Carbonado: The History of a Coal Mining Town in the Foothills of Mount Rainier, 1880-1937

John Hamilton Streepy

Central Washington University, john.streepy@cwu.edu

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John Hamilton Streepy
May 1999
CARBONADO:
THE HISTORY OF A COAL MINING TOWN
IN THE FOOTHILLS OF MOUNT RAINIER,
1880-1937

A Project Report
Presented to
The Graduate Faculty
Central Washington University

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts
History

by
John Hamilton Streepy
May 1999
CENTRAL WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
Graduate Studies

We hereby approve the project report of

John Hamilton Streepy

Candidate for the degree of Master of Arts

APPROVED FOR THE GRADUATE FACULTY

June 3, 1999

__________________________________________
Karen Blair, Committee Chair

June 4, 1999

__________________________________________
Earl Glauert

June 3, 1999

__________________________________________
Nancy Hultquist
ABSTRACT

CARBONADO: THE HISTORY OF A COAL MINING TOWN
IN THE FOOTHILLS OF MOUNT RAINIER

by
John Hamilton Streepy

May 1999

The history of the coal mining town of Carbonado, Washington was studied. Starting from a brief description of the formation and discovery of coal in Western Washington, the fifty-seven year history of active coal mining was covered in this project. Topics included town leadership, coal mining peculiarities in the region, living in a company town, the plight of Chinese workers in the 1880s, and the labor strikes after World War I that led to the eventual closing of the mines. The project ended with a description of life in the town after major coal mining operations ended in 1937. Also included in this project are historical photographs to illustrate the text, and statistical tables in the appendices to describe coal mining in the region.
To

Marie and Dora
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I cannot begin to thank the following people enough for the help they have given in bringing this history of Carbonado to reality. Above all, I could never have written this project without the love and support of my wife Nina. I thank my children, Westley and Britainey, for just being the joy that they are. The continued support of my family has been invaluable. My grandfather, John Ross Streepy of Carbonado, Washington, provided information and much needed clarification. Though he might not have thought he was helping, he told me things about mining that one cannot learn in books. My grandmother, Dora Streepy, passed away before I seriously began work on this project, but before she died she gave me many of the old photographs and postcards used in the project.

Many professors at Central have helped this project along and there is not enough space to thank all of them individually. Central Washington University is lucky to have the caring faculty we have who are willing to listen and guide beyond what is in the classroom. I thank my project committee, Dr. Karen Blair, Dr. Earl Glauert, and Dr. Nancy Hultquist, for their guidance and help. Each has left a mark on this project and I am eternally grateful.

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nearly everything I needed that Central did not have. Without her help in locating sources, my project would never have been finished.

Also, I would like to thank the following people who provided help in the course of this project: Kathy Sala of the Central Washington University History Department, Tim Eckert and Dave Hastings of the Washington State Archives, Joy Werlink of the Washington State Historical Society, Richard H. Engeman and Gary Lundell of the University of Washington Library, and Brenda Streepy, clerk of the town of Carbonado.
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Washington fueled trains, machinery, houses, and steamers up and down the Pacific Coast. For fifty-seven years, 1880 to 1937, a large portion of the coal came from the mines of Carbonado.

People came to the Carbon River region during the last quarter of the nineteenth century for coal, and without such an impetus, the area might have remained timberland or lackluster farmland. The coal industry built other communities than Carbonado. Coal mining communities dotted the area from Burnett in the north to Fairfax in the south. (See Map 2) The reign of coal as the major fuel of industry barely lasted from the middle of the 1800s to the turn of the twentieth century, as expanding industries exploited newer and cheaper fuels, but coal mining continued because the fuel remained economical for some applications. The economy of the towns in this part of the county relied on coal, but many towns, built solely to support the extraction of coal, could not survive. These towns shriveled and eventually disappeared as companies needed fewer and fewer mines; some reclaimed by the wilderness. Carbonado, however, survived the initial change and kept supplying coal until the mines became unprofitable.

This project presents a general history of the town of Carbonado from the discovery of coal in the late 1870s to the end of active large-scale mining in the town in 1937. This project concerns the town, but appropriate comparison with other localities is included. Each chapter explores a different topic in the history of the town. By using this method, the representative aspects as well as the more unique aspects of the history of Carbonado can be explored. This approach to the history of Carbonado does have a drawback. By focusing on the topics and exploring them throughout the town’s history, the chronology of events is sacrificed. To make up for this shortcoming, a chronology of the events in the history of Carbonado is provided in Appendix B. The benefits of a greater understanding of these topics make the abandonment of a strictly chronological approach worthwhile.
This is the first historical study to focus solely on the town of Carbonado, Washington, but it is not the first to focus on the larger coal mining region of which Carbonado is a part. A local newspaper published a history of coal mining in eastern Pierce County in 1980. Nancy Irene Hall’s Carbon River Coal Country told the story of the various mining and logging towns that dotted the countryside along or near the Carbon River. This book does contain valuable examples of oral history of the region that can never be duplicated because of memory loss and death of her subjects in the intervening years. Thus, Hall’s book has its value, even though it contains typographical and factual errors, and though it does not accurately or consistently document sources. But then, Hall never claimed to be more than an amateur historian.

In order to write a documented history of Carbonado I have used primary sources as well as secondary sources to relate the history of Carbonado. Many of the items used in this project came from state government or federal government sources. Newspapers also provided major sources for the town history. Also, personal recollections of the area provide descriptions of the town in various years.

In terms of government documents, I have found the following to be indispensable. The Annual and Biennial Reports of the Coal Mine Inspector covers nearly the entire fifty-seven years of major coal mining activities in Carbonado. Joseph Daniels, a professor of geology at the University of Washington, authored various reports for the state of Washington, and wrote about Carbonado during the heyday of mining. Two of Daniels’ works, The Coal Fields of Pierce County and The Mining History of Pierce County, provided much needed information on the nature of coal mining in the state and were instrumental in locating other sources of information. Sadly, Daniels did
not finish the latter before his death.¹ So unique was this project that the state published it posthumously in a rough state. In general, sources from federal government sources lack detail on Washington coal mining because of the small size of the coal mining industry on the Pacific Coast compared to the great coal fields in Pennsylvania and the Appalachian Mountains, but some specific titles do exist. “Coal-mining Problems in the State of Washington” by G. W. Evans presented extensive details of mine workings of the state including the mines at Carbonado. The Eleventh (1890) and Fourteenth (1920) Censuses of the United States both contained reports on the nation’s coal, shedding light on the industry. Albert Fay’s Coal Mine Fatalities in the United States: 1870-1924, provided reports of various coal areas, including the Carbon River Coal Field, and explained major disasters that occurred in the industry.

