Castle Valley America
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Notes

Preface


Introduction

2. Dr. Philip Frank Notarianni referred to Carbon County, the northern part of Castle Valley, as Utah’s “industrialized island.” His concept has been extended here to encompass the entire valley. See Philip F. Notarianni, ed., *Carbon County: Eastern Utah’s Industrialized Island* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1981).

Chapter One

1. Oliver Huntington, quoted in Andrew Jenson, “The Elk Mountain Mission,” *Utah Geological and Historical Magazine* 4 (1913): 191. This is a partial typescript of the journal of Oliver B. Huntington, secretary for the Elk Mountain Mission of the LDS Church. The source of the name “Castle Valley” has been lost to history, but it was obviously in common use in 1855 when Huntington made this journal entry.
7. Price’s Dr. J. Eldon Dorman popularized the term, “the backside of the Wasatch Front,” indicating the less-than-important position of Castle Valley in Utah perceptions of the 1980s.

8. Discoveries dating from 20–110 million years ago include new finds of the 1990s: a new and unnamed brachiosaur, iguanodon, nodosaur, ankylosaur, Utahraptor ostromaysi (similar to the raptors in the movie Jurassic Park) and Gastonia burgei, named for the College of Eastern Utah’s long-time curator, Don Burge. See pamphlets, CEU Prehistoric Museum.


13. Herbert F. Bolton, Pageant in the Wilderness (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1950), gives the most complete account of their journey.

14. Clifford Duncan, “The Northern Utes,” in A History of Utah’s American Indians, ed. Forrest S. Cuch (Salt Lake City: Utah Division of Indian Affairs and the Utah State Historical Society, 2000), 173–77. Ute spellings vary widely, even within the same piece. For example, on pages 176 and 177 of this work, the San Pitch are also listed as the Sanpits, the Tumpanawach additionally as the Timanogots, and so on. I have chosen the most common spellings based on the works consulted.

15. Ibid., 182.


20. George R. Brooks, ed., The Southwest Expedition of Jedediah S. Smith (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark, 1977), 47. Spelling and capitalization (or lack of it) reflects the original.


25. Harlan Hague and David Langum, in Thomas O. Larkin (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), effectively establish Larkin’s role as President Polk’s confidential agent (see especially pp. 3–5 and 126–30), but the nature of Pratt’s commission is unknown.


27. Hafen and Hafen, 357.

28. Ibid., 358.


31. The standard account is in “Joseph Smith, Jr.,” *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, B. H. Roberts, ed., 7 vols., 2nd ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1964), 1: Chs. 1–8. Much of this history, intermixed with theological revelations, is also found in *The Doctrine and Covenants* (1833, 35, 76; reprint, Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1968), iii–47 [hereafter *D&C*].


34. There are many versions of these events. A considered view by LDS authors is found in James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1976), 53–215. The most balanced description describing violence on both sides is found in D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994), especially 646–60.

35. A useful list of dates can be found in the annual LDS *Church Almanac*. I have used the *Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1991–1992 Church Almanac* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1990 [sic]), 282.


37. Quinn, 653.

39. “Account of the Mormon colony landed in San Francisco 1846,” California file, Huntington Library. It appears to be in the same handwriting as the “fragmentary remarks” attributed to Brannan. California in those days was a much larger area than the present state, as can also be seen from the account of Orville Pratt, previously cited. In the minds of many, it encompassed areas of Nevada, Utah, and possibly part of Arizona.


43. Norma Baldwin Ricketts, *The Mormon Battalion: U. S. Army of the West 1846–1848* (Logan: University of Utah Press, 1996), 334–35 n. 8; idem, *Consumnes*, 7; Daniel Rhoads to Jesse Esrey [California, Spring of 1847], in Rhoads Family Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 5. The family name is spelled variously; I have adopted the spelling used by Caleb.


45. Bagley, 255–57; Ernest S. Horsley, “Historical Sketch of Price,” MS 112, Jean M. Westwood Collection, Box 31, Fd. 1, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah, 15.

46. Wimmer Family Group Records, LDS Church; Mary P. Winslow, “Mrs. Wimmer’s Narrative of the First Piece of Gold Discovered In California, December, 1847,” San Francisco *Daily Evening Bulletin*, 19 December 1874, reprinted in Rodman W. Paul, *The California Gold Discovery* (Georgetown, CA: The Talisman Press), 174–76. Sam Brannan also stated that the first piece of gold was given to Mrs. Wimmer (Weimer). It is now on display at the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.


51. Eugene Campbell, *Establishing Zion* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1988), 48, claims that the LDS Church actually authorized a “gold mission.”

53. Davies, 83.
58. According to historian Klaus Hansen, a third “shadow government” in the highly secretive LDS Council of Fifty operated, with one hiatus, from the 1840s into at least the 1890s as a precursor of a literal, political “Kingdom of God” (ruled by Mormons) on earth. Klaus Hansen, Quest for Empire (Lansing, Mich.: Michigan State University Press, 1967; reprint, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1974).
64. Hafen and Hafen, Trail, 307.
68. Schiel, in Mumey, 86.
70. Duncan, 188.
73. Schiel, in Mumey, 86.
helped save the handful of newly-arrived Mormon settlers. Less than four years later, that ratio had been reversed. See 26–27 and 70–72.

75. Carvalho, 309.

76. Goetzmann, 285; Brigham D. Madsen, “John Williams Gunnison” in Allan Kent Powell, ed., Utah History Encyclopedia (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994), 241. Madsen notes that the attack was believed to be in retaliation for earlier destruction wreaked by white emigrants, but the whole incident is still controversial.

77. Carvalho, 167, 186–91.

78. Goetzmann, 286.

79. Eugene Campbell, in “Brigham Young’s Outer Cordon—A Reappraisal,” UHQ 41, no. 3 (Summer 1973): 220–53, questions the concept of an “outer cordon” that would protect the trails into Utah, a then-standard view of the reasons for this and other colonizing measures. Campbell’s work makes the more modest proposal of simply holding the land. See particularly 221–26 and 290–31. See also Morgan.

80. Orange Seely, “Told by himself, History of Orange Seely, Sr.,” unpublished typescript, LDS Church Archives, LDS Historical Department, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1; David R. Seely, “Sketch,” MS in Beattie Collection, #54, Folder 91, Huntington Library, San Marino, California, 13; Beattie and Beattie, 66–67.


