

CARBON COUNTY COAL, 1922 & 10 MACHINE GUNS



E CLAMPUS VITUS
MAT WARNER CHAPTER 1900

ANCIENT AND HONORABLE ORDER OF
E CLAMPUS VITUS

CARBON COUNTY COAL, 1922 & 10 MACHINE GUNS

The 1922 Coal Strike in Carbon County, Utah

J. L. HARDY

MATT WARNER CHAPTER 1900

Helper, Utah

Cover illustration by Ashley Hardy

Year of Our Order 6030

DISCLOSURE

Research for this paper leveraged Artificial Intelligence (AI) for archiving, source retrieval, cross-checks, and citation management. The text, the arguments, and the conclusions are the author's own written in his own voice with his own "errors" and own bias. Within the manuscript AI specifically generated the block visual structure for the newspaper article headers and the twelve individuals charged with murder.

The irony of this project became evident early on... I was researching labor disputes. I am going to make this prediction in ink. Labor disputes are going to return due to the exponential growth and capabilities of artificial intelligence.

Artificial Intelligence was a miner of digital information, I wrote the book and told it where to dig.

When the coal strikes hit Sunnyside, Utah in 1922, the United States ran entirely on coal. It heated homes, powered lights, and built the rails that coal burning locomotives themselves rolled upon. As integral a piece of the American economy coal had become, the context betrays a nationwide pull back on coal demand. The coal industry had benefited from a contract made with the U.S. government to support a need caused by U.S. involvement in World War I. When the war ended the demand backed off.¹

During World War I coal miner's wages stayed consistent due to the government contract that created a period of stability in the industry. Government money was guaranteed, and the wages never adjusted as those contracts guaranteed they would not. From 1920 to 1921 miners watched the clock tick down on the contract that fixed their wage. The wages were a question, the fiscal responsibility of the coal companies was the answer.

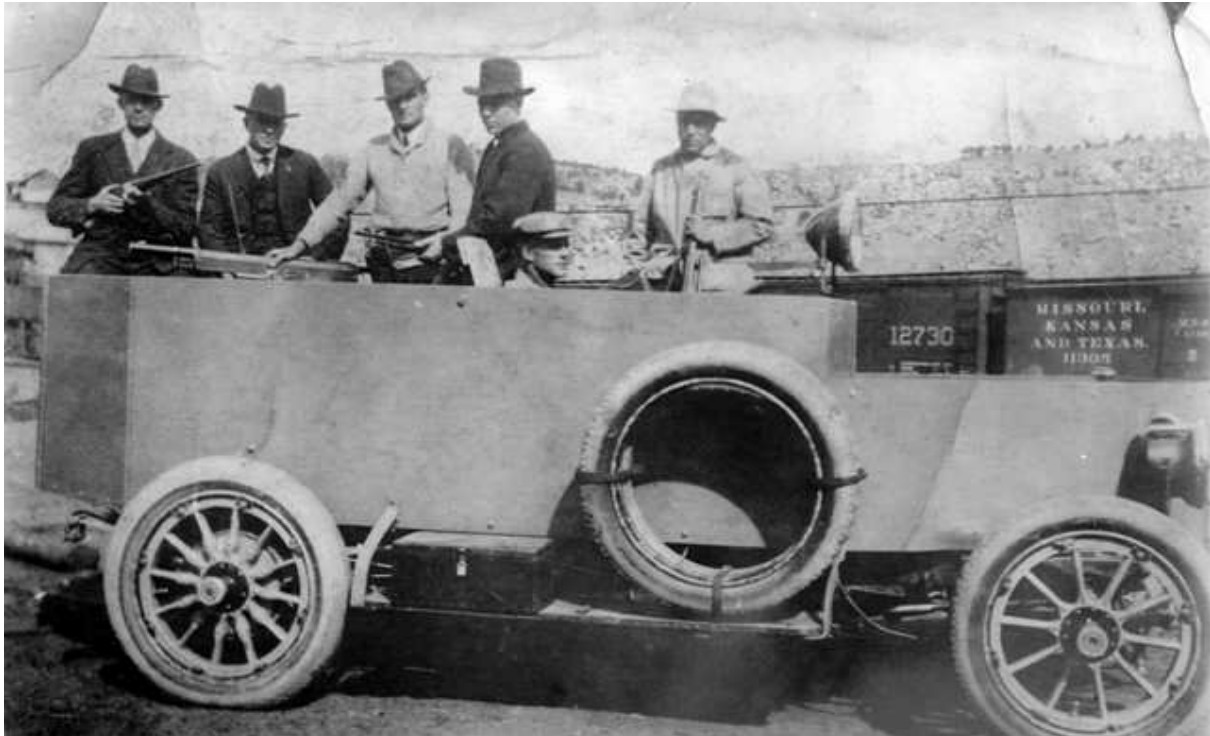
The government contract ended on March 31st, 1922.² A nationwide coal strike kicked off on April 1st, 1922. This was the largest organized strike the U.S. coal industry had ever seen.³ There were too many coal mines and too many coal miners. That placed the miner in an exposed position, labor easily exploited.

This strike was called by the UMWA, the United Mine Workers of America, and the April 1st, 1922 strike carried the union's hopes of unifying miners across the country. For the Union's goals, the hope was a need. The UMWA had a strong presence in the Central Coal Fields, far East of Sunnyside, Utah. The Central Coal Fields denote geographic areas of Indiana, Ohio, Illinois and Pennsylvania. When Utah Fuel's miners struck at Sunnyside they were not under a UMWA contract. The UMWA did not call on them specifically to strike.⁴ Unionizing Western coal fields was certainly a goal of the UMWA as any mine within the U.S. not operating under a union contract meant cheaper coal and that fiscal reprieve for the consumer came at the expense of the wage of a single man. A united labor force had the leverage to negotiate fair wages, any mine that negotiated free of a union contract undercut the rest of the coal workforce's ability to negotiate.

This was not the first coal strike in Carbon County, nor Sunnyside. In 1903 miners struck alongside the UMWA.⁵ Any miner, as well as their family, who had acted with an interest to organize were evicted from their company home. In Sunnyside, the evicted families erected a tent city Southwest of the coal company's town. The National Guard was called in when the local law enforcement stated they couldn't control the situation.⁶ History repeated. In 1922 a tent encampment was erected that housed the striking miners; the "scabs" (miners that didn't strike) remained in their homes, continued to work, and drew pay.

Before going further, the means by which governments and companies could control dissent had changed since 1903. While the gatling gun was an option in 1903-04, it wasn't the weapon of 1922.⁷ The 1922 machine guns carried the provenance to demand *you better obey*.

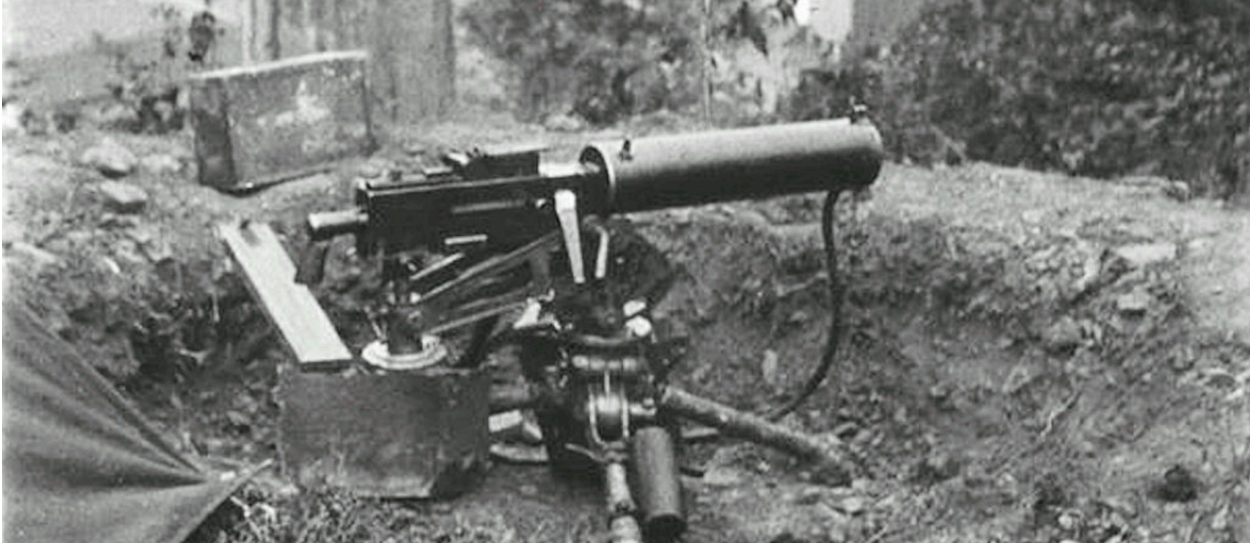
In 1913 Colorado Fuel & Iron contracted with Baldwin-Felts Detective Agency to protect its workers from strikers. Baldwin-Felts was known for aggressive tactics and had mounted a machine gun on an improvised armored vehicle. They called it the "Death Special".⁸



Baldwin-Felts "Death Special" improvised armored vehicle with machine gun

On April 20th, 1914 the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company attacked a tent encampment at Ludlow, Colorado. The machine gun barked all day long. By the end of it, twenty-one were dead. Most of the dead were women and children.⁹ The vehicle looks like something you'd have seen used by French and German soldiers at Flander's Field.

