In 1942 residents of Carbon County began to send relief to Russia, an effort that continued throughout the war. In August 1944 the Russian relief committee asked for clothes and also organized a committee for a China relief drive. ⁵⁰

The most concentrated effort in the county was directed at selling war bonds, with a total of seven war loan drives in the county. In

April 1943 a large caravan parade passed through Helper and Price exhibiting scout cars, airplanes, guns, bombs, fighting equipment, quartermaster displays, and a field hospital, with accompanying soldiers. Later that evening the Camp Kearns fifty-piece military band and entertainers serenaded spectators at the Price City auditorium. The following month women's clubs and other organizations turned in a total of \$440,300 in bonds and \$774.50 in stamps. In September 1943 Jack Dempsey returned to Carbon County where he had once fought and promoted the sale of bonds. By November 1943 the county had purchased almost \$1.25 million in war bonds. The effort continued. In December 1944 movie star Anita Louise, called one of Hollywood's "loveliest of the lovelies," came to the county and promoted the purchasing of bonds. The people of the county met or exceeded every bond drive quota except the final one, which was held just after VE day, with the war still raging in the Pacific. The county people met only 50 percent of that quota.51

Spring Glen school provides a good example of the county's effort. In February 1943 the school's students, with George Rowley as principal, collected 1,000 old keys for the scrap-metal drive. Every room sponsored a patriotic project and, at the end of the projects, students had sold \$1,303 in bonds and stamps. In May, Spring Glen youngsters purchased forty bonds, totaling \$1,572.90. They also sent a letter to General Dwight Eisenhower, complimenting him on his success in the African campaign.⁵²

During the war the Red Cross sponsored a three-day course for nurses and held a home nursing course in the basement of the Price library. The Red Cross also undertook fund-raising efforts, and by April 1943 it had raised almost \$24,000. This effort continued until the end of the war.⁵³

Coal companies had a difficult time finding enough workers for the mines. The government deferred many miners from military service and provided training for unskilled workers; but the increased demand for coal created more jobs, causing a labor shortage. The companies recruited new men to take the place of those who had been drafted, but most of the men were not accustomed to the rigors of coal mining. Philip Cederlof and Evan Jones, the management team at Peerless Coal Mine, went through Sanpete and Sevier counties to recruit new workers, and reported that they found only "a few good miners." By August 1943 the situation became acute, and the area mines needed over 1,300 more men to keep up production. The government authorized the mines to operate more than forty hours a week, and John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America, agreed. Transients and students were hired as miners. Although hesitant to use women in the coal mines, finally, in the fall of 1943 the Castle Gate Mine management hired women to remove the rock that had been mined with the coal. The women were paid \$5.75 for an eight-hour day, the same wage as the men. 55

There was also a need in the county schools for more teachers. By July 1945 there were twenty vacancies that the district had not filled.

Sugar beet farmers needed agriculture workers to thin beets. In the early summer of 1942, students began to help thin sugar beets, and the school district provided buses to take them to the fields. However, there were not enough boys, and the students were unaccustomed to working long hours; consequently, farmers lost some of their beet crop that year. That fall area farmers imported forty-five Japanese Americans from the internment camp at Topaz to harvest the beets. The next year the county tried to import forty Indians from New Mexico, but New Mexico farmers needed them. In 1944 local farmers recruited thirty Navajo Indians for beet thinning, and, the following year, eighty came to the county. Marajos continued coming to Carbon County for about twenty more years to help with the harvest.

The war ended in Europe in May 1945, and most area communities held small celebrations. In August 1945, after the dropping of two atomic bombs, Japan surrendered. County people blew whistles, honked horns, threw shredded paper from the upper windows of business buildings, and everybody celebrated. Families from the coal camps congregated in Helper and Price. In Price the city closed the intersection of Carbon Avenue and Main Street, and the Carbon High School band serenaded the crowds. Some people danced until the early hours of the morning. The war was over, and everyone felt a sense of relief.⁵⁷ The men and women from Carbon County had served well. Of the hundreds of men who went off to war, a total of



Castle Valley Center, 1997. (Ron Watt)

eighty-seven from Carbon County lost their lives in the fighting. The armed forces presented many medals to area residents for bravery during the war; for example, William Hall received the Congressional Medal of Honor for his heroics actions as a navy pilot during the battle of the Coral Sea.⁵⁸