83. See “Ordinances of the State of Deseret” in Morgan, especially 141–42, 147–48, 158–59, 162–70.


86. Campbell, Zion, 234–237.


88. The most thorough study to date is Bagley, Blood; the seminal work is Juanita Brooks.


90. Seely, “Sketch.”


92. James Brown, 1.

94. Letter from David R. Seeley to George Beattie, 7 April 1937, Beattie Collection #54.

95. Wilson lists three: the two sisters of his late wife and the daughter of one. Those who accepted polygamy became wedded not only to additional women but to life in the Mormon Zion. During the nineteenth century, when a man’s reputation was everything, polygamists could only be “respectable” if they remained in Utah. Men who left faced two possible varieties of condemnation. If they took their plural families, they would be regarded as bigamists, harem-keepers, or worse in the outside world. Much uglier names dogged their plural wives. If men left plural families behind, they would be reprobates who abandoned dependent wives and children.


100. John Alton Peterson, Utah’s Black Hawk War (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1998), 320–71; Lever, 594.

101. Ibid., 16–18, 80–122; Lever, 594.

102. O. Seeley, 7.

103. Pearl Tidwell, “Local History of Pioneer Days,” [Price] Carbon County News, 30 January 1913. As noted in Antrei and Roberts, 80, Black Hawk War veterans and their children gathered for encampments into the 1920s. This early story by a descendent of Jefferson Tidwell, a captain in Seely’s cavalry, therefore has special value.

104. John Alton Peterson, 320–71; Jones, 5.


108. Roberts, V, 236–37, 315; Madsen, Glory Hunter, 188–89.

109. Quoted in Quinn, Extensions, 263.

110. Arrington, Fox, and May, 15–133.


112. Arrington, 241–42.


114. Arrington, 280.


117. Ibid., 171.
Chapter Two


6. Finken, 19–20; Eva Westover Conover, The History of George Henry Westover and His Family (Salt Lake City: Family Descendants, 1981), 89. Another good list of early stockmen can be found in Stella McElprang, comp., Castle Valley: A History of Emery County (Emery County Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1949), 39. The debate over who was “first” into Castle Valley still rages warmly. Since the first Euro-American arrivals were herdsmen, not settlers, they left very few records. Consequently, this list results from several reminiscences. According to Edward Geary, A History of Emery County (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1996), 57 n. 50, “An inscription in Coal Wash with Joe Swasey’s name plus the date 7 February 1875, suggests that the Swaseys were in Castle Valley during the winter of 1874–75.”


11. Owen McClenahan, Utah’s Scenic San Rafael (Castle Dale, Utah: privately published, 1986), 61; McElprang, 293.


15. McElprang, 175.

16. Lever, 635.

17. Turner, in Milner, 14.

21. Goetzmann, 413.
25. McElprang, 70; Belle H. Wilson, “Mehitable (Bennett) Seeley,” October 1985, unpublished typescript, Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah; Mildred E. Brown, “History: Justus Wellington Seeley II,” 1970, typescript, copy in possession of the author, 3; Andrew Jenson, “History of Emery Stake,” manuscript in the LDS Church Historian’s Office, Salt Lake City. This work is written chronologically, with no page numbers. Orange Seely, “Autobiographical Sketch,” typescript, LDS Church Archives, LDS Historical Department, Salt Lake City, 7. The family name is variously spelled “Seely” and “Seeley.” The spelling chosen here is that used by Orange Seely in his biographical entry in Lever, 618–19.
26. McElprang, 70.
33. “Interesting Career Is Drawn to a Close,” n. d. [1913], Clip File, “Gilson, Sam,” Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah. According to an article by Glynn Bennion, describing the experiences of his father, Israel, Gilson’s move to Castle Valley came as a herder of Bennion stock. However, given Gilson’s long experience as a stockman and his decision to set up his own ranch, the cattle were more likely his own. See Glynn Bennion, “Pioneer Cattle Venture, “ quoted in Geary, 48.
34. McElprang, 39, 201.
35. Ibid., 200–201, 277–79.
36. Geary, 102.
38. Liddell, 51.
45. Jenson.
46. Quoted in full in Geary, 58–59.
47. Lever, 504; Jorgensen, 49, 89. The portion of Orange Seely’s autobiography that probably covers this period is missing. See Orange Seely, “Told by himself, History of Orange Seely, Sr.,” unpublished typescript, LDS Church Archives, LDS Historical Department, Salt Lake City, Utah, 9.
49. Ibid., 303, 71. Reportedly the last wolf in Castle Valley died in 1914, caught in some youngster’s trap line. See Rolla West interview with author, Price, Utah, 29–30 March 1979, typescript 204–205.
52. McElprang, 73; Brown, 2; J. W. Seely, Jr., “Homestead Application, December 3, 1878,” RG 49, Homestead Papers, File No. 4018, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
53. Belle Harris Wilson, “Orange Sr. and Hanna Olsson Seely, Both Utah Pioneers,” unpublished typescript, LDS Church Historical Department, Salt Lake City, Utah, 3–5, 11–12; McElprang, 72.
54. Geary, 68–69.
56. Jones, 12–14; McElprang, 271; Lever, 665.
57. McElprang, 151–53, 284; Lever, 595. The independence of plural wives, or lack of it, has been the subject of various studies. See overview and conclusions in Jessie L. Embry, Mormon Polygamous Families (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987), 94–95.
59. Ibid., 283–87.
63. McElprang, 182.
64. Lever, 644; McElprang, 182–83.
Ernest S. Horsley, *Fifty Years Ago This Week At and Around Price*, [Price: privately published, 1929]. A word about sources. Latter-day Saints are generally avid journal-keepers and history-writers, particularly of revered ancestors. Usually several copies are made of these family histories and distributed to various family members. The account of the earliest settlement of Price, which follows, is therefore pieced together from several of these sources, including: “A Short Sketch of Dora Spencer’s Father, John Amon Powell,” unpublished typescript, in possession of the author. A similar account, “Life Sketch of John Ammon Powell [his middle name was spelled variously], written by Sara Jane Powell Snow as revealed to her during a conversation with her father on the front porch of the old family home at Salem, Utah, on May 31, 1928” is cited in Gale R. Rhoades and Kerry Ross Boren, *Footprints in the Wilderness: A History of the Lost Rhoades Mines* (Salt Lake City: Dream Garden Press, 1980), 145; see also 139–41. Other sources used here include “A History of Sarah Jane Shields Powell” by an unnamed granddaughter, and Mae Grames Brown, “Biography of Albert James Grames,” both unpublished typescripts in possession of the author. Additional information comes from a personal interview with Caleb Rhoades’s great-granddaughter, Marguerite Wilson, by author on 16 and 20 September 1980, in Carbonville, Utah, and from Frank Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah*, (Salt Lake City: 1913; reprint, 1960), 126 and 127.