In 1921, ten thousand armed miners struck in West Virginia. The conflict came to a head on a ridge off Blair Mountain. Death estimates vary over a wide range, between 20 and 100 men were killed in total. It was the largest conflict within the U.S. mainland since the Civil War. The battle was fought over ten days, only ending once federal soldiers arrived.¹⁰



Water-cooled Machine Gun used at Blair Mountain in 1921



Striking miners surrendering their weapons to federal troops at Blair Mountain, 1921

There is a component regarding the composition of the early coal fields of Carbon County that must be detailed. While a percentage can't be given, the miners were made up of many foreign nationalities. The largest groups being Greek, Italian and South Slavs.¹¹ This undoubtedly impacted the handling of the strikes and the way it was reported across the state.



Greek Laborers in Utah circa 1880-1920

A telegram from 1922, written from the county to the governor, stated armed conflict “between the Americans and foreign elements hangs on a hair trigger”.¹² It created an us vs. them narrative, and in the context of immigrants unionizing, it burned as hot as the coal they were mining.

These details, while not being even somewhat exhaustive, should give enough context to explain the events that would occur during the 1922 coal strikes in Carbon County and, more specifically, how and why a machine gun nest was built upon a cliff that overlooked the holdings of Utah Fuel at Sunnyside, a subsidiary of the Denver & Rio Grande Western Railroad Company,¹³ and the tent encampment striking miners and their families were then occupying.

The strike began on April 1st, 1922. Miners from across the county gathered within their respective company towns and began to organize. The strike didn't immediately close the mines, the organization occurred over time in Carbon County while union states walked out collectively. The new wage was reported near 25% less than their wartime wage¹⁴ in Carbon County's coal fields... and it was likely understated in the newspapers.¹⁶ Samuel A. King, an attorney in Salt Lake who aided miners during the 1922 strikes, reported Utah's numbers in 1923. Prior to the government contract expiring miners made \$7.95 a day or 79 cents a ton. The cut equated to \$5.25 a day or 55 cents a ton.¹⁵ 34% of day wages and 30% off every ton. It would have been offensive considering the danger of the work.

ANNOUNCEMENT OUT ON NEW MINE WAGES

Notices were posted this afternoon in all the coal camps in the county in which recent wage adjustments have not been made announcing a general cut of an average of 25 per cent to go into effect on April 1. Most of the men had been expecting such notice although a few thought that matters would be delayed here pending the outcome in the east. No talk from the men's standpoint has been heard in public and it is believed that the cut will be accepted without argument. Should there be a disposition not to accept the new scale, it is predicted in Price that the operators will simply shut down for a time as they are operating at a loss under present wage scales and transportation costs. None of those in a position to speak with authority have made any statement, however, and what they will do no doubt depends on developments. It can be safely said that, whether or not the new scale is accepted promptly, there will be no trouble in any of the camps.

News-Advocate (Price, Utah)
Thu, Mar 30, 1922 · Page 1
"Announcement Out on New Mine Wages"

MINES WORKING; NO DISTURBANCES HERE

Utah Fuel company mines and those of the United States Fuel company are working as steadily as demand for coal will permit. Panther mine at Heiner is the only exception, the men there being on vacation from work for the present. The adjusted scale is in effect and has been accepted by the men of the big companies without much discussion. Up Spring canyon the first of the week men in several of the mines stayed away from work but reports today are that many more are working. Storrs has sixty six men at work today and Latuda fifty. Others have some force at work. Scofield and Kinney are completely quiet. There has been no disturbance and none is anticipated. State Industrial Commissioner William Knerr and another representative of Governor Mabey are studying the situation today to see if any action can be well taken looking to an adjustment of the differences between the men and the operators.

News-Advocate (Price, Utah)
Thu, Apr 6, 1922 · Page 1
"Mines Working; No Disturbances Here"

After 26 days of disintegrating relations and unifying miners, violence between strikers and the chief guard of Utah Fuel at Scofield ignited. Sam Dorrity, the leader of the posse of Utah Fuel's guards, is shot in the thigh.¹⁷ Fred Jarvin, striker, is shot through his lungs and expected to die. Examination of the trajectory of the bullet that hit Jarvin implies he was shot in the back. Mike Stabos, striker, was shot in the arm.¹⁸ The Salt Lake Telegram holds the story. Lars Jensen, the mayor of Scofield, is quoted in it,

*Lars Jensen, mayor of Scofield, told John F. Hall, staff correspondent of The Telegram, who was present at Scofield when the shooting occurred, that in the first twenty-five days of this month there had been no trouble. He said he was confident that there would not have been any trouble on Thursday or Saturday but for the attitude of the mine guards.*¹⁹

The interesting thing regarding the reporting of this event is the difficulty in determining the truth. The most common description of the event details strikers shooting up the train heading into Scofield. Even the reporting doesn't match sources, some stating Stabos was lunged.

Dorrity was with other armed guards employed by Utah Fuels. Dorrity himself was an agent of the coal company. The guards were there to meet strikebreakers that would be arriving on the train. The strikers had also massed near the train depot to meet the "scabs". The strikebreakers were not on the train, the guards were not on the train. The shooting occurred *after* the train arrived and the passenger cars found empty.²⁰

When T.F. Kelter sent the telegram asking for intervention to the acting governor,²¹ the States response was to prepare the National Guard, which they did, but ultimately no guardsmen were sent down to Carbon County.²² George Manousos was tried for the attempted murder of Dorrity.²³ The general narrative states Dorrity was on the train when it was shot up. This seems almost impossible. The guards were meeting strikebreakers, just like the strikers themselves.



Train Depot at Scofield circa 1880-1920

The violence seen on April 27th undoubtedly escalated the situation. Fortunately, the only death connected to this event was a horse. Supposedly the horse of one of the guards was struck with a rock and it killed it.²⁴ Fred Jarvin was expected to die, but ended up living.

Why did this occur? People were mad. It didn't help that strikers had jumped two game wardens that arrived in town the previous day, the 26th, as they got off the train. They were there to investigate out of season duck hunting.²⁵ Scofield was poised to have a violent conflict.

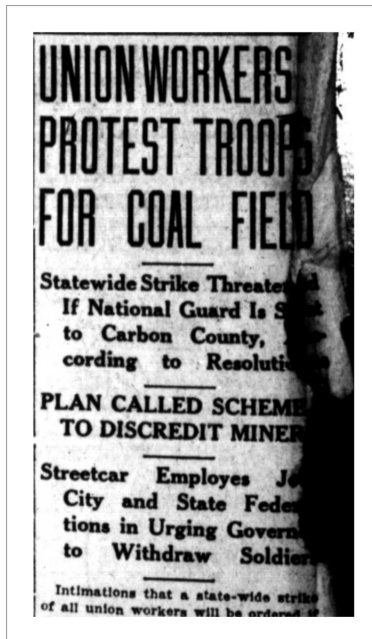
On the 29th of April, representative James Kennedy of the UMWA arrived in Scofield²⁶ and familiarized himself with the area and the events in Scofield on the 27th. On April 30th, Governor Mabey sends a message to the strikers demanding all lawlessness stop immediately and National Guard troops are prepared to move through the Castle Gate and descend upon the county.²⁷

May 1st is a solemn day in the history of Carbon County for on May 1st, 1900 Winter Quarters blew up killing at least 200 men.²⁸

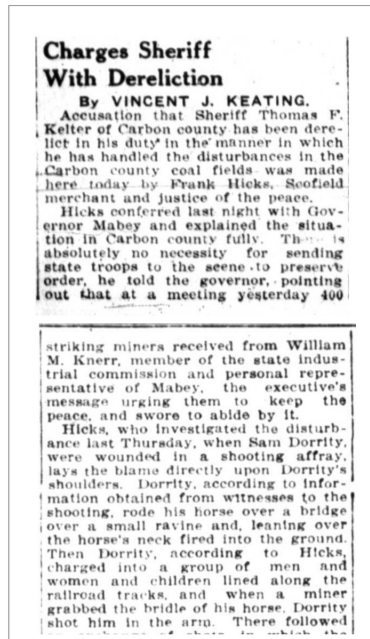


Bodies of miners recovered after explosion of May 1, 1900 at Winter Quarters

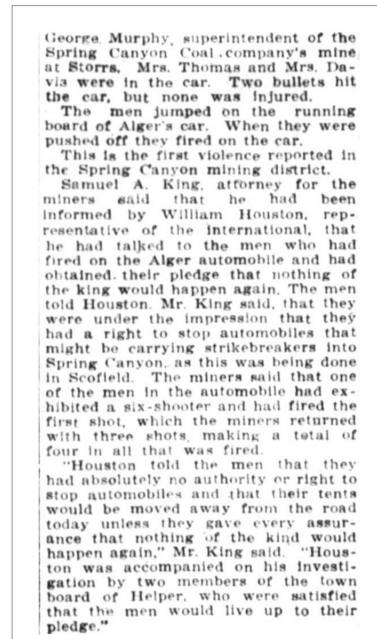
On May 1st, 1922, the Salt Lake Telegram ran a story detailing Sheriff Kelter of Carbon County traveling to Scofield to determine what happened on the 27th. The article also stated that single males involved in the strikes were being evicted at Scofield. Kelter concluded that Dorrity was at fault.²⁹ On May 1st, in the Spring Canyon Coal District, strikers fired upon an automobile owned by Mr. Alger. Ralph Alger was the master mechanic of the Peerless Coal Company. He was not a striker nor a guard, but rather a company man. The strikers there were under the impression they could stop automobile travel in the canyon as strikers in Scofield had been doing so. Strikers in Spring Canyon stated that a man had produced a revolver from within the automobile and fired once in their direction. They returned three shots. Nobody was hurt nor killed.³⁰



Salt Lake Telegram
Mon, May 1, 1922 · Page 1



Salt Lake Telegram
Mon, May 1, 1922 · Page 4



Salt Lake Telegram
Mon, May 1, 1922 · Page 4

Utah Digital Newspapers, J. Willard Marriott Library · ids 18152764, 18152836, 18152834

May 2nd saw fifty special deputies mustered in Carbon County.³¹ Mabey sent a representative into the camps of Spring Canyon telling the strikers that they must disarm and heel to the rule of law. The deputy presence must have worked because violence subsided until the 12th of May.