No one ever published a newspaper in Carbonado, but the major newspaper of Pierce County in the time period, the Tacoma Daily Ledger, carried stories about the town and the Company, especially during the years of the founding of the town and the mines. Reports of important events, such as major accidents, also appeared in the Seattle Times, and two slightly different views helped analyze the situations. Older territorial newspapers, such as the Puget Sound Express from Steilacoom and the Daily Pacific Tribune from Olympia, contained articles on the initial discovery of the Carbonado-Wilkeson coal field, but not much beyond the 1870s. The nearby communities of Buckley and Enumclaw published various weekly newspapers from the late 1890s to the present, occasionally covering events in Carbonado. Unfortunately, the events reported by these papers proved to be less than newsworthy for historians. These papers mostly recorded ephemeral events rather than the significant events of the town, such as the

¹A future historian could and should finish what Daniels started with The Mining History of Pierce County. In its present form it is a useful text, but it is obvious that the work Daniels started would have been the definitive text on the history of coal mining in Pierce County.
founding of a hospital for the miners or the purchasing of new fire equipment. However, choice nuggets of information about life in the town of Carbonado appeared occasionally. As a service to future researchers as well as documentation, a selected list of articles, a list of the newspapers used, and the time periods consulted are included in the bibliography.

No personal journals or diaries were found, but I did find two reminiscences for the early history of the region. The Works Progress Administration published a collection of reminiscences during the Great Depression called *As Told By the Pioneers*, which contained a short narration by a person who worked for the Carbon Hill Coal Company at Carbonado for three days. Also, The Washington State Regional Archives holds some letters by mining experts, including one from Robert Wingate, the town’s founder, to Washington Territorial Governor Squire. Unlike the journals and diaries, these sources contained some pertinent information concerning Carbonado.

The subject of coal is important to the development of our industrial society and there is voluminous literature on this subject. A few general works stand out. *The Coal Industry* by A. T. Shurick provided a wealth of information, especially on coal mining prior to the turn of the century. Though written in the 1920s, it remains an excellent source describing the mechanics of coal mining. Price V. Fishback’s *Soft Coal, Hard Choices: the Economic Welfare of Bituminous Coal Miner, 1890 - 1930* illustrated the daily lives of miners and mining techniques. Shurrick characterized the inner workings of mining coal, whereas the newer works, especially Fishback’s *Soft Coal, Hard Choices*, described the lives of the miners and the impact the industry had on their lives. Together, these works provide a general picture of the world of coal mining in the later part of the 1900s and the early part of this century. Both Curtis Seltzer’s *Fire in the Hole* and Keith Dix’s *What’s a Coal Miner to Do?: The Mechanization of Coal Mining* contained
additional information on coal mining as well, rounding out the information of the other two texts.

Other secondary works described life in coal mining towns or similar towns in America. The company town phenomenon was vital to the expansion of industry in America. Much of this country’s natural resources were found in very remote localities, and to access these resources companies had to set up communities for their workers. 

*The Company Town in the American West,* by James B. Allen, described the rise and fall of the company town system in the western United States. Allen’s work showed the similarities of structure and function of various company towns throughout the west, such as the existence and hatred by miners of the company store, the complete control by the owners, and the similar housing. Complementing Allen’s work, Crandall A. Shifflett’s *Coal Towns: Life, Work, and Culture in Company Towns of Southern Appalachia, 1880-1960* described life in the company coal towns of eastern coal fields. No discussion of the company town would be complete without a detailed description of the role of the company store, and *The Industrial Store: Its History, Operations, and Economic Significance* by Ole-S. Johnson revealed much about the stores that ruled the lives of miners and their families and suffered much of their wrath.

Three master’s theses provided much background information for this work. “Coal Town: Immigrant Miners in Wilkeson, Washington” (1992) by Peter Alter was helpful. It did not contain material on Carbonado, but Wilkeson is located three miles to the north and the two towns had much in common. Alter focused mostly on eastern European immigrants to Wilkeson. Carbonado lacked a large population of similar immigrants, but Alter described the labor problems of the strike years very well. Donald Corson’s “The Western Washington Coal Industry 1875 -1935: A Study of an Ephemeral Industry” (1974) described the nature of coal mining in Washington in terms of the state being on the periphery of the industry as a whole both in location and importance.
However, at the end of his thesis, Corson discussed ethnicity of labor in the Carbon River Coal Field, a topic that did not fit the rest of the work about the peripheral nature of the Washington coal industry. Though written in 1931, F. E. Melder’s “A Study of the Washington Coal Industry” surpassed the other two theses in terms of detail and sophistication. Corson and Alter utilized some unique primary resources, but Melder demonstrated a greater grasp of mining in the state. His chapters on the labor problems after the World War I described the unrest prevalent then. Melder also described briefly the Chinese situation in Carbonado and this prompted me to develop this topic into a whole chapter.

One source is noted for its absence in this project. I could not consult one source on the coal mining years in Carbonado that is held at Stanford University’s Library. It holds the records for the Carbon Hill Coal Company and their parent company, the Pacific Improvement Company. Circumstances made it impossible to travel to California to view the material in person. Owing to the size and rarity of the collection the archival staff could not loan or copy the records. However, through my search of the holdings of the University of Washington, I discovered that the Manuscript and University Archives contained a significant portion of these records and I incorporated them into this project. It will be up to a future historian to consult the full set of records, which for the most part cover business decisions.

There is also one topic area that has not been included in this project. The role of women in Carbonado was not overlooked out of malice, but because the e is a noted lack of materials that accurately describe women’s lives in the town. Women lived in the town from the beginning, and performed jobs such as teachers, domestic help, and being mothers. Where such information exists I have included it into the text, but as a topic or a subtopic there just was not enough information available to present a picture of their lives that would be respectful of their important position in society.
Before presenting the major topics that make up this project on the history of Carbonado, a general background is provided. This introduction includes the creation and evolution of coal in the region. Then, the discovery of coal and early mining efforts in the State of Washington are described. Chapter one, "Wingate and the Brothers Davies," compares the three major leaders of the town to show their impact on Carbonado. The second chapter, "Coal Mining in Carbonado," describes the methods, peculiarities, and dangers of mining in the Carbon River Coal Field. The third chapter, "Company Town Life in Carbonado," illustrates the life of the townspeople outside the mine. This chapter highlights topics such as the company store, leisure activities, and home life. "The Chinese in Carbonado," the fourth chapter, discusses a brief period, from 1885 to 1886, in the history of the town and the hardships faced by Chinese workers in Carbonado and Pierce County. Chapter five, "The Strike That Ended Company Control," concerns the men who mined the coal and the struggle for control of labor in the town culminating in the strike of 1921. The sixth and last chapter, "End of an Era," details the road to the eventual closure of the mines. The project ends with an Epilogue that explores how the townspeople of Carbonado eventually freed themselves from Company control and gives a description of life in the town during the post Company control period.
Map 1: Map showing various mining towns in Pierce and King Counties. It also shows the relative position of Carbonado to Tacoma, and the rail lines used to transport coal from Carbonado to Tacoma. Drawn by the author, based on a map in Coals of the State of Washington, 10.
Figure 1: Houses along Pershing Avenue. Photograph taken by the author.
Map 2  Carbon River Coal Field in eastern Pierce County. Drawn by the author, based on a map in *The Coal Fields of Pierce County*. 
INTRODUCTION
THE FORMATION AND DISCOVERY OF COAL IN WASHINGTON