After World War II ended, county residents took up local issues and projects. One of the most pressing was the need to replace the 1912 courthouse. County commissioners considered several sites, including one near the hospital and city park. In 1947, in a meeting with commissioners, Gomer Peacock stated that businessmen of the community wanted the courthouse to remain in the business section of Price.⁵⁹ In the mid-1950s the county was still debating the question. The Price Chamber of Commerce proposed that the courthouse be built within the downtown area, and Judge Fred Keller moved that the county construct the building where the old building was located. The commission finally decided on a one-story building that would be constructed on the same site as the old courthouse. Officials rented space in the downtown area and moved county offices there temporarily until the first part of January 1960 when all of the offices moved into the new building.⁶⁰

Five years after completion of the new courthouse, the Castle Valley Job Conservation Corps Center was constructed three miles south of Price. A part of President Lyndon Johnson's Great Society program, the Job Corps took as its model the Civilian Conservation Corps of the 1930s. One of the staff, Joe Koran, had been a member of the CCC program in Price and had worked in the CCC infirmary. He had used his training there to become a hospital technician. Some local people opposed the Job Corps camp, however, afraid that the recruits, who came from across the country, would bring an increase in crime with them. At the end of July 1965 the first boys arrived, and by the end of the year there were ninety-eight corpsmen at the Job Corps camp. The corps provided educational opportunities for the corpsmen, who worked on public lands. In 1966 seven corpsinen were convicted of fighting in Price, but no other major problems were reported. In 1969, when the government closed the Castle Valley Center and fifty-eight other Job Corps centers throughout the United States, Carbon County commissioners Hector Chiara and Arnold Mathis went to Washington, D.C., to testify before a Senate subcommittee in favor of the Job Corps. Mathis said that the corps had placed seventy-two young men in the military service, and he reported that 80 percent of the corpsmen who had left the center either had jobs or had returned to school.61

As the United States began to send troops to Vietnam in 1965 and local draft boards started to receive higher and higher quotas, military service was on the minds of most young men from the mid-1960s until the draft was abolished in 1973. From 1967 to 1973, twelve Carbon County men were killed in the Vietnam War. During Operation Desert Storm in 1990 the army activated the Utah National Guard unit from Price. The unit was sent to Grafenwehr, Germany, until its deactivation five months later, continuing the legacy of Carbon County's service to its country.

ENDNOTES

- 1. Salt Lake Tribune, 6 November 1896; Eastern Utah Advocate, 10 November 1904, 3 November 1908, 14 November 1912, 9 November 1916.
- 2. Nancy J. Taniguchi, "No Proper Job for a Stranger: The Political Reign of Mark Braffet," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 58 (Spring 1990): 154–56.

- 3. Ibid., 158-59.
- 4. Ibid., 160.
- 5. Ibid., 162-63.
- 6. Sun, 4 May 1917.
- 7. Ibid., 11 May 1917.
- 8. News Advocate, 3 January 1918.
- 9. Ibid., 27 July 1917, 31 August 1917, 7 September 1917.
- Ibid., 4 January 1918.
- 11. Ibid., 8 August 1918.
- 12. Ibid., 3 January 1919.
- 13. Ibid., 17 May 1917.
- 14. Ibid., 7 June 1917, 28 June 1917.
- 15. Sun, 30 May 1918, 29 August 1918.
- 16. Ibid., 7 July 1918.
- 17. Ibid., 23 May 1918, 6 June 1918, 18 July 1918.
- 18. Ibid., 30 June 1918, 1, 3 January 1919.
- 19. Ibid., 3 November 1919
- 20. Ibid., 13 June 1918, 1 July 1918, 6 June 1918.
- 21. Ibid., 19 December 1918, 5 June 1919, 4 September 1919.
- 22. Ibid., 27 August 1928.
- 23. Quoted in Helen Zeese Papanikolas, "Bootlegging in Zion: Making and Selling the 'Good Stuff," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 53 (Summer 1985): 283.
 - 24. Sun Advocate, 2 February 1933, 23 February 1933.
- 25. Reva Beck Bosone, Reminiscence, 43–44, Manuscripts, Marriott Library, University of Utah.
- 26. Francis W. Kirkham, "Morals and the Mayor," paper at Utah State Historical Society; Salt Lake Tribune, 22 August 1943; Sun Advocate, 15 October 1943.
 - 27. Sun, 29 October 1931, 12 November 1931, 17 December 1931.
 - 28. Ibid., 3 December 1931, 10 December 1931, 24 December 1931.
- 29. Ibid., 14 January 1932, 3 March 1932, 10 March 1932, 3l March 1932, 23 June 1932.
- 30. Ibid., 25 August 1932, 6 October 1932, 24 November 1932; Sun Advocate, 12 January 1933, 19 January 1933.
 - 31. Sun Advocate, 4 May 1933.
- 32. W.W. West, "History and Accomplishments of Price CCC Camp," in *Centennial Echos*, 130–31.