During the short ten day period of calm, the state placed David Adamson in control of the county. He was given authority over all of the striking coal camps as the state's Chief Deputy Sheriff.³²

On the 12th of May strikers stopped a train that was headed into Spring Canyon. They searched it for strikebreakers and found none.³³ Two days later, on the 14th, the first death of the strikes had arrived.

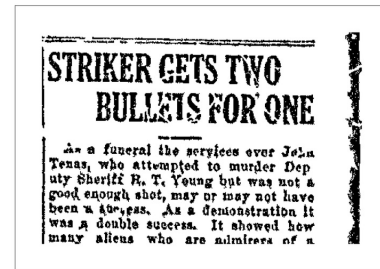
John Tenas was a Greek miner in the Spring Canyon Coal District. On the 14th he had an altercation with Lorenzo H. Young, a special deputy from Huntington. Articles state R.T. Young, but further investigation yielded L.H.³⁵ The incident was contained between these two men. L.H. Young was shot in the thigh and sent to the hospital in Storrs. Young shot Tenas, as well, killing him. Tenas was reported to have been shot twice, the bullet near his heart being the fatal one.³⁴ Interestingly enough, there were claims that surfaced in 1923 that Young had shot himself.³⁶ The claim was never substantiated beyond rumor.



Salt Lake Telegram
Mon, May 15, 1922 · Page 9



Salt Lake Telegram
Wed, May 17, 1922 · Page 1



News-Advocate (Price, Utah)
Thu, May 18, 1922 · Page 1

Utah Digital Newspapers, J. Willard Marriott Library · ids 18139408, 18140903, 6073398

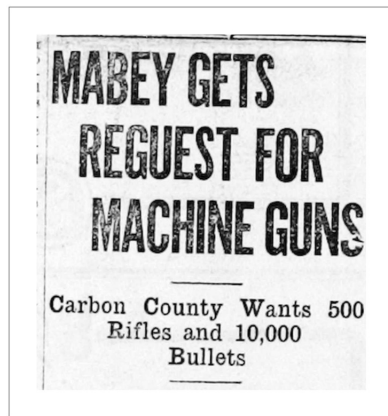
The family of Tenas immediately began seeking prosecution of Young. The death had placed the entire county on the edge of all hell breaking loose. Tenas's funeral was held on the 16th and saw a show of force from the striking miners. The Salt Lake Telegram reported that six hundred and fifty-one armed "aliens" marched behind the casket of Tenas as he was taken to the cemetery.³⁷ As they marched, they drug an American flag along the ground. The Greeks held their own flag high.³⁸

Now, don't forget, all of this reporting is through the lens of infrastructure and power. That doesn't make it any less true or more true, it simply is what it is. When a newspaper hedges with "it is reported" there often is a reason for the hedge. That was what was said of the guns and the flags in the possession of the funeral procession. *It is reported.*

The same day the Telegram reports on the funeral procession another article states that 200 foreigners had been expelled from Sunnyside and told to never come back.³⁹ It was these foreigners who occupied the tent encampment, erected near present day Dragerton.

Between the 15th and 17th the Governor of Utah himself visited the coal camps in worn clothing, hoping to be unrecognized. Mabey visited Spring Canyon, Hiawatha, Colton, Scofield, Castle Gate, Kenilworth and Sunnyside. He was only denied access at one camp, Kenilworth, by an armed guard.⁴⁰ Mabey and county commissioners had met and agreed to attempt to find a peaceful resolution without the National Guard intervening. Within hours of Governor Mabey leaving the coal fields, those same commissioners request ten machine guns, five hundred rifles and ten thousand rounds of ammunition from the state.⁴¹ The demonstration at the funeral clearly

signaled to local law enforcement that conflict was nearing the point of war, regardless of Mabey's plan and urging to stave off calling in the National Guard.



Ogden Standard-Examiner
Thu, May 18, 1922 · Page 1



Salt Lake Telegram
Thu, May 18, 1922 · Page 1



Salt Lake Telegram
Wed, May 24, 1922 · Page 11

Utah Digital Newspapers, J. Willard Marriott Library · ids 7248632, 18144324, 18156116

On May 19th a decree was ordered for disarmament. All unnaturalized foreign born persons were to turn in their weapons to law enforcement. This order was explicit in who it targets. Foreigners. This order was condoned by Governor Mabey himself,⁴² to be executed by the county law enforcement and fifty special deputies sent from up North.

The names of the men at each camp tasked with accepting the guns survives. It is not only an interesting study in surnames, but also a survey of the coal camps involved in the strikes and disarmament, which was all of them.⁴³

Deputies appointed to receive surrendered firearms, Carbon County

Sheriff T. F. Kelter's proclamation of 19 May 1922; deadline noon, Monday 22 May

Castle Gate

Bill Burns

Clear Creek

Frank Cottrell

Heiner

A. D. MacLean

Helper

Jess Halverson

Hiawatha

Grover Lewis

Kenilworth

E. Franks

Latuda

Lehi Jessop

Peerless

William Robison

Rains

Scott Fausett

Rolapp

Tom Nichols

Scofield

D. Adamson

Spring Glen

— Miller

Standardville

Dan Jacobs

Storrs

Herbert Barlow

Sunnyside

George Collingham

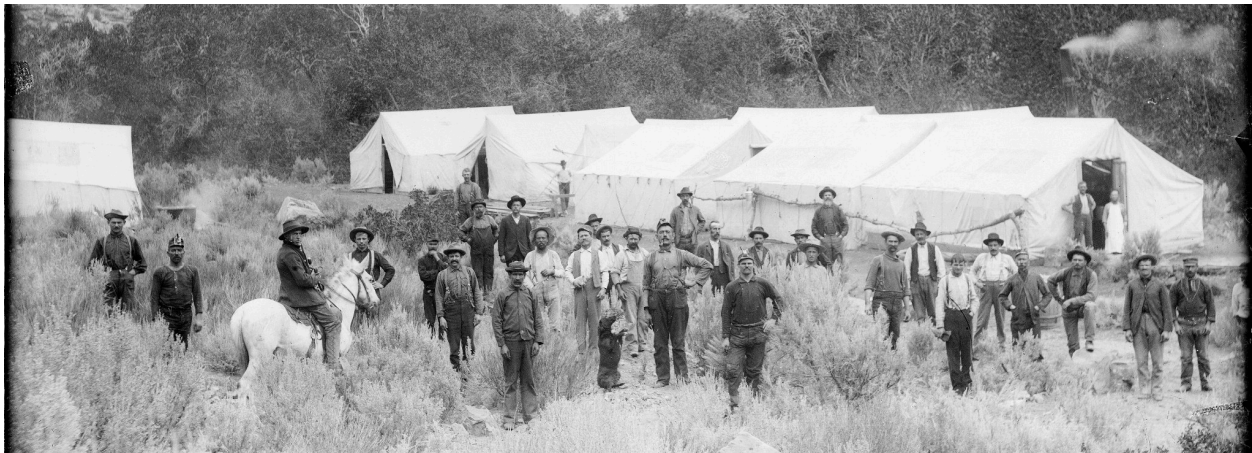
Wattis

T. F. Kelter

Winterquarters

J. W. Gentry

The state declined to furnish machine guns and Mabey specifically stated that it would take too long to train the special deputies on their operation.⁴⁴ This is a key point we will return to. While the county did not receive the machine guns they had requested, the state did acquiesce to the request of rifles and ammunition. Special deputies would be outfitted from the states weapon cache.⁴⁵ The county had another issue brewing, however, in the form of economics. It was reported that the county would go bankrupt if they had to continue paying the special deputies that had bolstered the force. The estimates were between 2,000 to 3,000 dollars per day to be billed at the expense of Carbon County.⁴⁶



Miners at Sunnyside circa 1880-1920

The Ogden Standard-Examiner reported ONLY TWO GUNS had been turned in at Helper by the 23rd.⁴⁷ Sheriff Kelter reportedly expected the turn-in to fail, but it opened the door for his force to obtain the guns through different measures. The first legal measure was search and seizure warrants. Kelter himself was assigned to Wattis. As it reads, Wattis was likely the first camp to be searched by special deputies.