James Gay Homestead Papers, Record Group 49, File 2493, National Archives, Washington, D.C. Gay’s role in Castle Valley settlement has historically been neglected in the aforementioned family histories, probably because he died a bachelor.


Horsley, “Sketch,” 2. He also includes James Gay in the list for March 12, but the James Gay Homestead Papers, witnessed by Caleb Rhoades and Frederick Grames in 1883, are more likely to be accurate on this point.

“Frederick Empire Grames,” attached to Horsley, “Sketch.”

Mae Grames Brown, 3, claims Alfred came in 1879 with Rhoades. Horsley, “Sketch,” says January 1880. In *Fifty Years Ago*, Horsley’s dates for the Grames men also differ slightly from his “Sketch.” However, the “Sketch” was completed in 1937, so I am assuming it has the more correct material—people surely read his published work and asked for corrections.


Horsley, *Fifty Years Ago*, 1.


Ibid.

McElprang, 154–56.

Lever, 597–98.

Ibid., 598.

Ibid., 598–99; McElprang, 92, 301–5.

McElprang, 155–56.


Clair C. Andersen, “History of Utah Grazing, Chapter IV,” in B-100 WPA Grazing Notes, Box 1, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah, 17.
82. Lever, 598.
83. McElprang, 271.
84. “Grazing, Chapter IV,” 17.
88. Lyman, 21; Firmage and Mangrum, 227.
90. Geary, 76–79.
91. Quoted in ibid., 79–80.
94. Athearn, 112.
100. Black journal.
101. Ibid.
102. Ibid.
103. Ibid.
104. Ibid.
109. “State Land Board Minutes,” 1 December 1896, Box 1: State Land Board Records, Administration Division; Series: Minutes, Utah State Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah.
111. Burgess, Chief Engineer’s Report, 1881, 8–10.
114. For good, legal (or illegal) reasons, these transactions were not straightforward. A more complete description is found in Nancy J. Taniguchi, Necessary Fraud (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), 10–16.
115. Ibid., 14.
117. Lever, 601.
119. Ibid., 8–9.
120. Ibid., 18; Teancum Pratt Homestead Papers, RG 49, Homestead Papers, File 5387, National Archives, Washington, D. C.
121. Pratt typescript, 20–23.
122. Athearn, 117.
126. Pratt typescript, 25.
129. Ibid., 4.
130. Jenson on chart “Diagram of the Presidency of the Emery Stake”; Geary, 96–97, 118.
131. Horsley, “Sketch,” 6; idem, “Statistics,” attached to Horsley, “Sketch,” MS 112, Jean M. Westwood Collection, Box 31, Fd. 1, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah; Jenson, chart “Emery Stake . . . Diagram of Wards,” no page. It originally also included Moab, which went to Grand County in 1884.
133. Ibid., 160.
135. Dora Seeley Otterstrom interview, with author, 23 April 1979, Castle Dale, Utah.
136. McElprang, 89.

Chapter Three

9. LDS Family Group Records, LDS Church Genealogical Library, Salt Lake City, Utah, “John Ammon Powell;” Ernest Horsley, “Historical Sketch of Price,” MS 112, Jean M. Westwood Collection, Box 31, Fd. 1, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah, 2 [hereafter “Sketch”]. The marriage date comes from the LDS Family Group Records. Slightly different dates are to be found in “A History of Sarah Jane Shields Powell” by an unnamed grandchild and “A Short Sketch of Dora Spencer’s Father John Amon Powell” allegedly dictated a short time before his death, unpublished typescripts, copies of both in possession of the author.
11. James Albert Jones, “A Story of the Settling of Huntington, Utah,” privately printed, 1975, copy in possession of the author, A–E, 37, 39–41; quote on 41. (Beginning pages are lettered rather than numbered.) This list is not exhaustive, not even for Huntington.
12. Ibid., 33–34.
13. Pratt typescript, 27.
18. McElprang, 186.
19. Ibid.
22. Ibid., 186.
23. Ibid., 185.
24. Ibid., 186.
27. Ibid.
29. Quoted in Gardner and Flores, 49.
30. McElprang, 185–86.
34. Ernest Horsley reported that Fred Grames “gave a piece of his ground [due west of Price, later known as the Whitmore farm] to the RR co to build a depot on for one dollar and built a small store next to it to sell merchandise.” “Sketch,” 6. 1. Since “from March 1881 to November 1882, Price was known as Castle Valley Junction,” [Horsley, “Sketch,” 1], this may have been the original depot, although most historians place it further south.
40. Lewis, 53.
42. McElprang, 172.
47. Eva W. Conover, “The History of George Henry Westover and His Family,” (published by family descendants, Salt Lake City, 1981), 177, 255–56. This holiday commemorates the entry of the Saints into the Salt Lake Valley, and is still celebrated as festively as the Fourth of July throughout Utah.


53. Ibid.

54. McElprang, 94.

55. Nielsen, 6.

56. McElprang, 96.


62. Lever, 601.


64. Ovando James Hollister, *The Resources and Attractions of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Tribune Publishing and Printing Company, 1882), 93.


66. Pratt typescript, 29. The Quorum of the Seventies, an organizational method, widely used by the Latter-day Saints, originated with the anti-abolition campaigns of Theodore Weld in 1836 and 1837 as he sent a group of seventy men around to northeastern churches preaching that slavery was a sin. The revival of the 1830s that launched the original Seventies also gave birth to the LDS Church. See Whitney R. Cross, *The Burned-Over District* (New York: Harper & Row, 1950), 218–20.