The majority of the coal found in the western and eastern foothills of the Cascades Mountains just north of the 47th Parallel on the Pacific Northwest Coast formed during the middle Eocene Era, approximately fifty-four millions of years ago. (See Map 3) The creation of coal in Washington, however, began with the formation of the land that would become the state. The crust of the earth is composed of giant sections, called plates, which float over the denser hot molten rock of the planet's mantle. These floating plates are in constant motion, rubbing and bumping other plates. Along the zones of contact between plates, some plates force others to go beneath them, or to be subducted. As the North American continental plate forced the Pacific oceanic plate under it, the continental plate scraped off the top layer of the ocean floor. The material from the ocean floor piled up on the edge of the continental plate and it became most of the western half of what is now Washington. Swamps and marshland covered most of Western Washington. The warm and moist pre-historic climate of the Earth, combined with a higher carbon dioxide content in the atmosphere, fostered lush plant growth in the shallow waters of the state. The rich nutrients in the soil removed from the ocean floor aided in the growth of a dense layer of vegetation on the newly built-up terrain. Through the millennia, plants grew, died, and decomposed again and again in these wet, low-lying areas. Over time this mass
of decaying plants transformed into a peat bog by the pressure of the multiple layers of vegetation.¹

The formation of coal is a long and exacting process. Salt holds the key to the chemical transformation from peat to coal. Coal beds form from peat bog swamps, but only those peat bogs that lie next to or close by bodies of salt water can become coal beds. Water often floods low-lying swamps and marshes. If this water contains salt the bog could become coal. Silt accompanies the floodwater. The silt coming mostly from the east as arkosic sands built up over time and compressed the salty peat bog.² The pressure of the sandy layers, combined with gentle heating by the earth’s core, can create coal. Once begun, coal evolves through four distinct stages. The quality of the coal is directly proportional to the length of time since the initial creation of the peat bog. Peat still contains organic matter and has poor heating qualities owing to this. The first true coal, lignite, or brown coal, contains no organic components and heats poorly. The most common form of coal, both worldwide and in Washington, is bituminous. Bituminous coal burns hot, works in most applications, and is well suited as a fuel. Anthracite, however, burns even better than bituminous, and it burns clean. Anthracite fields exist in the oldest geologic regions of the planet such as the great Appalachian Coal Fields that stretch from western Pennsylvania south to Arkansas.³

As the coal formed in Western Washington, tectonic upheavals began to impact its formation by providing even more heat and pressure. The volcanoes that formed the basis of the Cascade Range grew with eruption after violent eruption. The collision of the


North American plate with the Pacific plate fed these burgeoning volcanoes. As the North American plate forced the Pacific plate beneath it, the subducted material melted into the mantle. The melted crust however, being made of lighter components than the denser mantle, forced its way back to the surface creating the Cascade Mountains. Ash ejected by these eruptions added more layers to compress the decomposing vegetable mass. The uplift of the Cascade also had the effect of altering the coal forming environment, combined with the ejection of volcanic ash that severed the streams that carried the arkosic sand to the lowland marshy basin, in effect ending the creation of any new coal fields in the region.\(^4\) The once flat land began to buckle under the stress of the birth and growth of Mount Rainier, and that mountain eventually rose to over 14,000 feet. This uplift caused the forming coal bed to warp, break apart, and slant.\(^5\) Coal quality increased closer to the crest of the Cascades because of the increasing effect of volcanism.\(^6\) The rising of the Cascade Mountains "aged" the coal forming along those mountains making it a higher quality than other Eocene coal found elsewhere in the state. (See Map 4 and Figure 2)

Further geological events affected prehistoric Western Washington. As the entombed peat bogs transformed into coal, the various ice ages that gripped the Earth further altered the overlying land. Periodic variations in the orbit of our planet caused the average temperature to decrease enough to foster prolonged periods of colder weather. Ice and snow remained from one year and the ice and snow of the next winter covered it. Glaciers formed at higher elevations and latitudes. These glaciers grew into enormous ice fields that spread hundreds of miles. The last of these ice ages occurred some fifteen

\(^{4}\) Tertiary Geologic History of Western Oregon and Washington, 17.
thousand years ago. The advance and retreat of these glacial ice sheets, including Carbon Glacier on Mount Rainier, scoured the land and created river valleys and canyons. The flow of the water running off these glaciers as they melted eroded the land further and exposed clues to the coal buried alongside. The Carbon Glacier deposited loose gravel and soil in terraces along its river canyon. With the final retreat of the Carbon Glacier at the end of the last ice age, the terrain around the town of Carbonado, Washington changed little and the coal beneath waited only for man to exploit it.

During the later ice ages, man arrived in North America via the land bridge that connected Alaska and Siberia. These Asiatic groups spread throughout the Americas establishing various civilizations and cultures. The Salish Indians, the main broad group of Native Americans who lived in Western Washington, failed to recognize the value of coal as a fuel because the abundant forests that carpeted the region provided for all their fuel needs and became part of their culture. Europeans came to the Americas in 1492 and also spread throughout North and South America at the expense of the various civilizations and cultures that had been established for many centuries. Europeans first came to the Pacific Northwest in the late 1700s looking for fur. Fur trading companies, such as the Hudson Bay Company (HBC), established post throughout the west to harvest pelts for the European and Chinese fashion markets. The first mention of coal, or any mineral, in what is now Washington came in 1833. Dr. William F. Tolmie, a HBC factor, or administrator, stationed at Fort Nisqually on Puget Sound in present day Tacoma, Washington recorded the locations of various outcroppings of coal near the junction of the Toutle and Cowlitz Rivers in 1833. Other reports of this region followed. William

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7 The Spanish had sent many expeditions up the Pacific Coast looking for the fabled Northwest Passage in the late 1600s and early 1700s, but they never ventured beyond the coast nor established any colonies. The English spearheaded the exploration in the Pacific Northwest and discovered the vast amounts of fur that led to increased numbers of Europeans coming to the region.

Slacum, while on a mission for the U.S. government in 1836, made an off-hand comment that coal existed along the “Cowility.”9 Ten years later, two British officers conducted an exploration of the region for the British government and stated, “There is coal in the neighborhood of Puget’s Sound, and on the Cowlitz River. The specimens used by the HBC were obtained from the surface, and were probably on that account not very good.”10 Unknown to the British officers, the quality of most of the coal located in the Cowlitz and Tootle River area is low lignite.