- 33. Sun Advocate, 30 August 1934, 4 August 1938, 3 November 1938, 17 November 1938. The city had donated the land for Pioneer Park in 1925, and 182 trees had been planted at that time.
 - 34. Ibid., 11 August 1938.
 - 35. Powell, The Next Time We Strike, 196.
- 36. Sun Advocate, 17 October 1935, 7 November 1935, 21 November 1935, 2 January 1936, 9 January 1936, 30 January 1936. See also George B. Russell, J. Bracken Lee: The Taxpayers Champion (New York: Robert Speller & Sons, 1961).
 - 37. Sun Advocate, 27 January 1938.
 - 38. Price City 75th Anniversary (Price: Price City, 1986), 8.
- 39. Dennis L. Lythgoe, *Let'em Holler: A Political Biography of J. Bracken Lee* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1982), 33–39.
 - 40. Sun Advocate, 5 June 1941.
 - 41. Ibid., 20 November 1941,
 - 42. Ibid., 26 June 1941, 31 July 1941.
- 43. Ibid., 22 September 1938, 7 March 1940, 26 December 1940, 23 January 1941, 29 May 1941, 5 June 1941, 26 June 1941, 31 July 1941, 18 September 1941, 25 September 1941, 16 October 1941, 11 December 1941.
 - 44. Ibid., 18 December 1941.
 - 45. Ibid., 31 May 1945.
 - 46. Ibid., 1 January 1942, 5 February 1942.
- 47. Ibid., 27 August 1942, 3 September 1942, 12 November 1942, 31 December 1942.
 - 48. Ibid., 11 June 1942, 10 April 1944.
- 49. Ibid., 15 June 1942, 26 February 1942, 12 March 1942, 2 April 1942, 19 March 1942.
 - 50. Ibid., 9 July 1942, 15 October 1942, 17 August 1944.
- 51. Ibid., 15 April 1943, 6 May 1943, 16 September 1943, 4 November 1943, 30 November 1944, 17 May 1945.
 - 52. Ibid., 25 February 1943, 13 May 1943.
- 53. Ibid., 11 December 1941, 1 October 1942, 7 January 1943, 10 April 1944.
- 54. A. Philip Cederlof, "The Peerless Coal Mines," Utah Historical Quarterly 53 (Fall 1985): 349-50.
 - 55. Salt Lake Tribune, 25 August 1943, 20 September 1943.
- 56. Sun Advocate, 11 June 1942, 9 July 1942, 14 September 1942, 26 August 1943, 14 October 1943, 17 May 1945, 19 July 1945.
 - 57. Ibid., 10 May 1945, 16 April 1945.

- 58. Dorman, Confessions of a Coal Camp Doctor, 29.
- 59. Carbon County Commission Minutes, 6 January 1947.
- 60. Ibid., 18 October 1955, 13 January 1956, 19 June 1956, 5 January 1960.
- 61. Salt Lake Tribune, 16 July 1965, 29 July 1965, 15 August 1965, 19 December 1965, 19 April 1969.

1996 AND THE FUTURE

One hundred years after Utah's statehood was granted and Carbon County was created, the economic future of the county is uncertain. As in 1894 when the county was created, energy resources continue to be a dominant economic factor. However, there are both positive and negative indicators which make any prediction about the future of Carbon County controversial.

In January 1996 the Sun Advocate quoted analysts who believed that the slump in the coal industry had bottomed out and that the industry is currently facing a slow, steady rise in production. Larris Hunting, manager of the Utah Job Service office in Price, stated, "We've stabilized the last two to three years and now we're seeing modest growth."