L.H. Young was charged with murder in the first degree against John Tenas. The Deseret News reported such on the 23rd of May.⁴⁸ The inquest was short lived, and killed, prior to the charges being leveled. Eventually the charges were downgraded to second degree murder and then manslaughter. The trial never occurred. L.H. Young died in April, 1923 due to heart failure.⁴⁹ His friends and family claimed he had suffered from acute stress since the first-degree murder charge had been charged and that was what lead to his early death.

In late May, special-deputy sheriffs were released from the coal fields of Carbon County. The working coal miners, the scabs, were immediately targeted by the strikers. If the hopes for calling the deputies home was to de-escalate, it didn't work. On May 30th, twelve deputies were stopped along the road near the tent camp at Sunnyside. When the vehicles were stopped, and the

strikers realized they had halted law enforcement, the strikers ran back to their tents, reportedly dropping five rifles, a shotgun, and a revolver.⁵⁰

Intimidation continued. A stagecoach was stopped between Price and Sunnyside carrying six passengers. An undisclosed number of the six were strikebreakers. By June 1st, three holdups had occurred in the county where strikers had detained strikebreakers pulled from trains as they headed to their respective camp. Five men in total were missing and unaccounted for.⁵¹

**WORKERS HALT
AUTOS LOADED
WITH DEPUTIES**

**Twelve Officers are Stopped
on Road Near Sunnyside
by Armed Men, Who
Drop Weapons and Run**

**SHERIFF IS PROBING
HIGHWAY EVENT**

**Guards Pick Up Varied As-
sortment of Guns After
the Miners Retreat in
Haste to their Camp**

Salt Lake Telegram
Wed, May 31, 1922 · Page 1

**STAGE HELD UP,
REPORT STATES**

**Armed Mine Strikers Said
to Have Removed Men
Near Coal Camp**

PRICE, June 1.—A stage bound for Hiawatha is reported to have been held up yesterday and one man taken from it after which it was allowed to proceed. According to the report the stage was held up by armed strikers. Sheriff T. F. Kelter stated that he had been unable to verify the report and that it was merely one of the many rumors born in Carbon county every few minutes and which fall of verification.

Thorough investigation was under way here of the holding up of the Arrow stage line late Tuesday between Price and Sunnyside by striking miners, and the intimidation of six passengers, including men who were said to be on their way to work in the Sunnyside coal mines. Sheriff Kelter was conducting the investigation, and he said he hoped within 24 hours to be able definitely to place the blame for the affair.

Ogden Standard-Examiner
Thu, Jun 1, 1922 · Page 4

**Carbon Strikers
Intimidate Employees**

PRICE, June 1.—Intimidation of miners by strikers in the coal fields of Carbon county has become open since the withdrawal here last week of most of the force of special deputy sheriffs placed in the different camps after the shooting at Helper last month. Reports of three holdups in which alleged strikebreakers have been kidnaped by the strikers have reached Sheriff T. F. Kelter since Monday. Five men, missing since the first kidnaping, have not been found. No arrests have been made to date.

Two of the holdups occurred near the strikers' camp just outside Sunnyside. The third was reported from near Hiawatha late yesterday. Immediate investigation of the latest disorder failed of developments and Sheriff Kelter inclines to the opinion that it was "only rumor." Armed strikers were said to have halted the Hiawatha stage and taken off one man, after which the stage was permitted to go on. When Kelter and a posse arrived at the spot indicated no trace of strikers could be found.

Investigation of the removal of six passengers from the Sunnyside stage Tuesday and of the holding up of the train to that camp near Whites on Monday is being made and Sheriff Kelter expects to make arrests when his information is complete. Five men taken from the train at Whites are still missing, reports that they had returned to Salt Lake not being verified.

The armed strikers abused their prisoners, spitting in their faces and cursing them, according to Ben Nall-

Salt Lake Telegram
Thu, Jun 1, 1922 · Page 1

Utah Digital Newspapers, J. Willard Marriott Library · ids 18143433, 7248931, 18154807

The UMWA accused the companies of fear-mongering, and even shooting at themselves, to push Mabey to send in the National Guard.⁵² The coal companies stated snipers, acting on behalf of the strikers, were taking shots at the mine portals when men entered and left the mine.

June 2nd saw more shooting. The man trip, what carries the miners to and from the mine, was shot at in Kenilworth.⁵³ This resulted in the National Guard, once again, being prepared to deploy in Carbon County. They were never sent.

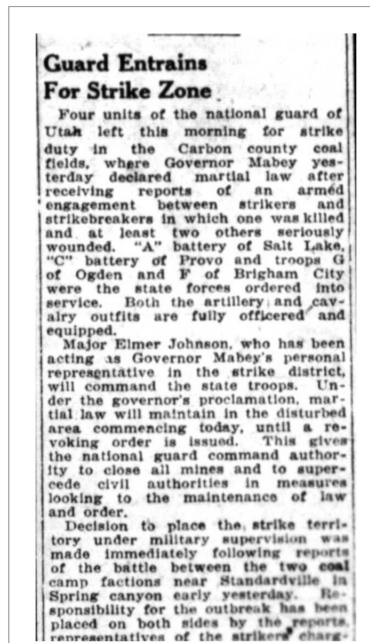
June 9th saw eighty men fired upon in Standardville, Spring Canyon. None of the bullets hit flesh, though one reportedly took the hat off of a miner. The gunfire came from above them, atop the cliffs of the canyon, as the train made its way to Standardville. Deputies scoured the cliffs looking for the shooters but never found them. The incident was leveled upon the strikers, though it was never proven.⁵⁴

On June 12th a demonstration of UMWA miners marched through Price. An Italian band from Sunnyside performed as they headed down main street and then congregated to have a meeting at a vacant lot.⁵⁵

June 14th saw a major escalation. The day would see an engine with one passenger coach traveling from Castle Gate to Standardville, carrying thirty-five miners. The train crew refused to leave the Utah Railway yard. C.J. Vaughn, superintendent of the Utah Railway, took control of the train himself with Deputy A.P. Webb standing beside him in the controls cab. When the train passed under tunnel No. 1, about a mile from Castle Gate, they were met with gunfire as they exited the tunnel. The ambush had strikers on either side of the tracks as they exited the tunnel as well as men shooting from an alfalfa field below. Deputy Webb was killed, H.E. Lewis, general manager of the Standard Coal Company, was shot through the knee but lived. One unnamed man nearly lost his entire arm to a striker's round.⁵⁷ Webb had been a mine guard at Standardville for nine years prior to being killed.⁵⁶



Salt Lake Telegram
Wed, Jun 14, 1922 · Page 1



Salt Lake Telegram
Thu, Jun 15, 1922 · Page 3



Salt Lake Telegram
Thu, Jun 15, 1922 · Page 1

Governor Mabey's declaration on the 14th of June,

Whereas, a condition of lawlessness and indifference to law and order exists in certain sections of the county of Carbon, state of Utah, such condition being prejudicial to and placing in jeopardy the constitutional rights and privileges of the citizenry of those sections, and

Whereas, such conditions have already resulted in bloodshed, one man having been killed and two injured on the morning of June 14, 1922, and

Whereas, the civil authorities most directly responsible for the preservation of law and order have openly and directly declared their inability to preserve the peace and order in said county, and to rectify the unwarranted conditions hereinbefore referred to, and

Whereas, it is now apparent that a condition of tumult, riot and insurrection prevails in certain sections of said county and it clearly appears that the civil authorities are unable to preserve order, and under such conditions and circumstances it becomes the constitutional and statutory duty of the chief executive of this commonwealth to adopt such measures as he may deem advisable, and to call into active service the national guard of this state, and

Whereas, formal requests have been made by the authorities of Carbon county upon the chief executive for assistance and for the assignment of the national guard troops in the disturbed areas of said county for the sole interest of guaranteeing the rights and protecting the properties of the citizens of said county, now, therefore,

I, Charles R. Mabey, governor of the state of Utah, and commander in chief of the national guard of the state of Utah, in pursuance of the constitutional and statutory duties imposed upon me, and by virtue of the power and authority vested in me, do hereby call into active service the National Guard of Utah, and direct the commanding officer of the national guard forces to proceed at once with said guard to Carbon county for the purpose of quelling the conditions hereinbefore referred to and protecting the rights and properties of the citizens, and

I do hereby declare that the following described localities be and they are hereby proclaimed to be under a state of martial law from the fifteenth day of June, 1922, until the provisions of this proclamation shall be revoked, namely, the precincts and towns of Cameron, Helper, Scofield, Winter Quarters, Castle Gate, Kenilworth and Spring canyon, all in Carbon county, Utah — the area of Spring canyon herein included to extend westward up Spring canyon from Helper to and including the Mutual Coal company's property — and an area extending for five miles surrounding each of said precincts, towns, and said last named area.

The said commanding officer of the national guard forces is hereby given authority to close all mines in the above named district if, in his opinion, it is necessary to accomplish the desired results, the restoration

and maintenance of law and order, with full power and authority for the commanding officer of the national guard troops to act in the premises as his best judgment may deem necessary.⁵⁸



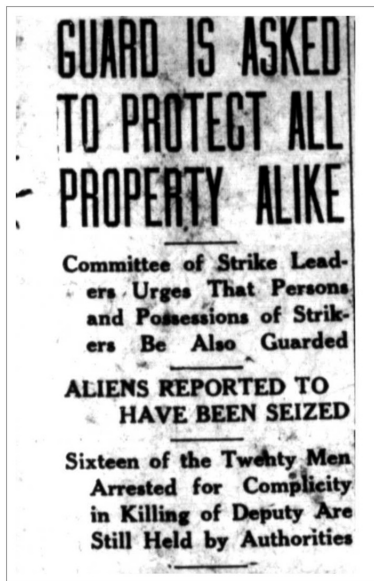
The Castle Gate the National Guard passed through toward Carbon County

Four National Guard units, comprising around 275 men, passed through the Castle Gate into Carbon County the next day.⁵⁹ Martial Law began on the 15th.