Twenty years passed after the first report of coal in the territory before any attempts at coal mining took place in Washington Territory. The first coal mine to operate, in Bellingham, Washington, started in 1853. Captain William Pattie discovered this resource as he searched for suitable trees for Fort Victoria on Vancouver Island in 1852. He staked a claim that same year. Two men, named Morrison and Thomas, worked with Pattie to set up adjoining claims. The three men worked Pattie’s claim together until Pattie abandoned mining. The following year, Morrison and Thomas focused on Morrison’s claim. Morrison and Thomas shipped about one hundred and fifty tons of coal to San Francisco in 1853 before they, like Pattie, stopped mining.11 Pattie informed two other men at Port Townsend about his discovery and they set up claims as well. Settlements around Bellingham Bay built up from these initial coal claims.12 That same year, Dr. M. Bigalow discovered coal on his donation claim along the Black River in King County. With his two partners, named Fanjoy and Eaton, Bigalow opened a

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mine. The deaths of Fanjoy and Eaton during the hostilities with the Yakama Indians in 1855 in Yakima County combined with the lack of funds necessary to build transportation to get the coal to market forced it to close. Tests proved later that the coal was of low quality, saddled with impurities.\textsuperscript{13}

The 1860s saw a series of discoveries in King County. Two surveyors, P. H. Lewis and Edwin Richardson, accidentally discovered the first of several finds along what is now known as Coal Creek. It took a few years, but the Newcastle field at Coal Creek soon began producing coal in good quantities.\textsuperscript{14} The discovery of a supply of good coal near Seattle started people in the area thinking about a railroad to tap the fuel wealth and transport it east to Chicago.\textsuperscript{15} A report to the U.S. government in 1867 by William Gabb stated that Washington coal was bituminous or lignite in character, of good quality, and could be mined for a profit. George Gibb, a railroad engineer, later confirmed Gabb’s report while working for the Northern Pacific Railroad.\textsuperscript{16} Puget Sound looked very attractive to both the government and business with its great quantities of rich coal identified. The availability of coal spurred development in the growing towns on Puget Sound. Prospectors began to look for other sources of coal.

The Northern Pacific railroad began laying tracks from Kalama on the Columbia towards the Puget Sound in the early 1870s. This rail line came near the coal fields of southwest Washington, renewing interest in the area overlooked since the 1833. However, the earlier reports of the poor quality of the coal in this area bore out and these

\textsuperscript{16}Pollard, vol. II, 138-139.
mines proved unprofitable. The only area in the Puget Sound region not completely prospected was Pierce County.

Settlers essentially overlooked Pierce County in the early days of the Washington Territory. Much had been discovered about coal in other localities in the Pacific Northwest before the 1860s. Owing to the location of the coal field near the Cascades, far from the "routes of investigation" in eastern Pierce County, settlers knew little about coal in the county. As more people came to Pierce County, black flecks in the rivers of the Puyallup Valley led some to believe that coal veins existed in the foothills of Mount Rainier. According to Ezra Meeker, a prominent booster of the territory, a large cottonwood tree with a clump of coal still entangled in its roots washed down the Puyallup River in a flood provided proof of the mineral in the county. While Meeker offered no proof to support his story it is plausible, though it does give the discovery of coal in the county a mythical beginning. Concrete proof of the existence of coal came in 1871 when General Morton M. McCarver led an exploring expedition up the Puyallup River valley. McCarver collected samples of coal that "exists in immense quantities, cropping out upon the tops and sides of high bluffs, on the margins of the Puyallup River" for testing in Portland. From this description it appears McCarver's search took him to the Carbon River area, and later reports placed the find about three miles down stream from present day Carbonado. (See Figures 3 and 4) Three men, J. C. Ainsworth,

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18Washington State Department of Conservation and Development, Division of Geology and Earth Resources, Mining History of Pierce County, Washington Coal Fields, 1860-1962, open file report 79-1, by Joseph Daniels (Olympia: Washington State Department of Conservation and Development, Division of Geology and Earth Resources, 1979): 8. In Daniels' notes for this paper, he states that there were rumors of coal mining in the county as early as 1862, but he could not find any evidence of coal finds or who prospected the find, Pierce County Coal History Drafts and Notes, 1963, Ams, Joseph Daniels' Papers, Manuscripts and University Archives Division, University of Washington Libraries, Seattle.
19Ezra Meeker, Seventy Years of Progress in Washington (Seattle: Allstrum Printing Company, 1921), 275.
20"Puyallup Coal," Olympia Daily Pacific Tribune (WA), 17 July 1871: 3; Mining History of Pierce County, 18.
R. R. Thompson, and S. G. Reed, who formed the Puyallup Valley Coal Company, acted on McCarver’s find. Others, namely two brothers with the last name of Chapman and a man named Frank Hawk, also set up claims near the Carbon River.

The possibilities of a new coal field brought new attention to the area. The Puyallup Valley Coal Company, as well as the Chapmans and Hawk, attempted to develop the coal at this location, but their new neighbors attracted more interest in the coal-field as a whole. John Gale, with his brothers-in-law, David James and William Harvey Flett, established a claim on the creek soon named for Gale. Their coal tested quite well, and word of the quality brought others to the area searching for coal. That same year, E. L. Smith, while conducting a survey in Eastern Pierce county, discovered coal on Northern Pacific Railroad owned property in the vicinity of the claim of Gale and his partners. This discovery led to an inquiry by Philip G. Eastwick in 1875 on the potential of the entire coal field in Pierce county, and he distributed information on Pierce County widely. Of the Puyallup Valley coal-field Eastwick wrote that the coal beds were:

so numerous, and many of such a character, both as to size and quality, as to establish beyond question that a supply of coal of a quality equal to any and ample in quantity to meet all demands on the Pacific Coast for years to come...

Two main benefits of mining in the region emerged from Eastwick’s inquiry: one, the existence of coal that could be mined without expensive hoisting and pumping
machinery; and two, the provision of timber in dense forest that could be used in the mines and for construction of support structures such as houses and out buildings.27 Continued interest and development of the mines of the area, and eventually the founding of the town of Wilkeson along Gale Creek in 1877, soon followed.

The discovery of coal near Tacoma occurred at a perfect time for the Northern Pacific Railroad. The railroad experienced construction setbacks in the mid-1870s and General George Stark, the company’s vice president, optimistically stated, “The building of this (Cascade) branch for the development of our coal resources seems now to be the one wheel which, if started, will put the whole train in motion.”28 The delivery of the first cargo of coal to Tacoma from Wilkeson, 140 tons bound for Alaska, caused great rejoicing in Tacoma. The citizens of Tacoma believed that the nearby coal mines would not only make their town a city, but a great city befitting the name City of Destiny.

These sentiments echoed in every coal mining area. Optimistically referred to as the “Pennsylvania of the Pacific Coast,” some believed the combination of coal, timber, newly found iron ore deposits, and the excellent harbors of Puget Sound destined Washington Territory for greatness as a shipbuilding area and a center for trade.29 It took more than just the discovery of coal to establish a bright future for the Puget Sound, and it took more than the efforts of the Northern Pacific Railroad to establish eastern Pierce County as a coal mining region.

After the discovery of coal on its property, the Northern Pacific Railroad started to improve the coal field for production. The town of Wilkeson, named after a Northern Pacific Railroad executive to curry favor from the company, sprang to life. A rail line, completed by early 1878, attracted more residents and money for progress in eastern

Pierce County. Shipments of coal samples from Wilkeson made their way across the country, and especially were heralded in San Francisco, a city that depended heavily on imported fuel. The residents of Tacoma looked upon the mines at Wilkeson with great enthusiasm because a rich coal field could signal an economic upturn.30

Money and hard work does not ensure success. After spending over half a million dollars to lay the tracks and to open the mine, the management of the Northern Pacific closed it down three years later as a failure.31 The company failed to sustain major coal mining operations in eastern Pierce County because they did not fully examine the coal strata before beginning operations. The abundance of impurities in its coal, as well as broken and distorted coal seams, lowered the value of the coal on the Northern Pacific property. They could not find sufficient purchasers locally for the lower quality coal, and it also proved unsuitable for use in their railroad. Better coal existed in the Carbon River Coal Field, but not on the railroad’s property, and after investing half a million dollars the company could not purchase more land to recoup the loss. For the field to support an expanding extractive industry, more coal consumers would have to be found. In the late 1870s, the nearest source of large-scale coal consumers and fuel buyers was found in San Francisco.