67. Jenson.


69. Margolis, 11.


71. Arrington, 342.


73. Horsley, “Sketch,” 9; Mae Grames Brown, 4; McElprang, 253, 254.

74. Gardner interview.

75. Reynolds, 179.


79. Remington, 38–47.


81. Athearn, 132–53; Arrington, 342–47.


89. Ibid., 18–19.

90. Pratt typescript, 30.


95. Ibid., 28–29.


97. “Memoirs of Rudger Clawson,” typed summary, MS 143, Madeline R. McQuown Papers, Box 18, Fd. 25, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah, 7–10.

98. Mathis, 29.


100. Pratt typescript, 32.

101. Ibid., 33.

102. Geary, 129.

103. Pratt typescript, 57.

104. Ibid., 55.

105. Ibid., 55–56.

106. Ibid., 56.

107. Ibid.

108. Ibid., 59.
Notes to pages 74–79

111. The Compiled Laws of Utah, vol. 2 (Salt Lake City: Herbert Pembroke, 1888), quotes on 82, 98–99, 92–93. The statute regarding marriage was originally printed, “Marriages solemnized in any other county, State or Territory, . . .” The word “country” had to be laboriously pasted over “county,” 93.
112. The Late Corporation of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints v. U.S., 136 U.S. 1 (1890).
113. Doctrine and Covenants (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1968), 257.
114. For example, see Annie Clark Tanner, A Mormon Mother (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Library, 1976), 223–314.
115. For a full discussion, see B. Carmon Hardy, Solemn Covenant: The Mormon Polygamous Passage (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992). Historians such as Leonard Arrington have characterized the so-called Woodruff Manifesto of 1890 as a reaction to the Supreme Court decision that had upheld the Edmunds-Tucker Law four months earlier. See Arrington, 377–78.

Chapter Four

4. Eastern Utah Advocate, [hereafter EUA] 7 August 1891, quoted in Pratt typescript, 73.
6. Eastern Utah Telegraph, 4 September 1891.
7. Salt Lake Tribune, 1 January 1892.
15. Ibid., 3–4.
16. Forrester, 3477.
23. McElprang, 78–79; [no title], Emery County Progress [hereafter ECP], 12 October 1901; “Dr. Kirkwood Coming,” ECP, 29 February 1908.
30. Ibid., 31.
34. Coal Certificate 2972, Book 6, Carbon County Recorder’s Office, Carbon County Courthouse, Price, Utah.
36. Ibid., 395.
42. Liddell, 51.

46. Lever, 68; Baker, 71–76.

47. Pace, 23; Horsley “Sketch,” 16; “Old Files Reveal Story of the Killing and Capture of Notorious Bandits by Posse from Here in Book Cliff Region (Taken from the files of *The Eastern Advocate*, Thursday, May 19, 1898),” in Reynolds, 188–90; Baker, 76–81.


51. Edwin Seely, 79.


56. Lowry, 69, 170.


58. Lowry, 70.


61. Lowry, 166.

62. Ibid.


64. Horsley, “Sketch,” 1; idem, “Caleb Baldwin Rhodes,” attached to “Sketch,” 2. The “Lost Rhoades Mine” has long been a Utah legend but has never been found.

65. Pratt typescript, 74.

66. Ibid., 80.

67. Ibid., 74.

68. Williams, 80–88; Smith, 508–16; Lever, 71–72.


Recorder’s Records, Castle Dale, Utah. Luther M. Becker supposedly served as president, but Christopher Wilcox, supposedly his vice-president, signed as president on appropriate legal papers. See also McElprang, 241; Willard Sandberg, interviewed by Elizabeth Hanson, Huntington, Utah, typescript, May 1978; Lever, 645.

Arrington, 227.

Nielsen, 10.


McElprang, 236.

Minute Book of the Board of Education of Emery Stake, Castle Dale, Utah, 1890–1908, 2–4; McElprang, 32–33; Geary, History, 118, 121–23.


Ibid., 185–86.


“Memoranda made by Chio [Hiram B. Clawson] of the things he has learned . . . [over] the past four years,” attached to Clarkson letter, 4.


White, 43–87.


Lever, 74. The tally gave Bryan 50,987 out of 77,877 votes cast.

SCMIR, 1896, 9, 23, 33–35; SCMIR 1897, 5, 28–31; SCMIR 1898, 45.

SCMIR 1896, 3; SCMIR 1898, 42, 45, 60.

[Editorial], EUA, 15 January 1897.

Williams, 136.

Pratt typescript, 96, 101.

Ibid., 101.

Ibid., 109.

Woodruff Journal, 30 December 1896, quoted in Edward Leo Lyman, Political Deliverance (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986) 254 n. 73.

Arrington, 386–95.

“Happenings Ten Years Ago This Week,” EUA, 4 July 1907.

Articles of Incorporation, Holladay Coal Co.,” Special Collections, College of Eastern Utah, Price, Utah; SCMIR, 1897, 29; Record: Mining Locations, Book 8, Carbon County Recorder’s Office, Price, Utah, especially 1–5, 100–101, 121. These holdings were expanded in 1899, as shown on 170–73. Part of the reason to use hard rock mining law (as recorded above) instead of coal land law was that the latter limited ownership to a maximum of 640 acres. See Coal Land Act of 1873, 17 Stat. 607.

“Coal Lands Inquiry.”

“Articles of Incorporation, Holladay Coal Co.,” especially 100–101, 121. The company’s largest stockholder (at 47,437 shares) was Alvaretta C. Holladay, George’s wife; her brother, James H. Jones, owned 19,437. George’s father, Thomas, owned 10,437 shares. In addition to patriarch Jefferson Tidwell, stockholders included his wife, Sarah Seely Tidwell; her brother, Orange Seely; Tidwell’s children William J., John F., Joseph Randolph, and Hyrum, and neighbor William S. Ronjue, each with 12,500 shares. The corporation’s officers (in an unusual arrangement, not the major stockholders) included as president and treasurer Robert N. Baskin, who owned 9,125 shares of stock, as did the company secretary, Liberal supporter Judge Enos D. Hoge. George T. Holladay, the Vice President and company’s namesake, personally owned a mere 439 shares. H. P. and E. L. Mason rounded out the participants. For Hoge, see Madsen, 270. Potential forces brokering the association of dedicated pioneers and a once-active enemy of the LDS Church deserve to be investigated. The company’s mineral land holdings were expanded in 1899, as shown in Mining Locations, Book 8, 170–73.