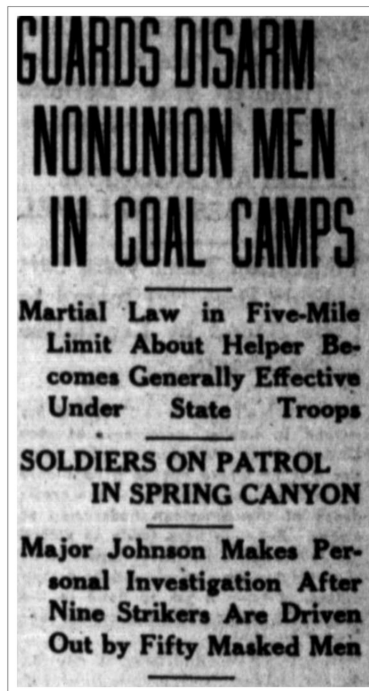
The National Guard immediately went to work placing strategic assets, restricting travel and rounding up striking miners. In Helper, three hundred striking miners were corralled and informed Major Johnson encouraged them to set their tents near the camps of the National Guard so as to be easily watched *and* protected.⁶⁰ Whether any of those asked to camp near the Guards did so isn't documented and no pictures confirming or denying it were found.

On June 15th an estimated fifty men, who wore masks or smudged their faces to avoid recognition, captured six strikers in the Liberty Pool Hall in Spring Canyon and marched them down the canyon. Two of the six are named; John Kokolos and Tony Pzugaris. The masked men then picked up George Marconlis as they passed his bakery and forced him to march out of the canyon as well. Two other unnamed men were added to the list making nine men in total. The captors had discussed shooting the nine men prior to releasing them and stating if they came back to Spring Canyon they would be killed. The assaulted men reported the crime and stated they could name their captors, all of which were employed by the various coal companies in the canyon.⁶¹ George Marconlis has a direct quote of the event,

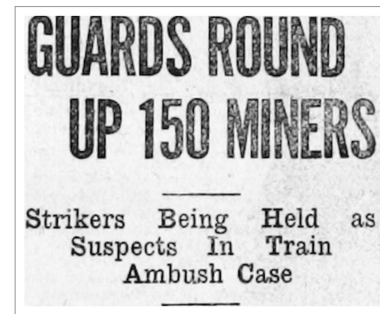
...at their pleasure each one of these men beat the life out of us; there they start to argue about which is the best way to get rid of us, few they prefer the shooting few others the hanging and few to kick the life out of us... At that a young man from Price... took our side and he argued with others to not kill us. I do owe my life to this young man. Then they decide to let us go and told us to start running... they start shooting us, and I heard bullets whistling very close to my ears... I was walking all night to reach Helper, Utah.⁶²



Salt Lake Telegram
Fri, Jun 16, 1922 · Page 1



Salt Lake Telegram
Sat, Jun 17, 1922 · Page 1



Ogden Standard-Examiner
Sun, Jun 18, 1922 · Page 23

Utah Digital Newspapers, J. Willard Marriott Library · ids 18141557, 18151256, 7232468

On June 16th the National Guard disarmed the company guards across the county. Each camp allowed only a few guards to possess weapons. This decision was made after Major Johnson was briefed on the events of the previous day. It was a move met with resistance, but when the coal companies asked for help they more than less signed away their right to dissent. It didn't help the companies case that the men marched out of the canyon identified multiple mine bosses in the masked mob. Johnson himself went to Spring Canyon to inform the companies therein that the strikers were to be left alone.⁶³ Major Johnson then made his own decree that June 16th was the final day to turn in weapons.

A hard curfew of 10 p.m. was enforced and the assembly of groups was banned.⁶⁴ Another interesting fact related to the preceding and following events; all news leaving the county from June 16th was censored. All stories passed through an Army Officer prior to running.⁶⁵

The Sun on June 16th,

*Machine guns have been placed at all strategic points in the hills above Helper and covering the entrance to Spring Canyon, and this section will probably be the most peaceful point in all Carbon county from now on.*⁶⁶

On the 17th the National Guard rounded up 150 strikers in Helper and marched them to the school yard where they were under the watch of a machine gun.⁶⁷ The point was to give the men aboard the Standardville passenger coach on June 14th a chance to identify those involved in the ambush. A second machine gun was posted at the City Hall in Helper, aimed down the street as National Guardsmen entered residences and businesses confiscating firearms and whiskey. Mike Zulakis was named in an article as the first to be charged with murder, but his name never appears again.

The weapons sweep was completed on the 18th. The Guard had confiscated many truckloads of ammunition and firearms from the county. It was on the 18th that Lieutenant Charles Fitzgerald along with ten other Guardsmen walked through the tent encampment at Sunnyside. One of the Guardsmen carried a machine gun. They walked through the tents collecting weapons while holding the machine gun for everyone to see. Seventy-seven rifles were removed at Sunnyside.⁶⁸ Worth mentioning, the reporting implies that the machine gun followed the Guardsmen back to Helper.

An interesting note regarding the guns being willfully turned in. Most of those who freely relinquished their firearms were born Americans and more specifically women. Reporting states they handed them in gingerly while their husbands worked.⁶⁹ You see, the company guards had to turn in their weapons as well. This state of liberties was surely not what the companies had hoped for under martial law, but they had undoubtedly got what they asked for. Major Johnson had stepped in on behalf of the National Guard and profoundly altered governmental presence and control in the county.

In total, nineteen men were arrested for the strikers ambush on June 14th. Two were released, seventeen were held, and twelve were charged.⁷⁰ Nobody was ever placed in custody with connection to the masked mob that marched foreign born miners and business owners out of the canyon.

The coal companies received their largest blow of the strike on the 20th of June. The Salt Lake Telegram reported,

*Orders forbidding the mass importation of strikebreakers under company escort were issued here today by Major Elmer Johnson, commanding state troops in the strike district under martial law. This means that no general importation of strikebreakers by train or automobile under protection of special mine guards will be permitted. Individuals in the zone, however, will be permitted to seek and accept employment.*⁷¹

Lieutenant Fitzgerald, the same man who walked through Sunnyside with ten men and a machine gun, enforced the decree on the 26th at Castle Gate when three men had arrived on the train to work there. They were asked who had paid their fare to get there and when they stated it was the company they were sent back from where they had originated.⁷²

The Guard continued to turn men back at Rains, Hiawatha and Scofield, going so far as to check the company payrolls to identify violations of martial law. At Scofield five Japanese miners were expelled from the county.⁷³ Leon F. Rains holds this quote,

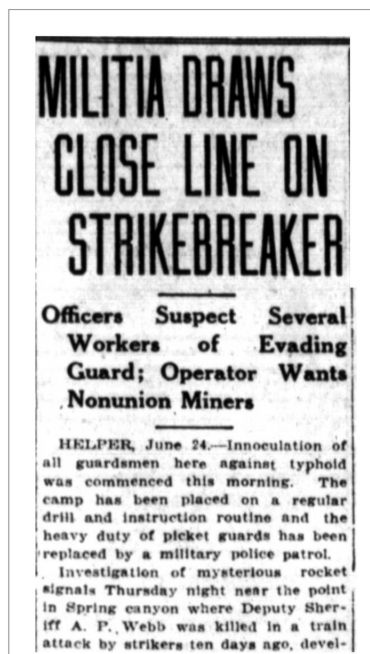
*A coal famine is imminent unless strikebreakers are allowed to enter the mines of Carbon county... The operators will never re-employ any of the men who have fomented and perpetuated the present difficulty. The only way to prevent a serious coal famine is for those mines to be manned.*⁷⁴

While the Telegram had reported the decree on the 20th, no newspaper within Carbon County reported on it until the 30th, *ten days later*. The News-Advocate never reported it at all; though they did run a piece on the 6th of July condemning the decree. Moreover, the decree was walked back in July with the Adjutant General of Utah stating it had never been made, although it had been enforced and reported across the state. Sounds like politics.⁷⁵

Earl Wilcox, Alfred McGrath and Lester Dearing were caught stealing during the weapon and liquor searches. Earl Wilcox, 18, had taken two watches and a cigarette case. Alfred McGrath, 20, stole a ten dollar bill from residents in Helper. Lester Dearing, 18, had stolen a ten



Salt Lake Telegram
Tue, Jun 20, 1922 · Page 11



Salt Lake Telegram
Sat, Jun 24, 1922 · Page 9



Salt Lake Telegram
Sun, Jul 9, 1922 · Page 11

dollar bill and a cigarette case from the same house McGrath ripped off. Wilcox and McGrath were dishonorably discharged without pay. Dearing was demoted.⁷⁶

On the 15th of July the Telegram details the twelve men who were bound over to the district court for murder. The problem? The list had changed. A majority of the men that were charged on the 17th of June were not those listed in the article.⁷⁷