Although the Northern Pacific mine failed in the late 1870s, the potential for rich coal-fields in Pierce County piqued the interest of a group of investors in San Francisco. Dr. C. A. Henry formed the Carbon River Coal Mining Company in San Francisco and acquired the rights to mine a rich coal deposit located three miles south Wilkeson along

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30Herbert Hunt, Tacoma: Its History and Its Builders, A Half Century of Activity, Vol. I (Chicago: S.J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1916), 246-247. Though the mines at Wilkeson were looked upon with great enthusiasm, Hunt writes that “Even of greater consequence in the opinion of some was the arrival of the first tailor, M. Leve. The papers had been calling attention to the community need and Mr. Leve’s coming was a voice out of the wilderness.”
the Carbon River. Isaac W. Smith, a civil engineer hired by the new company, wrote to the Carbon River Mining Company and stated the "quality of the coal are [sic] such as would command the market at the present time, and compete favorably with any coals likely to be discovered hereafter." Another report on the property, written by University of California geology professor Joseph Le Conte and included with Smith's report, further stated, "these measures are by far the most valuable I have seen on this coast." J. W. Sprague, General Superintendent of the Pacific Division, Northern Pacific Railroad, wrote the Carbon River Coal Mining Company and offered his company's support for a coal mining venture at the site. Obviously, Sprague wanted coal mining to be successful in eastern Pierce County to recoup the Northern Pacific's investment, and he was willing to make a deal. If the Carbon River Coal Mining Company built a connecting rail line from Wilkeson, under the direction of an approved engineer, the Northern Pacific offered to lower its transport rates in exchange for ownership of the connecting railway. The positive reports and the promise from Sprague showed that the potential for a successful operation still existed along the Carbon River.

However, these reports failed to counter pessimism in San Francisco. An economic downturn gripped the city in 1879. Owing to the fear of investors losing their money, like others before, the Carbon River Coal Mining Company failed to secure the funds necessary to exploit their holdings in Washington Territory through investment. Rich San Franciscans remembered the costly failure of the Northern Pacific Railroad to work their mine at nearby Wilkeson, and no amount of glowing reports on coal quality,

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33*ibid.*, 11.
34*ibid.*, 9.
mine potential, and cheap shipping rates could dissuade the investors. Inadequate financial resources created problems within the Carbon River Coal Mining Company's board. Henry's handpicked board turned against him, and he found himself among the minority. The various board members concerned themselves with securing control of the company rather than prepare for mining. The prevailing belief among the board was this great coal discovery would eventually become profitable and they had time to wait. The boardroom strife prevented the company from starting any operations in Pierce County. This pause in activity by the Carbon River Coal Mine Company proved key in the eventual loss of the property and gave someone else an opportunity to fully investigate the field.

Richard D. Chandler, a San Franciscan, knew the hard work necessary to establish a successful coal mine. Chandler owned the South Wellington coal mine in British Columbia, Canada and he learned of the mining possibilities along the Carbon River owned by the Carbon River Coal Mining Company in 1879. Unlike other investors in San Francisco that passed on the opportunity to invest in the Carbon River property because of the problems the Northern Pacific Railroad encountered in nearby Wilkeson, Chandler had the foresight to have a trusted ally investigate the potential coal-field rather than rely on other reports. He dispatched Robert Wingate, superintendent from his British Columbia mines, to research the area and write a report. In November of 1879, Wingate arrived in the Carbon River area and began prospecting.

The report Wingate submitted on the Carbon River Coal Field appealed to Chandler. Earlier information on the field combined with Wingate's report led Chandler

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36“Arrest of John E. Brodhead,” Tacoma Weekly Ledger (WA), 17 February 1882: 3. Brodhead, one of C. A. Henry's friends on the board who did not turn against him, was arrested for defrauding the U.S. Government by overcharging for supplies.

to believe that it "was by far the best on the coast." The location of the field solved a problem for Chandler as well. The government placed a seventy-five cent per ton duty on all foreign coal, including coal from Chandler's mines in British Columbia. The availability of a more valuable coal field within the United States convinced Chandler to sell his South Wellington property. He would use those funds gained in the sale not to invest in the Carbon River Coal Mining Company, but to buy their property outright with a corporation put together just for mining along the Carbon River. He paid twenty dollars per acre just for the Carbon River Coal Mining Company's rights to the 750 acres straddling the Carbon River. This ended the long fight for control of the company. The total expenditure amounted to over sixty thousand dollars in cash. The Carbon Hill Coal Company was incorporated on 5 May 1880 to raise funds to pay for the new enterprise. Chandler named Wingate the superintendent, and he left San Francisco for the Carbon River property to begin work.

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38 *Mining History of Pierce County*, 109.
39 *Pierce County Coal History Drafts and Notes*, 1963, AMs, Joseph Daniels Papers, Manuscripts and University Archives Division, University of Washington Libraries, Seattle, and "Carbon River Coal Fields," *Tacoma Weekly Ledger* (WA), 30 April 1880: 3. Chandler paid the stockholders off at four dollars a share. He also made deals with two stockholders because of ownership rights to the land because of adverse land filings.
40 "Articles of Incorporation of the Carbon Hill Coal Company," DS, 5 May 1880, Washington State Regional Archives, Olympia. Wingate held twenty shares of stock in the company, which placed him as a middle to low level investor. However, his worth to the company was in his abilities not his money.
Map 3 Western Washington in the Middle Eocene. From Teriary Geologic History of Western Oregon and Washington, 8.
Note: This image has been redacted due to copyright concerns. The full-text source for this image can be found here: https://www.dnr.wa.gov/Publications/ger_ri4_dmm_coal_coalmining_wa.pdf

Figure 2: Evidence of intense folding that took place in the Carbon River coal fields. Reprinted from *Coal Fields of Pierce County*, 40.
Figure 3: Coal seam along the Carbon River. Reprinted from *Coal Fields of Pierce County*, 26.
Note: This image has been redacted due to copyright concerns.

Figure 4: Carbon River canyon near Carbonado. Reprinted from a post card given to the author by Dora Streepy.
CHAPTER ONE
WINGATE AND THE BROTHERS DAVIES

Coal mine owners commonly did not run their own mines. Their coal mines frequently served as a way to diversify their portfolios or support other investments such as railroad lines or shipping companies. To ensure that their investment in the coal mine operation remained secure, owners hired experts to run their mines. This chapter will examine three of the superintendents who controlled the mines at Carbonado in place of the absentee mine owners. The work of the mine superintendent was crucial to the operation of a coal mine. He was the eyes and ears of the owner, and the owner had to have total confidence in his man. The success of Carbonado came mostly from the work of Robert Wingate, David Davies, and his brother, Lewis Davies. Wingate had a very brief tenure as superintendent compared to the two Davies brothers, but his importance ranks just as high as theirs does. Wingate founded the town Carbonado and dug the first mines, while David Davies molded the town and mines into an efficient coal producing area, and Lewis Davies guided the town through the difficult period of market loss and recovery.