In 1996 Coastal States Energy Company planned to begin developing a new mine in Dugout Canyon just north of Wellington; but in September 1996 the company announced that it would postpone work on the mine until the spring of 1997. In 1995 the Cyprus-Plateau Mining Company acknowledged that it had less than ten years of mining left in the Star Point Mine at Wattis and said it would

move as rapidly as possible to open its new mine in Willow Creek Canyon. In September 1995 the company announced that progress on the new Willow Creek Mine was ahead of schedule and on budget. The company planned to have the longwall mining operation ready and working by the first quarter in 1997. Also in September 1995 Horizon Mine officials made public plans for a new mine in the Consumers area for which they hoped to begin site preparation in the spring of 1997.

Another possible coal mining area in Utah was the Kaiparowitz Plateau. In September 1996 President Bill Clinton designated 1.7 million acres of southern Utah as the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument, essentially closing the door to coal mining on the Kaiparowitz Plateau. About a month later Utah State Geologist Lee Alllison, in talking about mineable coal reserves other than the Kaiparowitz coal field, concluded that at current production rates of 28 million tons per year, the 1.6 billion tons of mineable coal left in Utah will be completely mined out in sixty years. Because a great deal of that coal cannot be developed, however, the total actually is closer to thirty years. The coal reserves of Carbon and Emery counties are the largest deposits left in the state that are economically feasible for mining.

In June 1996 American Syngas, Inc. (ASI), and Carbon Company, Inc., announced a joint undertaking to build and run a power plant located in the Hiawatha area. They planned to take the coal fines left by U.S. Fuel and gassify the materials, producing a gas product that could be burned to produce electricity. The process is new in the United States but is a common means of power production in other countries. The companies also announced that they had a twenty-year contract to supply power to Pacific Power Corporation. Carbon County planned to help finance the project by issuing an industrial revenue bond. ASI president Joseph Shoaf said, "I have never seen the support for new industry such as we have received from Carbon County." A week later, however, U.S. Fuel announced that it still owned the land on which ASI planned to build the power plant and had no plans to sell or lease the land to ASI.

Controversy arose on other county planned developments. Early in 1996 Penta Creeks Company purchased 26,000 acres of Sunnyside



Sunnyside Cogeneration Plant, 1997. (Ron Watt)

Coal Company property, which included Sunnyside's water supply and Sunnyside Cogeneration's plant location. The company's purchase proposal did not include reclamation of the mine.8 Penta Creeks said that they had no intentions of mining on the property but planned to keep it a pristine, nature reserve. Sunnyside Cogeneration proposed to purchase the property, but Penta Creeks refused its offer. A few months later Sunnyside Coal Company filed a motion in bankruptcy court seeking approval for rejection of the lease of real property to Sunnyside Cogeneration, which lease would end the company's ability to produce power. In the meantime, Penta Creeks had asked a realtor in Carbon County to place over 1,500 acres of the land for sale, property which included the Sunnyside Cogeneration power plant. Sunnyside Cogeneration manager Dan Mattingly said that his company was working with Penta Creeks to acquire the property and that the original lease was still in place for twenty-seven years.9

In June 1996 Covol Technologies, Inc., an Alabama company, announced that it would build a coal fines processing facility near the Castle Valley spur loadout in Carbon County which would be completed by October 1996 and employ thirty employees. The company

planned to process 400,000 tons of coal fines annually for eleven years. Covol president Mike Midgley promised that his company's technology would produce a high-BTU, clean-burning source of energy, and claimed that "in the process, we clean up the environment and extend the nation's natural resources and fossil fuel supply." 10

Also in June 1996 Coastal States Energy Company successfully bid on 3,291 acres of a Winter Quarters coal tract that was adjacent to the company's Skyline Mine and included an estimated 24.1 million tons of recoverable bituminous coal. In the same month White Oak Mine, located above Scofield, laid off thirty-two miners because of a work cutback from seven to five days a week.¹¹

In July 1996 the Carbon County Commission recommended that 120 acres five miles south of Price be re-zoned from mining and farming use to use for heavy industrial purposes. Paul Pantone planned to build an automobile retrofit device factory that would reduce auto pollution and increase mileage. Some scholars voiced skepticism about Pantone's claims, and public hearings were scheduled before the commission would change the zoning.¹²