The twelve bound over for trial in the killing of A. P. Webb

Justice of the Peace J. W. Hammond, Price, 14 July 1922, after preliminary hearings from 10 July
Only four or five names survive from the twelve charged on 17 June; six men are new

John Bakathakis

new in July — charged 7 July

Harry Folsetter

new in July

Elias Kanterakis

held since 17 June

Harry Kokolakis

held since 17 June

Guy Kondomlis

new in July

George Konteras

held since 17 June

Steve Lekakis

held since 17 June

Mick Morris

new in July — charged 7 July

Bill Satris

new in July — charged 7 July

George Spetris

probably June's George Petros

Mike Tagialakis

new — jailed 20 June, gun offence

Gust Zembellis

new in July — charged 7 July

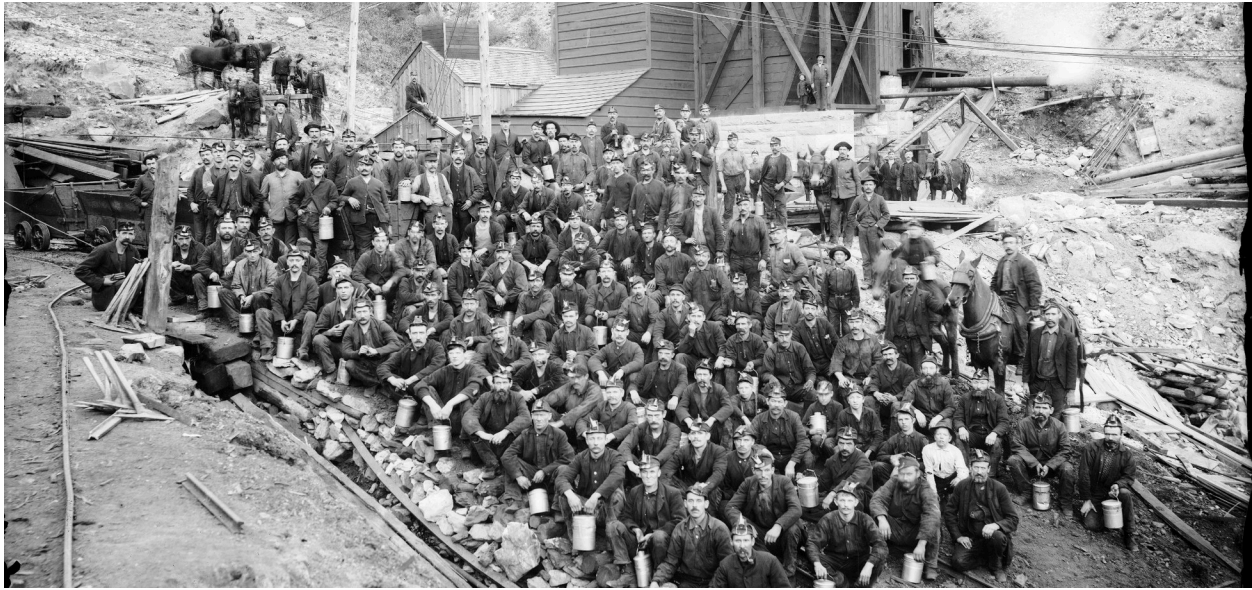
Salt Lake Telegram, 15 July 1922, p. 2 (Utah Digital Newspapers id 18163347). Spellings as printed.
Pete Kukis was bound over separately on 12 July, making thirteen in all. Webb is called a mine guard in this report and a deputy sheriff in others.

On the 27th of July, Major Johnson informs the adjutant general of Utah that violence has ceased in the region. When asked if the National Guard would be leaving Carbon County, Johnson states the decision is not his to make.⁷⁸

The strike ended nationally when John L. Lewis signed a contract that encompassed 60% of coal production in the United States on August 15th.⁷⁹ Lewis was the president of the UMWA. The contract guaranteed the wages miners had been guaranteed prior to the government contract ending would continue until April, 1923. Lewis ordered miners back to work on the 16th.

The UMWA had no contract to negotiate with Utah. Coal operators in Utah restored miners wages to what had been held during the wartime government contract on September 1st, the day before they would meet with UMWA representatives.⁸⁰

September 1st also saw the presence of the National Guard decrease. While their occupation had not formally ended at any point, they began leaving in waves. It occurred over a span of two weeks with the last Guardsmen leaving on the 15th of September.⁸¹



Coal Miners at Castle Gate

After five months of the striking a man on each side of the labor line had been killed. The National Guard, of whom the coal companies had begged to intervene, had disarmed their guards within two days of occupation. Nineteen men had been arrested for the death of Webb while not a single man was arrested of the fifty that marched the Greeks from Spring Canyon. The county spent thousands of dollars per day on special deputies while the National Guard incurred a cumulative price tag of 75,000 dollars.⁸²

Carbon County Miners saw wages increase to \$6.80 per day *if they hadn't struck*.

Miners who had struck received the wage of \$6.30 per day.⁸³

Coal companies passed the expense to the consumer.

Neither side won.

It was the foreign born miner and his family who most lost.

Machine Gun Nest At Sunnyside

Now for the fun part. The machine gun nest that can be seen from the main road heading into the canyon from East Carbon is not documented in any newspapers.⁸⁴ The closest thing to documentation of a machine gun nest in that area is not a nest at all; it is Lieutenant Fitzgerald's walk through the tent encampment. That article confirms the presence of a machine gun in that coal camp, but it does not confirm it was placed at the cliff top vantage point that oversaw the mouth of the canyon.

Nevertheless, at least one nest exists to this very day of writing, August 11th, 2026.

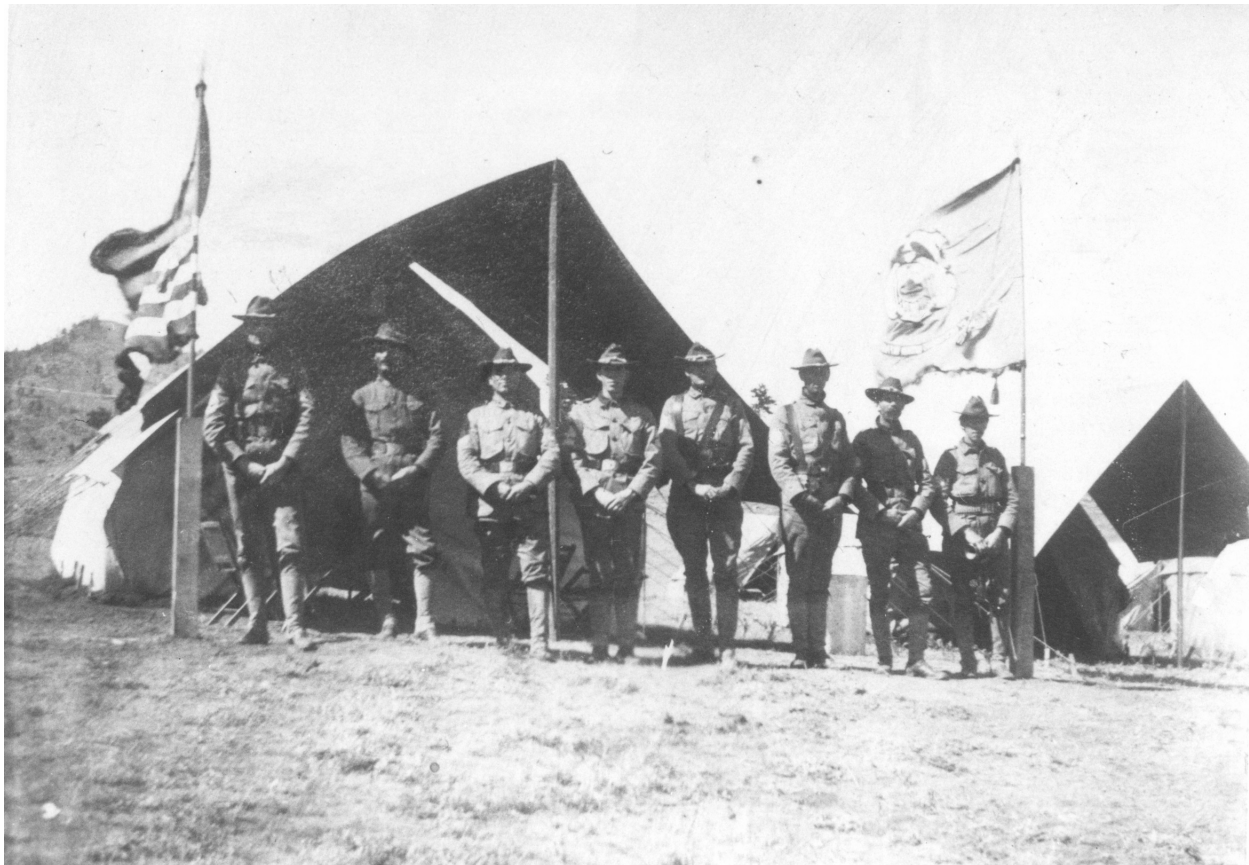


Taniguchi states in an essay titled *Old King Coal — A Long, Colorful Story* on utah.gov ,

*Utah strikers, driven out of company towns, set up tent cities outside company land. The mine owners mounted machine guns and searchlights on the mountainsides above the tent camps to keep an eye on the strikers. At least one of these machine-gun nests can still be seen today on the hill overlooking the Sunnyside tippie. The miners still lacked recognized union protection when an explosion rocked the Castle Gate Mine in 1924, killing 171.*⁸⁵

The article doesn't directly attribute a source to her claim. Taniguchi conducted interviews for the Carbon County Coal Mine Oral History Project in the 1980's. Multiple interviews discuss Sunnyside, and one of them is the source of her claim. I will quote directly from the interviews.⁸⁶

Because it is interesting, I will continue supplying information from the interviews that cuts against the historical narrative that was derived from newspaper reporting. Like I said, this is the fun part. The National Guard *undoubtedly* censored the newspaper wires. This isn't a claim, it is a sourced argument.