The success of any enterprise generally combined of the right people with the right circumstances. As shown in the introduction, the Carbon River Coal Mining Company did not succeed along the Carbon River because the board of directors of that company concerned themselves with money rather than mining. The three men described in this chapter, though businessmen, knew that mining the coal mattered the most.
With Richard D. Chandler’s purchase of the coal-laden property along the Carbon River, a mining enterprise could begin, but success was not assured. In the second half of the nineteenth century, coal mining, though highly needed, often proved unprofitable for operators who had to stake claims in far flung regions, build the infrastructure necessary for mining, and attract the miners to do the work. Unlike the Northern Pacific’s attempt, however, the Carbon Hill Coal Company’s land was well researched for coal production. Chandler’s leadership and trust in the skill of Wingate proved to be far more effective than the constant bickering that highlighted the Carbon River Coal Mining Company’s boardroom. The only hard work that remained was to start production along the Carbon River. Robert Wingate’s involvement with coal mining began early. By the age of twenty he managed a mine in his native Scotland. At the age of twenty-four, he arrived in the U.S. to continue his career, and immediately made a name for himself by turning a couple of problem mines into producers. Through those jobs, he began to work for Chandler. Wingate had recommended the mines on Vancouver Island to Chandler as an investment. At South Wellington, British Columbia, Wingate worked as the mine superintendent for Chandler’s mines. Chandler turned to him to prepare the mines along the Carbon River and make them produce.

Upon his return to the Carbon River, Wingate began work on the mine. He had two main tasks: one, to begin preparations for mining coal, and two, to construct a living quarters that the men needed to accomplish his first task. Chandler urged Wingate to spare neither men nor money to get the coal to San Francisco. Chandler understood that the San Franciscans who refused to invest in the Carbon River Coal Mining Company needed proof of the possibility of profit from the new company. The bad memories of the Northern Pacific’s mine attempt and the boardroom bickering of the Carbon River Coal

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Mining Company had to be overcome, and the only way to do that was to bring in a supply of coal. Wingate quickly platted a simple town on the terrace overlooking the river. Men had to be attracted to work the mine beyond Wingate's initial crew. The platted town served the purpose of showing potential miners that the town would eventually be suitable for habitation. He then turned to the more important task, and started work on the mines on both sides of the river.

By the end of July 1880, about forty men employed by the Carbon Hill Coal Company, henceforth known as the Company, worked to drive a drift mine, the most common and economical mining technique in Washington in this era, into the seam.\(^3\) (See Figure 5) Drift mines followed coal exposed at the river level.\(^4\) While driving a crosscut to gain better access to the coal veins, the miners discovered a new and better seam of coal. Named for Wingate by the *Tacoma Weekly Ledger*, this serendipitously discovered new vein made the enterprise successful because of the coal's excellent suitability for steam production.\(^5\) A bridge soon spanned the Carbon River to link the two mine openings. (See Figures 6 and 7)

With work proceeding on both the mine and the town, Wingate turned to the matter of transporting the coal to market. By the middle of May, the survey party for the railroad finished plotting the route for the tracks and work began to connect Wilkeson and the new town by rail.\(^6\) On 10 August 1880, Wingate petitioned Pierce County Commissioners to approve a county road located from Wilkeson to the new town to

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\(^2\)Hall, 65.

\(^3\)“Carbon Hill Coal Mines,” *Tacoma Weekly Ledger* (WA), 30 July 1880: 3.

\(^4\)“Work at the Coal Mines,” *Tacoma Weekly Ledger* (WA), 14 May 1880: 3. The original estimate for completing the line was a little over three months, but the work crew took until the end of the year to finish.
further ease access to the new town. With the mine well underway, Wingate could only wait for the rail line to be completed to begin shipping of the coal. Workers punched the rail line up the hill from Wilkeson by December 1880. Because of the topography of the area, the rail line ended near the town, rather than down at the mine. If the rail line went to the mine level, it would have taken too long for its construction. To connect the railhead at the town level to the mines at the river level, Wingate directed his men to construct an incline down the canyon wall, nine hundred feet to the river below, to bring the coal cars from the mine. (See Figures 8, 9, and 10; and Map 5)

The incline was only an interim device to get coal out quickly as Chandler had ordered. A rail line at river level was planned, but would take several years to be built. Wingate’s incline followed the angle of the canyon at about thirty-five to forty-five degrees, making the work incredibly difficult with hand tools. The lush virgin forest surrounding the mine and town site provided ties for the incline’s rails, prepared by a portable saw mill brought to the town. Once completed, a coal-fired powerhouse at the town level pulled up the full coal cars and lowered the empties by a cable secured with a counterbalance. At 11:40 a.m., on 3 December 1880, the first loaded coal car, decorated with evergreen branches, traversed the incline to meet the railhead. After a reception, the men loaded twenty train cars for the trip to Tacoma. The discovery of the Wingate vein and the coal suitable for steam generation within it assured the new enterprise’s customers that the coal could get to market. In less than a year, Wingate had put the mine in operation and delivered the coal that Chandler needed to prove to his investors.

7“County Commissioners’ Court,” Steilacoom Puget Sound Express(WA), 14 August 1880: 3.
8Mining History of Pierce County, 111.
9“The Coal Mine Opened,” Tacoma Weekly Ledger (WA), 3 December 1880: 3. Andrew Miller, the mine foreman, rode the first practical test of the incline with his yellow spotted cat as an unwilling passenger held in place only by Mr. Miller’s grip.
10Mining History of Pierce County, 111.
To deliver the coal that Chandler demanded, Wingate simultaneously oversaw the
digging of the mine and the construction of the town. The importance of the town cannot
be overlooked in a discussion on Wingate. The location of the mines out in the
wilderness would make recruiting workers difficult. The town he platted was a neatly
laid out grid with wide lots for the construction of houses. Wingate also worked hard to
ensure stability in his town with regular mail service, good supplies, a voting district, and
the availability of education for the miners’ families. By accomplishing these goals early,
Wingate could then focus on the task of putting the mine into full production.

Chandler put the fruits of the hard work performed by Wingate and the miners at
Carbonado on display in the summer of 1881 when he invited key visitors to inspect the
Carbon Hill coal mines. The inspection party arrived in the morning and stayed in town
until the following afternoon. Chandler hoped to impress one man in the party -- Charles
Crocker. Crocker co-owned the Central Pacific Railroad, and later the Southern Pacific,
with Leiland Stanford, Colis P. Huntington, and Mark Hopkins, a group of California
businessmen known as the Big Four. These four men bore the responsibility of building
the western half of the first transcontinental railroad in the United States. However, the
other three deferred to Crocker in regard to the actual running of the railroad operation.
The railroads owned by the Big Four led the growth in the railroad system in the United
States in the later part of the nineteenth century. The expansion of the railroad system
demanded coal.