River Gas Corporation's proposal to drill a gas well adjacent to residences near south Highway 10 drew negative responses from residents of the Country Hollow subdivision. The country zoning commission finally approved a conditional-use permit for two wells east of the highway and rejected those proposed on the other side of the highway near the subdivision.¹³ River Gas Corporation ran into other difficulties when a group of Westwood subdivision residents complained to the commission about truck traffic moving through their subdivision en route to the gas wells being drilled on top of Porphery Bench.¹⁴

These projects are part of the development of what is termed the Ferron Fairway, called "the single largest petroleum project ever in the history of Utah"—a coalbed methane gas field that stretches from Price to Emery. Eighty miles long and ten to fifteen miles wide, it will be able to support 3,200 gas wells. At first, gas companies were locating wells on private and state property until the Bureau of Land Management finished an environmental impact study of the area. The projected lifespan of an average well is twenty years, with a

thirty-year projected lifespan for the entire development on the Ferron Fairway. With ninety-six wells already drilled, River Gas has the potential to drill over 600 wells. The project could develop more than 400 miles of new roads, and Price could become the center of the drilling, with an anticipated influx of high-paying high-tech jobs.¹⁵

In October the BLM released the environmental study on one of the proposed gas fields, and it explained how 600 methane wells would create an urbanized setting in the now rural landscape. The development of all three drilling proposals would surround Price and Wellington with an urbanized area to support a growing industrial cordon. The resulting impact to local deer and elk would be severe, with more than 15,000 acres affected and a reduction of at least 252 mule deer harvested a year. The county would benefit economically, however, with 214 new workers at project peak and a \$11.62 million property tax increase. 16 If all the proposed gas fields were developed, the number of jobs could increase to 1,450. The antipated increase in jobs and tax revenue is enticing to this economically declining area, but many families have located in the area because of its natural setting and outdoor recreational possibilities. As Steve Christensen, chair of the Carbon County Trails Advisory Board, wrote, "We live in Price because of its remoteness. We live here because getting away quickly is important to us. Taking that away from us reduces the quality of life for us."17 The Trails Advisory Board wants River Gas Company to construct two five-foot-wide multiple-use trails inside the boundaries of the gas company's proposed methane drilling project.

Even with a small amount of drilling, the gas companies, especially River Gas, have had an impact on the county's economy. Nelco Contractors, Inc., which builds road systems for the gas company, employed several people before the gas company's arrival, but in 1996 the company averaged thirty-five employees. The Carbon County Commission established a citizens committee and hired Bill Prince, an oil and gas attorney, as an advisor in order that the county avoid being left in worse shape than it was before and have future input about this and other projects.

A byproduct of drilling for natural gas has been salt water

brought to the surface. Anadarko Petroleum Corporation, a gas drilling company, began using a reverse osmosis process to remove salt from water being produced at the company's methane gas wells at Emma Park. The River Gas fields, south of Price, not using the reverse osmosis process, were producing 840,000 gallons per day, much more than Anadarko. Carbon County commissioner Bill Krompel wanted River Gas to use the reverse osmosis in order to purify the water for culinary and irrigation use. Krompel also indicated that Carbon County in the beginning phase of drilling benefited little from the wells at the present time. Usually the gas company injects the water back into the ground, which costs about a nickel a barrel, whereas reverse osmosis costs two dollars a barrel.²⁰

Some economic indicators predict a sound economic future for the county. Senator Robert Bennett announced a guaranteed loan of \$4,206,076 from the Federal Home Mortgate Association for Cascade Mountain Resources, Inc., to expand the company's lumber business in Wellington. In 1996 the business added twenty-five jobs, raising its total to seventy employees, and predicted that in 1997 it would add another twenty-five jobs. The jobless rate for March 1995 in the county was 6.5 percent; a year later it had declined to 5.7 percent. In June 1996 the rate edged up to 6 percent, and the next month it was back to its March level.²¹