Utah National Guard during 1903-1904 Coal Fields Strike

Albert Vogrenic, Oral History No. 9, 3 May 1982, p. 5
— interviewed by Nancy Taniguchi

NT: Did you ever hear of anybody being killed?

AV: Well, no, I'm not going to say truthfully, because at that time there was a couple killed. ...as far as I know, hey it wasn't those people that were there, only that we were shot at I know that.

NT: You were, as kids?

AV: Oh yes, you bet you! ...we climbed that fence and hey that fence was out of bounds.

NT: So the guards would—

AV: Oh yes, you bet you! At night time of course... I don't know if you are familiar with Sunnyside or not, but they had these great big search lights, and they had men up there with **machine guns**, and they'd go back and forth and if they saw anything on that fence, ---?---!

NT: Oh really! Did they ever get close?

AV: Well not really, but it was enough to scare the hell out of you! ...you learned respect that way! ...why they meant business and so did we.⁸⁷



Left to right. Butcher shop, Mine office and
Wasatch Store Sunnyside,

Anna Tolich, Oral History No. 18, 13 May 1982, p. 43, 47
— interviewed by Nancy Taniguchi

NT: Were you there when they had the strike in 1922?

AT: Yes, we were down in the strike. We had a tent down in the prairie.

NT: Right.

AT: You know where Dragerton is now?

NT: Yes.

AT: It was Sunnydale, well we had a pitched tent there. There was no floor, you know, just earth. And yeah, we were, I think it was two months that strike. Yes, we were down there.

NT: And then after it was over what did your father do?

AT: Well, see my father went and wasn't even here that time, see, they went back in 1920.

NT: What happened up there at Consumers when you were there?

AT: Well, I can't say it was too much going on, except I think they had a national guard or something come up. And they did in Sunnyside, too.

NT: Oh, they did?

AT: In the prairie. Oh yeah, they had the national guard come and they had their guns, you know. They had a machine gun or something, I don't know much about military. And so like I say, you know, there wasn't much you could do about it, you know. It was quite a harassment. I mean, they didn't hurt anybody, you know what I mean, but it was quite a thing.⁸⁸

Regarding removal from Sunnyside, four of the interviewed produced four unique answers,

John Spensko: ...they went on strike and then my brothers they had to go, and the government put up tents for them, all the strikers didn't want to work so they were out for about, I'd say about six seven months.⁸⁹

Albert Vogrenic: the only thing I can tell you is I can remember when they kicked us out of town!

Mary Topolovec: then after summer of 1922 then we had to get out too... Matt had the store so he give us a place right there to pull the tent and we lived in a tent... I had two kids then... And I was pregnant.

Anna Tolich: Well, the strikers wanted us to be together, you know, so we just closed our home. We didn't sell it or anything... And when the strike was settled we went back to our home.



National Guard Encampment 1903-1904

Three accounts of the Sunnyside tent encampment location,

Anna Tolich: ...we were down in the strike. We had a tent down in the prairie... You know where Dragerton is now?... It was Sunnydale... There was no floor, you know, just earth.

John Spensko: You know where they have that park up there? ...Right there where the cemetery is at? ...All of that down in there, that was all farm... That is where they had the strikers. They were down there on that desert.

Albert Vogrenic: ...we were living in tents down below the town...



Houses built in Dragerton long after the 1922 strike

Regarding life in the tent encampments,

Albert Vogrenic: ...they had this great big fence up, a great big wire fence across the bottom end of town there, and us kids use to get up on the fence and throw rocks at the...at the scabs. ...then I can remember they use to let them go once a day in the wagon... so they could go up in the town, and see they were escorted. They had a police escort, and they were carrying guns, and they could go to the post office and to the store and back.

Nancy Taniguchi: Did you ever go up there?

Albert Vorgrenic: Yes, I went. I rode the wagon once or twice. Of course we didn't. Us kids, we were more trouble and bother. They didn't like to bother with us.

Tony Pestotnik: They had one at National, hell they had barricades and everything else, fences and just like acres down there, fenced in and put people down there and living like they were animals.⁹¹



Young boy dressed as miner in Sunnyside circa 1880-1920

Regarding Dorrity being shot at Scofield,

Tony Pestotnik: Well, he said it was about, let's see now, let me see if that was 1922 when we lived clear up to Scofield, I'm pretty sure it was 1922. From Winter Quarters, there was a sheriff up Winter Quarters I believe it was by the name of Dougherty, Dokerty his name was and he came down and that was it, 1922 he came down to Scofield and when their train came in to pick up the payroll for the men that were working up there and hell it opened up just like war, there was firing shots and everything and practically knocked his horse out from under him. But the horse stayed alive until he got up to cross the line up to Winter Quarters and the horse died. He never did get hurt, he had a bullet proof vest on it and everything but they did shot the horse and killed the horse. Then there was like this here, like Mr. Jarvey he was sitting on the porch but that wasn't close, that was in the back of the street where he lived and all this went on in the Main Street and the way he was firing, he got hit in the shoulders, just sitting on the porch there. I can remember that well because that's where we is up at Winter Quarters at that time. Then all these guys, all the people from Scofield, like over in Kinny, there was a few men working there and my dad never did go to work during the strike or anything like that.⁹³



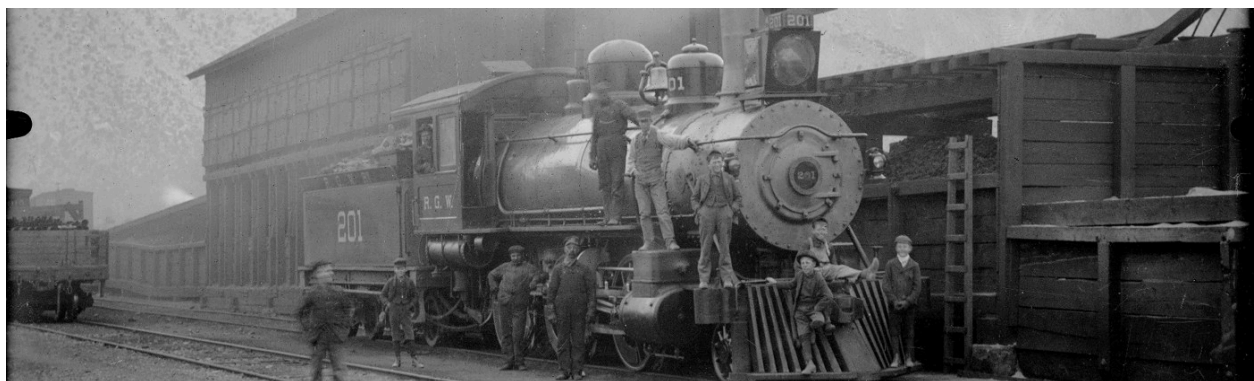
Group of unidentified men with horses in Scofield. This is possibly a photo of the guard posse.

Life under Martial Law,

Tony Pestotnik: Hell, then they brought the militia in and heck if we wanted to go fishing or anything like that we'd have to go down to their office and they'd give us a permit because they had guards , you know , in and out you know and if we went fishing we would have to go at a certain time and at a time that was on your permit and you had to be back at the time that was on that permit. You bet, it was bad there for a while you know, until they kind of got settled down.

On the shooting of Webb,

Wilhelmina Holdaway: Hiawatha was fortunate. They did not have the problems that they had down here. And . the company did move the strikers out of town and they had a little camp outside of a tent town right outside of town. But the only problem they had was they had a coal train to go through and the superintendent of the railroad would not tell the train crew that they had to take that train because they knew that they were irate people in Martin and up that way. And so anyway, the engineer, a man by the name of Webb , said he would run the train if somebody would fire for him. And so Mr. Vaughn, the superintendent , said well he would fire. And then my dad rode the train in the cab. But they went through the tunnel at Martin, and came out of the tunnel, these men were up on the hill. And my dad had looked up there and he said he didn't see anyone up there. Of course, they were behind bushes. And then he looked to the other side to see if there was any on the other side of the track and just then the shots were fired and Mr. Webb was killed... The bullet hit him smack dab in the head and he was killed .⁹²



Locomotive in Helper

Taniguchi's interview of Albert Vogrenic substantiates her claim that a machine gun was placed in the nest on the North side of the canyon overlooking the Utah Fuel's tippie in the year 1922. No proof concerning who had placed it there was found.⁹⁴ I like Taniguchi's take and second the motion.

Are the bolt holes artifacts of the original use of the rail or a modification to support equipment?