The Holladay Coal Company v. R. A. Kirker, et al., 20 Utah 192 (1899). This published opinion is all that remains of the case records, with the exception of one single page of the primary documents. The rest of the documents listed in Register of Actions—Civil, 1896–1901, Seventh Judicial District Court, Price, Utah, supposedly forwarded to the Utah Supreme Court, have disappeared.

“Peabody Tells His Story,” EUA, 26 December 1907; “Happenings Ten Years Ago This Week,” EUA, 24 October 1907; “Coal Lands Inquiry.”

Rolla E. West, interview with author, Price, Utah, 29 March, 1979. See also Liddell, 51.

“Bold Outlaws Get $7000 In Gold,” EUA, 22 April 1897.


McElprang, 90–91.

“Castlegate Hold Ups.”

“The County Commissioners,” EUA, 8 July 1897.


“Maxwell Plans For Freedom.”

Lever, 605.

Chapter Five


5. SCMIR 1899, 22–23
15. Ibid., 24–25, 27, 51, 101; SCMIR 1900, 62–63; “From the autobiography of Arni Julius Arnason, sent by Blanche Wilson,” in “Remembering Winter Quarters,” 10; Fuller, 136.
19. “Death in Horrid Form.”
20. Records for 1900–1901, Seventh District Court, Carbon County Recorders Office, Price, Utah; “The Upper Coal Camps Give To The Sufferers,” EUA 3 May 1906; James Whiteside, Regulating Danger (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), 70–72. Montana had the other such law.
21. Teancum Pratt, “Diary,” typescript by Frances B. Cunningham, copy in...
possession of the author, 102–7, quote on 112.

22. Ibid., 112. The Eastern Utah Advocate reported that Pratt fell down a shaft; the State Coal Mine Inspector said that he was killed by a fall of coal from the roof that struck him on the head. All agreed that he died instantly. See “Teancum Pratt Dead,” EUA, 13 September 1900; SCMIR 1900, 112.

23. “Teancum Pratt Dead.”

24. SCMIR 1900, 42, lists nine men killed and sixty-three injured beyond the Scofield total, but the usual details are not available on 111–15, where only seven deaths and forty-one injuries are described. Usually, all of them are. Therefore, it is impossible to tell the location of the remainder.


41. *ECP*, 10 August 1901, 4.
44. Geary, *History*, 188.
50. Clair C. Andersen, interview with Lew Peterson, Emery, Utah, B-100 WPA Grazing Notes, Box 4, Carbon County Utah, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah.
51. Thomas E. Bryson, “Interview With A Large Cattleman” 5 March 1941, and “Interview With An Average Cattleman” 5 March 1941, both in B-100, WPA Grazing Notes, Box 4, Emery County, Utah, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah.
52. Ruben Brasher and Stella McElprang, “The Livestock Industry,” in McElprang, 41–43; Peterson, 123–24; see especially 123 n. 50.
54. “Diary of Albert F. Potter, Associate Chief of the Forest Service,” May 1902–November 1902, Entry for 7 October 1902, Emery County Archives.
58. Ibid., 56, 63–64.
60. McElprang, 156–59.
61. [no title], *EUA*, 20 March 1902.
62. [no title], *EUA*, 3 and 17 July 1902.
69. Ibid., 107.
72. Photograph in the Utah State Historical Society collections and Western Mining and Railroad Museum, published in *UHQ* 58, no 2 (Spring 1990): 149.


78. J. B. Oberto, personal communication, 19 March 1980; quote from Peter Clerico and Margaret Clerico Paluso, interview with author, Spring Glen, Utah, 30 August 1978.


81. Taniguchi, “Common Ground.”

82. Dubofsky, *We Shall*, 76.


85. Zanjani and Rocha, 8–18. Despite a temporary rift in 1906, the WFM and IWW continued this relationship until July 1908.


89. “Utah Leads in the Production of Coal,” *EUA*, 8 August 1907.


94. [Editorial], *EUA*, 10 March 1904.
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4. Wink’s first wife, Anna Eliza Reynolds, had been thrown from a buggy on 19 November 1895 and died from her injuries the same day. He married Mary J. Jorgenson on 16 September 1896. See “‘Wink’ Is Sixty,” *Emery County Progress* 25 June 1910; Obed C. Haycock, “Electric Power Comes to Utah,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* [hereafter UHQ] 45 (Spring 1977): 186.
7. Willard Sandberg, interview with Elizabeth Hanson, Huntington, Utah, May 1978, copy in possession of the author; Lynn Collard, interview with Elizabeth Hanson and author, Huntington, Utah, 9 November 1978.
13. Edward A. Geary, “Reuben G. Miller,” 139–45. Only after he and Emma agreed to discontinue marital relations in 1923 could he return to the LDS Church. He was rebaptized in 1925. Apostle Reed Smoot backed a circular sent to all stake presidents and their counselors in 1910 urging church trials for polygamists, and influenced President Smith’s rebuke of polygamists at the fall, 1910 general conference. See B. Carmon Hardy, *Solemn Covenant* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 292.


21. H. G. Williams to C. H. Schlacks, 22 May 1905. See also R. Forrester to H. G. Williams, 22 May 1905; R. Forrester to C. H. Schlacks, 8 March 1905, W. J. Tidwell to R. Forrester, 17 July 1905, and W. J. Tidwell to H. G. Williams, 20 July 1905, all in MS 154, Utah Fuel Company Records, Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, Box 8, Fd. 5; J. Harwood Graves to Attorney General, 30 August 1905, RG 60, U.S. Department of Justice Straight Numerical Files, Box 654, Case 48590.


23. “Democrats Get Majority,” *EUA*, 8 November 1906; Robert Forrester to H. G. Williams, 3 July 1905, MS 154, Utah Fuel Company Records, Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, Box 17, Fd. 2.

24. W. J. Tidwell to H. G. Williams, 20 July 1905, MS 154, Utah Fuel Collection, Box 17, Fd. 2, Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. See also W. J. Tidwell to Robert Forrester, 11 July 1905, MS 154, Box 17, Fd. 2.

25. Clark deposition, attached to Ernest Knaebel to Attorney General, 28 July 1911, RG 60, U. S. Department of Justice Straight Numerical Files, National Archives, Washington, D. C., Box 655, Case 48590.