Good and bad news came with the approved merger of Southern Pacific Railroad, which owned the old Denver and Rio Grande Western line, and Union Pacific Railroad, which owned the northern line through Wyoming. The merger would allow Utah Railway access to Grand Junction, Colorado, for the first time, which would increase company employment from 50 to 100 employees. A few weeks later, however, Layne Miller, a Sun Advocate newspaper reporter, wrote that the merger between Southern Pacific and Union Pacific could mean trouble for coal mines in Carbon and Emery counties. He based his article on information from the High Country News, an environmental newspaper published in Paonia, Colorado, that asserted that Union Pacific may eventually abandon its central corridor line from Denver to Salt Lake City because the northern line is economically more viable than the railroad route through Carbon County. If Union Pacific shifts its freight northward, the area coal mines would



Diesel engine in Helper railroad yard. (Western Mining and Railroad Museum)

be left to take the full burden of the costs of maintaining the railroad line, thus raising prices for their coal. According to speculation, coal in Utah would cease to be competitive, and the mines would close. In September, at the Coal Country Festival, speakers representing Union Pacific tried to reassure the Utah coal industry that it would continue to support the railroad line through the central part of the state. Southern Pacific's Jim Lorenz claimed, "The merger will strengthen the Utah-Colorado coal market." 23

At the end of October, the Sun Advocate announced that, in the merger of the Union Pacific and Southern Pacific railroads and another merger of the Burlington Northern and Santa Fe railroads, the Burlington Northern, in order to ensure competitive routes between the two major railroads, had been given trackage rights between Denver, Colorado, and Stockton, California. Two class-one railroad companies were now operating over the same rails and another company, the Utah Railway Company, also used the same tracks. Within a few years the average daily number of trains passing through Carbon County had increased from twenty-three to fifty.²⁴

It is difficult to tell what all of these things will mean for Carbon

County. Perhaps they are still part of the economic cycle of boom and bust which the county has experienced for decades. East Carbon suffered through the tar sands buildup speculation, always with a hope that the energy companies would develop the sands; but East Carbon's hopes were not realized. The possibility of three new coal mines developing in the county has been a consideration for many years. It is difficult to imagine industry, primarily coal mining, in Carbon County without a railroad, since the railroad and coal mining have been partners in the industrial development of Carbon County. The possibility of the railroad pulling out of the county appears to have been lessened, although that possibilty is still very unsettling to many.

The gas drilling process has given Carbon County large quantities of salt water, but only through an expensive process could the water be purified for use in this semiarid country. With a possibility of obtaining more water, perhaps other industries will develop in the county. Gas development is not new to Carbon County, gas wells already having been developed in the Clear Creek area, but the gas fields also seem to be of limited long-term economic value, having great economic impact during the drilling phase but then very limited benefit once the pipes are in place. The future of gas development is not bleak, but it is unsettled.

Carbon County was created just over a century ago, and during its first century strong religious, cultural, social, educational, political, and economic institutions have made their appearance. They have all contributed to shaping the history of what many consider the most unique of Utah's twenty-nine counties. These institutions will continue to play a significant role as Carbon County and Utah move into their second century.

ENDNOTES

- 1. Sun Advocate, 18 January 1996.
- 2. Ibid., 12 September 1996.
- 3. Ibid., 5 September 1996.
- 4. Ibid., 1 October 1996.
- 5. Ibid., 12 November, 1996.

- 6. Ibid., 10 December 1996.
- 7. Ibid., 25 June 1996.
- 8. Ibid., 8 February 1996.
- 9. Ibid., 14 May 1996.
- 10. Ibid., 2 July 1996.
- 11. Ibid., 13 June 1996.
- 12. Deseret News, 12 July 1996, B5.
- 13. Sun Advocate, 9 July 1996.
- 14. Ibid., 13 August 1996.
- 15. Ibid., 24 September 1996.
- 16. Ibid., 31 October 1996.
- 17. Ibid., 12 December 1996.
- 18. Ibid., 31 October 1996.
- 19. Ibid., 12 December 1996.
- 20. Ibid., 18 July 1996, 17 December 1996.
- 21. Ibid., 26 November 1996, 29 December 1996.
- 22. Ibid., 11 July 1996.
- 23. Ibid., 15 August 1996, 1 October 1996.
- 24. Ibid., 24 October 1996.

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Front dust jacket photograph: Spring Canyon Coal Company in 1939; contresy Wah State Historical Society:

Back dust jacket photograph: Railroad tracks at Castle Gate near the turn of the century, contress Utah State Historical Society.

lacket design by Richard Firminge

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