I posit they mounted the spotlight to the extending rail.⁹⁵



Unanswered phenomena

At this point there is evidence concerning the type of machine gun the National Guard brought with them, given the time my best guess would be a water-cooled machine gun (which doesn't limit it to an M1917, others fit the bill as well). Why? Because Mabey stated it would take too much time to train them (guards and special deputies) in its use. That may have been a hedge, but it may also have indicated that the machine gun wasn't the most modern version in 1922. I may be able to determine the type through a records request, but that is about three months out at this moment in time.⁹⁸

I noticed that Larsen, mayor of Scofield, had a strange inconsistency built within his quoted statement. *Thursday or Saturday...* I know what happened on Thursday. What happened on Saturday?⁹⁶

As is the spirit of ECV research, an oddity was recognized within the record. Reports of rockets being fired near the location where Webb was killed had been reported days after the shooting. The National Guard investigated it and found nothing. No answer has ever been reported and likely never will be.⁹⁷

NOTES

1. Powell, "Nationwide Coal Miners' Strike," 125-54.
2. Ibid., 127-29.
3. Ibid., 125-27.
4. Ibid., 129-31; Aiello, No. 28.
5. Powell, "Foreign Element," 125-54; Powell, "Nationwide Coal Miners' Strike," 126-27.
6. Utah State Archives, series 6306, National Guard, Carbon County coal strike records, 1903-1904.
7. "Knocked Out," Eastern Utah Advocate (Price), 24 December 1903, 1, id 2770570. Read from the page image.
8. Andrews, Killing for Coal.
9. Ibid.; Martelle, Blood Passion.
10. Shogan, Battle of Blair Mountain.
11. Powell, "Foreign Element," 125-54.
12. Salt Lake Telegram, 18 May 1922, 1, id 18144324; Deseret News, 18 May 1922, 1, id 25532152.
13. Powell, Next Time We Strike, ch. 1.
14. "Announcement Out on New Mine Wages," News-Advocate (Price), 30 March 1922, 1, id 6070342.
15. Samuel A. King, 1923 brief, in Powell, "Nationwide Coal Miners' Strike," 128.
16. "Mines Working; No Disturbances Here," News-Advocate (Price), 6 April 1922, 1, id 6071318.
17. "Three Wounded When Strikers Attack Guards," Salt Lake Telegram, 28 April 1922, 1, id 18152161; Sun (Price), 28 April 1922, 1, id 29752897.
18. Sun (Price), 28 April 1922, 1, id 29752897; Deseret News, 28 April 1922, 1, id 25531733; Powell, "Nationwide Coal Miners' Strike," 133.
19. Salt Lake Telegram, 28 April 1922, 1, id 18152161.
20. Sun (Price), 28 April 1922, 1, id 29752897.
21. Salt Lake Telegram, 28 April 1922, 1, id 18152161.
22. "National Guard Not Needed Now in Coal Fields," Salt Lake Telegram, 29 April 1922, 9, id 18136387; "State Defers Action in Call for Guardsmen," 30 April 1922, 1, id 18134100.
23. Sun (Price), 10 November 1922, 7, id 29753157; News-Advocate (Price), 2 November 1922, id 6075646.
24. Sun (Price), 28 April 1922, 1, id 29752897; Powell, "Nationwide Coal Miners' Strike," 133; Pestotnik, No. 24.
25. Sun (Price), 28 April 1922, 1, id 29752897.
26. Salt Lake Telegram, 29 April 1922, 9, id 18136387; Deseret News, 1 May 1922, 1, id 25531801.
27. "State Defers Action in Call for Guardsmen," Salt Lake Telegram, 30 April 1922, 1, id 18134100.
28. Powell, Next Time We Strike, ch. 1.

29. "Charges Sheriff With Dereliction," Salt Lake Telegram, 1 May 1922, 4, id 18152836.
30. "Knerr Obtains Pledge From Miners," Salt Lake Telegram, 1 May 1922, 4, id 18152834.
31. Salt Lake Tribune, 2 May 1922, 1, id 24371428.
32. Deseret News, 8 May 1922, 3, id 25531945; Salt Lake Telegram, 26 May 1922, 13, id 18151032; Ogden Standard-Examiner, 23 May 1922, 3, id 7246226.
33. "Real Facts About Hold Up of Train," News-Advocate (Price), 18 May 1922, 8, id 6073441; Sun (Price), 19 May 1922, 1, id 29752924.
34. "Witnesses Deny Deputy's Story of Fatal Shot," Salt Lake Telegram, 15 May 1922, 9, id 18139408.
35. Salt Lake Telegram, 15 May 1922, 9, id 18139408, and 17 May 1922, 1, id 18140903; News-Advocate (Price), 25 May 1922, 1, id 6073460.
36. Sun (Price), 30 March 1923, 1, id 29753340.
37. Salt Lake Telegram, 18 May 1922, 1, id 18144324.
38. "Striker Gets Two Bullets For One," News-Advocate (Price), 18 May 1922, 1, id 6073398.
39. Salt Lake Telegram, 18 May 1922, 1, id 18144324; Deseret News, 18 May 1922, 1, id 25532152.
40. "Governor Lays Down Plan to Restore Peace," Salt Lake Telegram, 19 May 1922, 1, id 18148543.
41. "Race War in Coal Fields Is Imminent," Salt Lake Telegram, 18 May 1922, 1, id 18144324; "Mabey Gets Request for Machine Guns," Ogden Standard-Examiner, 18 May 1922, 1, id 7248632; Deseret News, 18 May 1922, 1, id 25532152.
42. "Governor Lays Down Plan to Restore Peace," Salt Lake Telegram, 19 May 1922, 1, id 18148543; Provo Post, 19 May 1922, 1, id 28556923.
43. Ogden Standard-Examiner, 23 May 1922, 3, id 7246226.
44. Salt Lake Telegram, 19 May 1922, 1, id 18148543.
45. "Scofield Aliens Agree to Turn Over Firearms," Salt Lake Telegram, 23 May 1922, 11, id 18149106; Powell, "Nationwide Coal Miners' Strike," 146 n. 38.
46. "Carbon County Seeks Relief in Strike Cost," Salt Lake Telegram, 25 May 1922, 13, id 18147376.
47. Ogden Standard-Examiner, 23 May 1922, 3, id 7246226; Salt Lake Telegram, 24 May 1922, 11, id 18156116.
48. Deseret News, 23 May 1922, 1, id 25532260; "Young Charged With First Degree Murder," News-Advocate (Price), 25 May 1922, 1, id 6073460; Salt Lake Telegram, 17 May 1922, 1, id 18140903.
49. Sun (Price), 20 April 1923, 1, id 29753367; "Slayer Faces Trial Monday," Salt Lake Telegram, 25 March 1923, 2, id 17498680.
50. "Workers Halt Autos Loaded With Deputies," Salt Lake Telegram, 31 May 1922, 1, id 18143433.
51. "Stage Held Up, Report States," Ogden Standard-Examiner, 1 June 1922, 4, id 7248931; "Carbon Strikers Intimidate Employes," Salt Lake Telegram, 1 June 1922, 1, id 18154807.
52. Salt Lake Tribune, 3 June 1922, 22, id 24372385.
53. "Miners Are Fired On at Kenilworth," News-Advocate (Price), 8 June 1922, 8, id 6073697.
54. "Miners Escape Hail of Shots," Salt Lake Telegram, 9 June 1922, 13, id 18156828; Sun (Price), 9 June 1922, 1, id 29752951.

55. Salt Lake Tribune, 14 June 1922, id 24372722; Sun (Price), 16 June 1922, 1, id 29752960.
56. "Bullets Riddle Train Carrying Strikebreakers," Salt Lake Telegram, 14 June 1922, 1, id 18159203; Salt Lake Tribune, June 1922; Powell, "Nationwide Coal Miners' Strike," 139; Holdaway, No. 1.
57. Salt Lake Telegram, 14 June 1922, 1, id 18159203.
58. Proclamation of Governor Charles R. Mabey, 14 June 1922, in Deseret News, 14 June 1922, 1, id 25532683; Salt Lake Telegram, 15 June 1922, id 18150549. No revocation order located.
59. "Guard Entrains For Strike Zone," Salt Lake Telegram, 15 June 1922, 3, id 18150610; Deseret News, 15 June 1922, 2, id 25532701.
60. "State Soldiers Take Weapons From Workers," Salt Lake Telegram, 15 June 1922, 1, id 18150549; Powell, "Nationwide Coal Miners' Strike," 149 and n. 51.
61. "Guard Is Asked to Protect All Property Alike," Salt Lake Telegram, 16 June 1922, 1, id 18141557; "Guards Disarm Nonunion Men in Coal Camps," 17 June 1922, 1, id 18151256.
62. George Marcoulis, sworn statement, typescript, Samuel A. King Papers, Marriott Library.
63. "Guards Disarm Nonunion Men in Coal Camps," Salt Lake Telegram, 17 June 1922, 1, id 18151256.
64. Salt Lake Telegram, 16 June 1922, 1, id 18141557, and 17 June 1922, 1, id 18151256.
65. "Guard Is Asked to Protect All Property Alike," Salt Lake Telegram, 16 June 1922, 1, id 18141557, under the subhead "News Censorship"; "Officers Transfer in Carbon Fields," Salt Lake Telegram, 18 July 1922, 9, id 18173446.
66. Sun (Price), 16 June 1922, 1, id 29752960.
67. "Guards Round Up 150 Miners," Ogden Standard-Examiner, 18 June 1922, 23, id 7232468; Salt Lake Telegram, 17 June 1922, 1, id 18151256.
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