30. SCMIR 1905, 25.


39. Dorothy Millarich Losik to Frances B. Cunningham, 2 April 1977, copy in possession of the author.

40. Marie Auphand Fidell, interview with Frances B. Cunningham, 16 March 1976, Spring Glen, Utah.


42. Martin Marchello, Sr., interview with author, Spring Glen, Utah, 1 October 1978.

43. U.S. Census 1900, Castle Gate Precinct, Carbon County, Utah; Pete Clerico and Margaret Clerico Paluso, interview with author, Helper, Utah, 30 August 1978; “Independent Coal People Lose Suit,” EUA, 26 June 1912.

44. Pearl Baker and Ruth Wilcox, “Greenriver,” in McElprang, 191; Geary, History, 192.
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46. Baker and Wilcox, 188; Geary, History, 191; Barbara Ekker to Jim Ramsay, 23 February 1971, copy in possession of the author; Wadsworth, “Green River.”


51. Quoted in Geary, History, 224.


53. SCMIR 1900, 104; SCMIR 1901, 26.


57. “News of Town and County in Brief,” EUA, 29 August 1907.


62. “Of A More Or Less Personal Nature,” EUA, 28 November 1907; Thomas E. Bryson, “Interview With A Large Sheepman,” 7 March 1941, B-100, WPA Grazing Notes, Box 4, Emery County, Utah, and Lee Anderson, “Stock Raisers,” B-100 WPA Grazing Notes, Box 4, Carbon County, Utah, Utah

63. Thomas E. Bryson, “Interview with a Large Sheepman [Karl Seely],” 7 March 1941, WPA Grazing Notes Collection, Box 4, Fd. Emery County, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah.

64. “Salt Lake Banks Issue Some Certificates,” EUA, 14 November 1907; “Green River Bank Closed,” EUA, 19 December 1907.

65. [Editorial], EUA, 14 November 1907.

66. West interview, 115–18.

67. H. S. Alden to Gomer Thomas, 24 January 1908, Coal Mining Collection, Utah State Coal Mine Inspector’s Correspondence, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah.

68. “Big Strike Soon Settled,” EUA, 31 October 1907.


70. Utah State Gazetteer and Business Directory (Salt Lake City: R. L. Polk, 1900), 210; West interview, 235–36; “Second Only to Salt Lake City,” CCN, 25 September 1913.


72. W. J. Tidwell to H. G. Williams, 19 August 1905, MS 154, Box 17, Fd. 2, Utah Fuel Company Records, Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Utah; “John B. Millburn Shot Down,” EUA, 12 October 1905.

73. Quoted in Walker Lowry, Wallace Lowry (Stinehour Press: privately printed, 1974), 73. He has misidentified Millburn as Milner.

74. West interview, 85.

75. [Editorial], EUA, 5 April 1906.


78. Marion M. Robinson, no title [History of the Episcopal Church in Carbon County], 1967, copy in possession of the author.

79. SCMIR 1907, 6–7.

80. SCMIR 1909, 31; “Big Railroad and Coal Mining Deal Is Sure To Go,” EUA, 22 July 1909; “Road Will Build To Cedar Creek,” EUA, 9 September 1909; “Coal Road to End at Castle Gate,” CCN, 6 November 1913; “Map Showing Location of the Coal Mines in Carbon & Emery Co.’s Utah,” RG 134, Records of the Interstate Commerce Commission, Docket 7933, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
Notes to pages 146–149


84. “Eastern Utah Road Assured,” EUA, 6 April 1911.


88. “C. L. Maxwell Is Killed. . . .”

89. “Dead Man Found To Be Hop Fiend,” EUA, 26 August 1909.

90. Interviews with Sam Taylor, Moab, Utah, 14 September 1979; Rolla West, Price, Utah, 29 March 1979; Lorenzo Dow Young, Price, Utah, 6 August 1979. See also “News of Town and County,” EUA, 9 September 1909.


Chapter Seven


4. “Instructions to Workers for the Woman Suffrage Petition to Congress,” attached to Annie Maria Allen to Ada Ostberg, 18 January 1909, copy in possession of the author.


8. “Swat the Flies and Swat the Garbage,” *Eastern Utah Advocate* [hereafter *EUA*], 31 July 1913.


18. Olson.


23. “Memorandum” accompanying M. C. Burch to attorney general, 26 March 1909, RG 60 Justice Department Straight Numerical Files, Box 654, Case 48590, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

33. J. F. Vaile to M. P. Braffet, 4 January 1912; 9 January 1912; 1 February 1912, all in MS 154, Box 9, Fd. 2, Utah Fuel Company Records, Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah; “Uncle Sam Recovers Valuable Coal Land,” CCN, 26 April 1912.
35. “Sunnyside Closed to Progressives,” CCN, 31 October 1912.
38. Olson.
40. Olson.
42. “County Commissioners Are On The Warpath,” CCN, 16 January 1913; “Doings At The Courthouse,” CCN, 30 January 1913; “Peace Now Prevails at the Courthouse,” CCN, 6 February 1913; “District Judge Sustains County Commissioners,” CCN, 6 February 1913; “War Declared At Sunnyside,” CCN, 10 April 1913; Leonard DeLue and Charles H. Vinton v. C. H. Stevenson, Utah 7 Civil 836 (1914); “Republican Ticket Makes Clean Sweep,” CCN, 6 November 1913; “County Commissioners Make Serious Charges,” CCN, 1 January 1914; “So the People May Understand,” CCN, 29 January 1914; “Impeachment Case Started,” CCN, 19 February 1914; “Women Organize Betterment League,” CCN, 26 February 1914.
Notes to pages 155–159

Place,” *EUA*, 23 February 1911; “Women Made To Leave Forthwith,” *EUA*, 7 December 1911; “City and County,” *CCN*, 25 July 1912; “‘Sassiety’ News,” *CCN*, 1 August 1912.


52. Link, 59–75.


54. C. C. Anderson, “Interview with Harry Mahleres,” July 1940. WPA Grazing Notes Collection, Box 4, Fd.: “Carbon County, Utah,” Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah.

55. Elizabeth Hanson, “Cattle drive not what it was,” *ECP*, 28 June 1979.


65. Geary, 216.


70. West interview, 75–76.

71. Richard E. Behling, personal interview, Ferron, Utah, 26 April 1994, Emery County Archives.


73. SCMIR 1909, 6.


75. “Strikers Killed Thomas Jackson,” EUA, 9 February 1911; “All Quiet Now at Kenilworth,” EUA, 16 February 1911.