There was fierce competition in the San Francisco coal market. Any advantage
gained by a company meant the difference between success and bankruptcy. What
Crocker saw in Carbonado impressed him. Crocker knew the needs of his railroad as he

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11 "Brief Locals," Tacoma Weekly Ledger (WA), 19 August 1881: 3.
supervised the actual construction of the western half of the first transcontinental railroad. A half-ton of coal can replace two tons of wood at half the cost.¹³ The Big Four's two railroads consumed up to 500 tons of coal a day. Wingate's work in Carbonado impressed Crocker and by September, the town and the mines became property of the Big Four's railroads. (See Figure 11)

Carbonado now supplied coal to the Central Pacific and the Southern Pacific railroads. The expansion of the Big Four's railroad demanded coal. Crocker planned to increase output to nearly one thousand tons a day to meet their demand as soon as suitable ships could be procured.¹⁴ Steam colliers, such as the *San Pedro, Lizzie Williams, Yosemite,* and *Oriental,* shipped the Carbon Hill coal to San Francisco, the major market on the Pacific Coast for coal.¹⁵ These colliers transported up to four thousand tons of coal on each trip, and they made thirty-five voyages a year.¹⁶ To handle the new demands on the mine, a new extensive bunker system was constructed to store the coal prior to shipment.¹⁷ To keep up with demand during the 1880s, the Carbon Hill Coal Mines shipped its coal nearly unscreened, just as it came out of the mine.¹⁸ The need for coal outweighed the expense of shipping the waste material.

Charles Crocker's purchase of 4,160 acres of land straddling the Carbon River in Washington Territory proved a very wise business decision. For about three-quarters of a million dollars, he acquired mines that produced the second highest amount of coal for

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the territory in 1882-1883, behind only the Newcastle mines, with totals of over two
hundred thousand tons for the two-year period.19 The value of the Carbon Hill Coal
Company, at the point of incorporation, was set at $200,000. Chandler and the other
stock holders more than tripled their investments.20 By the end of 1883, Crocker owned
the largest coal mines on the Pacific Coast.

The Carbon Hill Coal Company’s new ownership wanted to keep Robert Wingate
as superintendent, but he decided to leave active mining and attend to various
investments made possible owing to the sale of the Carbon Hill Coal Company to
Crocker.21 A small number of men who started in Carbonado with Wingate left mining at
the same time and became homesteaders in the area. It is not clear the exact reason these
men left Carbonado. It occurred at the same time as Wingate’s departure, so it might be
assumed it had to do with personal loyalty. Possibly those who left had invested in the
company and the sale allowed them to buy land and get out of the dangerous business of
mining. These men, in all likelihood, were not driven away. The Company did not
substitute old policies drastically with the arrival of new ownership, though eventually
subtle changes would unfold as the town converted to a full-fledged company town, so
Wingate’s style of leadership appealed to the new ownership.

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18 United States Department of the Interior, Office of the Census, “Report on the Coal Fields of
Washington Territory,” by Bailey Willis in Report on the Mining Industry of the United States (Exclusive of
19 “Menace to Coal Mining,” Tacoma Daily Ledger (WA), 24 February 1886: 2, Melder, “History
of the Discoveries . . . ,” 158, and Coal Production in Washington as Reported to the State Mine Inspector
Between 1882-1982, Open File Report 84-6, Plate 2, Part 3 (Olympia: Washington State Department of
Natural Resources, Division of Geology and Earth Resources, 1984).
20 “Articles of Incorporation of the Carbon Hill Coal Company,” DS, 5 May 1880, Washington
State Regional Archives, Olympia.
21 “Items about Coal,” Tacoma Weekly Ledger (WA), 23 September 1881; and “Brief Locals,”
Tacoma Weekly Ledger (WA), 28 October 1881. Wingate moved to Tacoma with his family, and became a
leading citizen and businessman. He helped establish the Tacoma Gas Light Company in 1883, and bought
the Tacoma & Lake City Railway in 1896 from the Union Pacific Railroad. This business failed and he
and his partner sold off the line piece by piece to pay their debts. The railroad must have been in dire
straits as they tore up the tracks on a Sunday to avoid the serving of legal papers. Wingate also served as a
director of the Tacoma National Bank. Part of his fortune he spent starting other coal mines. Wingate died
Wingate was honored in the area by his men, not hated as some directors were. Besides the Wingate vein, a nearby hill became known as Wingate, after the man responsible for the construction of the mines and the town. The fact that Richard Chandler received a good price for the Company showed Wingate’s able leadership. Crocker wanted Wingate to keep his post, and made no changes in the running of the mines and the town after he left.

Replacing Wingate proved difficult. The Company went through two men in three years before finding the right man to replace Wingate as superintendent. In 1884, the Company hired David Davies, a superintendent in the Southern Pacific Railroad, to run the mines and town. With Davies came his family, and many Davies family members worked for the Carbon Hill Coal Company at Carbonado in various positions above and below ground. In one way or another, the Davies family ran Carbonado for nearly thirty years. David Davies brought a stability to the mines and town, missing since Wingate retired.

Through labor, mining, and economic problems, Davies kept the mine running. In the seventeen years he ran Carbonado, the mines produced over 3.7 million tons of coal for the Southern Pacific Railroads. This included one year when the mines produced no coal at all because of equipment upgrades. The Company treated Davies well for his work and they trusted his judgement to run the mines and town as he saw fit.

Davies worked in Pennsylvania during the Molly Maguire years of the late 1870s. The Molly Maguires used deadly violence against mine superintendents and mine

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22 Hall, 68. According to an old topographical sheet of the Carbonado District, Pierce County in the University of Washington Special Collections the hill was once known as Mt. Clarissa.

23 “Carbonado Notes,” Weekly Ledger (Tacoma), 23 June 1882: 2. John A. Steinberger took over for Wingate in October 1881. Steinberger did not last long and a man named Pinkerton replaced him. Pinkerton built a school and the superintendent’s residence during his short reign.

24 Daniels, 116.
foremen to force the coal companies to treat the miners better. He saw how miners reacted badly when they were not treated well and made it a point to treat the workers at Carbonado with respect and fairness. In return, the men respected him greatly for his fairness.25

For both mining and safety reasons, Davies kept the mines in top condition. The inherent instability of the pitching veins of the coal field at Carbonado made it necessary to follow the latest safety measures. Large fans to keep air moving and thus prevent gas from accumulating and causing accidents were installed and constantly operated to keep the air safe. He introduced steam locomotives in the mine and yard in 1887, replacing the mules that once pulled the coal cars, to increase mine efficiency. The following year, the planned rail line to link the mine directly with the railroad was completed. Coming from Orting, the river route made the transportation of coal to Tacoma more efficient and safe. The incline remained in operation as an easy way to transport miners to the mine level. Superintendent Davies came up with the idea of establishing a hospital soon after he arrived. Each miner contributed one dollar per month to support the hospital. The hospital and its drug store provided nursing and medicine free for all. In 1892, a small hospital was built.26 To further protect the miners, Davies had electrical lights installed in the mines starting in 1895, although it took some time to electrify all the mines. By removing all but the most essential sources of flame in the mine, accidental gas explosions would decrease. Ironically, the greatest disaster in Carbonado's mining history occurred after the electrification of the mines in 1899, and further discussed in Appendix I.