76. SCMIR 1909, 6.


78. “All Now Quiet . . .”; Aiello interview.

79. “Accused Passed Through Price” and “Men Taken Through Price Last Tuesday,” EUA, 27 April 1910.


83. “Strike at Tucker,” CCN, 12 June 1913; “Fear Trouble At Tucker,” CCN, 12 June 1913; “Conflicting Reports,” CCN, 19 June 1913; “Agitators Jailed; Strike Is Broken,” EUA, 19 June 1913; “No Room Here For ‘Never Workers,'” EUA, 26 June 1913. Quote from “No Room Here.”


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94. Slosson, 56; W. W. Armstrong to W. E. Hope, 19 March and 29 March, 1918, Record Group 67. Records of the Fuel Administration, “Bureau of State Organizations, Utah,” Box 841, Folder 1, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

95. “Heiner Made The Distributor of Coal,” Sun, 14 June 1918.


98. “Greeks Resent Uncalled For Slur,” Sun, 12 April 1918. The Crocketts had sold their newspaper and then reclaimed it but neglected to include its name in the paperwork. The Carbon County News bought the name of the Eastern Utah Advocate and became the News-Advocate. Robert Crockett kept his paper, and opted to call it The Sun, publishing it continuously until his death in 1930. See Edith Allred, “The Pages Tell a Tale,” Carbon County Journal, vol. 1 (1982):9–13.


100. Quoted in Papanikolas, “Toil and Rage,” 156.


102. West interview, 58–63.


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111. Margaret K. Brady, Mormon Healer and Folk Poet (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2000), 25, 84.


114. Holdaway interview.


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14. Owen McClenahan, Utah’s San Rafael Swell (Castle Dale: privately printed, 1986), 100.


21. Ibid., 51.


24. [Editorial], EUA, 27 April 1911; “Moving Pictures That Talk,” Carbon County News, 23 January 1913


Notes to pages 177–182

33. Higham, 311.
37. Ibid., 136.
38. Stanley Harvey interview with Mark Hutchings, 12 June 1976, Labor Oral History Project Collection, Charles Redd Center for Western Studies, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 5.
42. “Browne,” Kelen and Stone, 84.
43. Powell, Next Time, 123.
47. Anna Marolt Tolich, interview with author, Spring Glen, Utah, 13 May 1982.
49. “Filomena Fazzio Bonacci,” in Kelen and Stone, 278.
51. Martin Kromich, private interview with Allan Kent Powell, Spring Glen, Utah, 8 April 1976; Dorothy Millarich Losik to Frances B. Cunningham, 2 April 1977, copy in possession of the author; Frances Dupin Vouk, interview with the author, Price, Utah, 10 October 1978.
58. Sam King, quoted in Papanikolas, Toil and Rage, 172.
60. Vito and Filomena Bonacci, interview with author, Spring Glen, Utah, 15 November 1978.
61. Powell, Next Time, 133–34; Marzo-Ariotti interview.
65. McElprang, comp., 161; Geary, 261, 274–75.
73. Ibid., 35.
75. Storrs, 37.
83. Rolla West, interview with author, Price, Utah, 29 March 1979, 75.
89. Max Finley, “Mohrland,” in *Legends*, 129.
95. Irma Peterson Snow, personal interview, Ferron, Utah, 4 February 1993. Emery County Archives.
99. Ernest S. Horsley, “Historical Sketch of Price,” MS 112 Jean Westwood Collection, Box 31, Fd. 1, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah. 17.
100. Myers-Borla interview.
102. Cormani interview.
103. Conover, 343.
106. Myers-Borla interview.
108. Myers-Borla interview.

111. “Anthony ‘Tony’ Kontgas, 81, Businessman,” in Kelen and Stone, eds., 381.

112. Harvey interview, 1–3.

113. Ibid., 5.

114. Burridge diary; Geary, 265; Reynolds, 13, 78, 93; Michael Katsanevas, Jr., “The Emerging Social Worker and the Castle Gate Relief Fund,” UHQ 50 (Summer 1982): 244.


117. Spensko interview.

118. Burridge diary.


120. Burridge diary.


122. Tolich interview, 33.

123. “Kontgas,” in Kelen and Stone, 381.

124. Burridge diary.

125. Tolich interview, 32–33.

126. Burridge diary.

127. Harvey, 8.


130. Leavitt.


133. “Stan John Diamanti, 72, Mining Engineer,” in Kelen and Stone, eds., 398.


135. Stevens interview.

136. Allan Kent Powell, “A History of Labor Union Activity in the Eastern Utah Coal Fields: 1900–1934” (Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1976), 304 n. 10. Since his guilt was never proven in a court of law, his crime can only be alleged.


140. For example, at the grisly southern lynching of seventeen-year-old Jesse Washington in 1917, when a “professional photographer . . . documented the lynching for the inevitable souvenir postcards,” Philip Dray, At The Hands of Persons Unknown (New York: Random House, 2002), 218.

141. “Lynched by a Mob!” Sun, 19 June 1925.

142. They named the company men who had accompanied Marshall from Castle Gate to Price: Henry East and John Daskalakis; Joseph Parmley, Utah Fuel chief clerk; Edward Eynon Jones, Castle Gate mine superintendent; Joseph
E. Caldwell, Utah Fuel employee; and Levi (or Lafe) Davis, manager of the Castle Gate company store. Five more of those arrested came from Price: Warren Peacock, the city marshal; Morgan King, city electrician; Joseph Richard Golding, of Golding Brothers Vulcanizing Works, and barbers George O'Neil and Charles Atwood. See Powell, “Labor Union,” 286. See also copies of legal documents (warrants, information, and complaints) in Dorman, 147–50.

144. Sparks, 27.
150. Poll, 691.
151. Wetzel, 5; Okura interview.
152. Iris Mangum Potts, interview with author, Price, Utah, 6 March 1979.
153. “Largest Crowd Mining Town Has Ever Seen Attends Services,” Sun, 12 March 1926.
154. “Clear Creek Team Wins Another Football Game,” EUA, 31 July 1913.

Chapter Nine


Bunnell, 267.


Kosuye Tsugawa Okura and Ferry Okura Taniguchi, interview with author, Carbonville, Utah, 8 January 1989.


McElvaine, 140–56.


*National Miners Union Membership Book* (Women’s Auxiliary, Book No. 2724), South Slavic Archives, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Francis Dupin Vouk, interview with author, Price, Utah, 12 October 1978.


Spensko interview.

Remo Spigarelli, interview with author, Carbonville, Utah, 5 May 1982.


Ibid., 174–78.

Nicholas Fontecchio, *The New Deal For the Coal Mining Industry*, [1933], copy in possession of the author.

Powell, 178–79.


Powell, 180–81.

Myers-Borla interview.


Eldon Dorman, “Death of Sheriff Marion Bliss,” in *Confessions of a Coal Camp*


31. Ibid., 295.


34. Myers-Borla interview.

35. Myers-Borla interview.


44. Bunnell, 266–67.


46. Bunnell, 265. Italics in original.


50. Thomas E. Bryson, “Interview with an average cattleman [James F. Allred],” WPA Grazing Notes Collection, Box 4, Fd.: “Emery County, Utah,” Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah.


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61. History C.C.C. Company 959, 1933 to 1936
70. Stevens, 52–64, 243–44.
71. Rue L. Clegg to Fred A. Weller, 10 March 1936; Jonathan Fletcher to Edward J. Rowell, 5 February 1936; Paul S. Taylor to William Palmer, 20 March 1936, all in RG 96 Subgroup FSA, San Francisco, Series RR UT Correspondence, 1935–37, Box 2, Fd. RR UT 11 Price River 100–, Sierra Pacific Branch, National Archives, San Bruno, California; Peter S. Briggs, curator and Brian Q. Cannon, essay, Life and Land (Logan: Utah State University Press and Nora Eccles Harrison Museum of Art, 1988), 9–12. All the photographs bear the original caption, presumably provided by Garst, Taylor, and Lange.
73. William I. Palmer to Omar Mills, 1 February 1936, RG 96 Subgroup FSA, San Francisco, Series RR UT Correspondence, 1935–37, Box 2, Fd. RR UT 11 Price River 100–, Sierra Pacific Branch, National Archives, San Bruno, California.
74. Jonathan Garst to Henry H. Blood, 7 May 1936, RG 96, Subgroup FSA San Francisco, Series RR UT Correspondence 1935–37, Box 2, Fd. RR UT 11 Price River 100–, Sierra Pacific Branch, National Archives, San Bruno,
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20. Powell, xii. It is unclear if this total is also meant to include women.
25. Watt, *Carbon County*, 381.
33. Ibid., 198.
35. Peter Irons, *A People’s History of the Supreme Court* (New York: Penguin Books, 1999), 356–63. The literature on the internment is voluminous and growing. See, for example, National Park Service, *Confinement and Ethnicity* (Tucson: Western Archeological and Conservation Center, 1999); Louis Fiset, *Imprisoned Apart* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997), and


37. Daniels, 246–57.


41. Gordon interview.


43. “Hold Carbon Coal Land Most Safe Investment,” *Eastern Utah Advocate* [hereafter *EUA*], 6 April 1911; “Sharp Interests Are Figuring On Horse Canyon Coking Coal,” *EUA*, 4 April 1912.


54. Eva Conover to Nancy Taniguchi.

64. Howard Balsley, untitled paper prepared for the Southeastern Utah Chapter of the American Institute of Mining Engineers [hereafter Balsley Remarks], c. 1975, copy in possession of the author, 1.
70. Dorman interview.
74. Dorman interview.
75. Ibid., (reading from a newspaper clipping).
79.  Quoted in Finken, 33.
81.  Quoted in Finken, 33.
82.  Utah Mining Association, Utah’s Mining Industry (Salt Lake City: Utah Mining Association, 1967), 39.
83.  Dorman interview.
87.  Layne Miller, “MK Tunnels are part of San Rafael Swell’s dark past,” S-A, 21 May 1998.
89.  McClenahan, San Rafael, 90, 115–16; idem, “Uranium Mining,” 29.
90.  Saupan.
92.  Ibid., 24.
96.  Robison, 6.
102.  Lythgoe, 58–64.
Notes to pages 240–246

111. Geary, Poplarhaven, 162.

Chapter Eleven

2. Ibid.
11. Rosa Sandoval, interview with Chuck Lobato, Katarina Trujillo, and Margie Archuleta, East Carbon, Dragerton, Utah, 13 June 1972, Utah Minorities Number S–46, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah.
12. Valentine Arambula, interview with Floyd O’Neil and Vincent Mayer, Sunnyside, Utah, 5 February 1972, Utah Minorities Number S–31, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah.
13. Mr. and Mrs. Richard Martinez, interview by Vincent Mayer and Bernice Martinez, Dragerton, Utah, [n.d., c. 1972], Utah Minorities Number S–22,
Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah.


15. Joanne Taniguchi Kanehara, personal e-mail, 10 June 2003; Jeanne Taniguchi Ogden, personal e-mail, 9 June 2003.


19. Church Almanac, 297.


24. Allan Kent Powell, personal communication, 14 March 2003; The Spartan [Emery High School Yearbook], various years.


30. McCourt, 187–90.

31. Ibid., 158.

33. Ernest S. Horsley, “Historical Sketch of Price,” MS 112 Jean Westwood Collection, Box 31, Fd. 1, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah.


41. Nomination forms in possession of the author.


45. Geary, Poplarhaven.


53. Dorman, “Museum.”


55. Dorman, “Museum.”


57. Dorman, “Museum.”


60. “Burge signs dinosaur stamp; a historical day for CEU,” *The Eagle* 21, no. 10, 8 May 1997; Burge interview.


69. Tom Martin, “Museum becomes one of three [sic, four] to be accredited in Utah,” [CEU] *Eagle*, 14 November 1991. The others are the Hansen Planetarium, the University of Utah Natural History Museum, and the University of Utah Museum of Fine Arts.


71. Christiansen and Hewitt, 255.


74. “The First Baptist Church of Emery County,” in ibid., 475.


Chapter Twelve

2. Ibid.


6. Ibid.


23. Yergin, 717, 726.


27. Yergin, 716; “Tar sand developers to receive DOE funding [sic: they were not funded],” S-A, 14 June 1980; “Texas firm to extract Sunnyside tar sands,” S-A, 22 July 1981.


32. Ibid., 106.


44. Yergin, 778–79.


64. Wyant, 280–84.


76. Turner, 268.