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25 Hall, 72-73.
Even a downturn in the economy could not hinder Davies’ work in town. A depression held the nation in its grip in 1893. Tacoma, which enjoyed an economic boom before the depression, lost almost two-fifths of its population because of the economic slowdown. In Carbonado, however, work went on. The mine owners needed coal for their trains, depression or not. Having a guaranteed purchaser for the mine’s output allowed the Company some leeway other producers did not have. Davies began new projects all over Carbonado. Mining operations expanded both at the water level and below to reach the coal. Men from nearby communities flocked to the town for work as various occupations felt the effects of the depression. During the first year of the panic, the miners at Carbonado extracted over 267,000 tons of coal, and accounted for twenty-two percent of Washington State’s total production at a value of $642,592.

After seventeen years in control of Carbonado, David Davies died at the age of sixty from pneumonia on 27 December 1901. As a highly respected coal operator in Washington, the Tenth Biennial Report of the State Coal Inspector eulogized Davies. The report by C. F. Owens, the state mine inspector, stated that Davies was “held in high esteem by those in his employ, and it was always his ambition that they should work under safe and healthy conditions and receive good wages for services performed.” The Davies family chartered a special train to carry his remains to a cemetery in Tacoma after funeral services were held in Carbonado. Both the men who worked for him and the

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28 Mining History of Pierce County, 112.
29 Hall, 77-78.
30 Pollard, 138; and Coal Production in Washington, plate 2, part 3. The dollars are estimated by taking twenty-two percent of Pollard’s total for 1893. Washington’s total was 1,208,850 tons at a value of $2,920,876. Carbonado’s total was 267,545 tons, or twenty-two percent of the total for Washington.
31 "Dies of Pneumonia," Tacoma Daily Ledger (WA), 28 December 1901: 3.
company he worked for trusted him. Davies repaid the trust given to him by taking care of his men, and increasing the output of the mines.

Closely linked with David Davies in the running of the mines at Carbonado was his brother Lewis. Lewis W. Davies succeeded his brother in the post of superintendent, and for all intents and purposes his control of the town essentially extended David Davies tenure. Unlike Wingate and his brother David, however, Lewis faced a period of great change. As coal replaced wood as the fuel of the United States’ industrial revolution in the second half of the 1800s, oil replaced coal by the start of the 1900s. In 1901, the inevitable occurred. The Southern Pacific Railroad switched from coal to cheap oil, as had other major railroads, to fuel their locomotives. Up until this time, demand for Carbonado coal had risen steadily, from 191,109 tons in 1890 to 433,817 tons in 1901. The change from coal to oil essentially cut in half the California market for the coal of Carbonado to 209,358 tons by 1902. Overall, coal remained the main fuel source for America through the First World War, but coal’s decline was inevitable. In 1902, Davies had six experimental beehive coke ovens built to help the mines recover from the lost market by attracting new purchasers, though they were not successful. (See Map 6) By 1905, however, the market for coal started to recover from the shock of the switch. Carbonado’s high quality coal found new markets as an industrial and household fuel in

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34Mineral Resources of the United States, 1892, 288; and Mineral Resources of the United States, 1903, 527.
35Mineral Resources of the United States, 1903, 527. These numbers are for both the Carbon Hill Coal Company and the mines in South Prairie, but because the low output from South Prairie these figures are more an indicator for Carbonado.
Oregon and Washington, as well as in California.\textsuperscript{38} Davies' attempts at coking Carbonado coal did not end in 1902. The Company built fifty ovens in 1912, including rebuilding the original six from 1902. The following year they added twenty-one more.\textsuperscript{39} (See Figures 12, 13, and 14) By expanding the market for Carbonado coal, other downturns in the economy could be more easily weathered.

Davies did not neglect the town during the years of change. He followed his brother's example with regard to the town and the mines, continually keeping the mines up to date to ensure the men's safety. To keep up the morale in the town, the town received a new water supply, sewer system, and electricity for the houses.\textsuperscript{40} Davies ordered the construction of a new school and a town hall as well.\textsuperscript{41}

Of the three men who ran Carbonado for much of its coal-producing era, each has his importance to the history of the town. Wingate put the town on a successful footing, and his swift work in getting the mine in operation led to the purchase of the town by Crocker. Without the support of a large parent company, mining in Carbonado probably would not have lasted because of the structure of the coal seams which increased costs. David Davies' concern for the welfare of the miners did not distract him from the concerns of the Company. The men could be safe and the coal could be produced in ever increasing amounts. By taking care of his men, they kept producing coal. Lewis Davies faced the hardest time, but the skill of his miners and the quality of the Carbonado coal ensured work would continue.

\textsuperscript{39}Mining History of Pierce County, 113.
\textsuperscript{40}Hall, 96.
\textsuperscript{41}ibid., 90.
Figure 5: Miners standing in front of an entry to a mine at Carbonado. The miners used mules prior to the introduction of locomotives in 1887 to transport coal to the surface. Photograph courtesy of Dora Streepy.
Note: This image has been redacted due to copyright concerns.

Figure 6: Bridge crossing the Carbon River leading to the entry of the Wingate mine. Reprinted from a post card courtesy of Dora Streepy.
Figure 7: Another bridge crossing the Carbon River. Reprinted from *Coal Fields of Pierce County*, 26.
Figure 8: The incline connecting the mine level to the railhead at town level. After a river level rail line was constructed, the miners used the incline for transportation to and from work. Reprinted from a post card courtesy of Dora Streepy.
Figure 9: Yard at the foot of the incline. Reprinted from *Coal Fields of Pierce County*, 99.
Until the rail line was put in at the river level, coal cars were brought up to the depot level for loading onto freight trains.

The Incline from the Town to the Mines
(not to scale)

Figure 10: Drawing of the position of Carbonado relative to the mines. Drawn by the author.
Map 5: Map of the yard at the foot of the incline. Drawn by the author.
Figure 11: View of Carbonado in the 1880s. The first company store is visible in the middle of the photograph and is recognizable due to the unique diamond shaped window. Photograph courtesy of the Washington State Historical Society, Tacoma Washington, and used by permission.

Note: This image has been redacted due to copyright concerns.
Map 6: Diagram of underground workings. Based on a diagram from *Coal and Coal Mining in Washington*, 22.
Figure 12: Beehive coke ovens under construction. Reprinted from *Coal Fields of Pierce County*, 120.
Figure 13: Beehive coke ovens from a different angle. The tipple is in the background. Reprinted from *Coal Fields of Pierce County*, 120.
Figure 14: Shed covering a row of completed beehive coke ovens. Reprinted from Coals of the State of Washington, facing page 168.
CHAPTER TWO
COAL MINING IN CARBONADO

At the beginning of the 1880s many mining operations existed in Washington, but demand for coal outstripped supply. The uniqueness of the coal at Carbonado stood apart from the other sources of coal in the region and made the mine valuable. The techniques used to extract the coal in Carbonado were as peculiar as the coal’s worth. The distinctiveness of the mining faced by the miners of the Carbon River Coal Company, the quality of the coal, the way it was mined, and problems inherent in the structure all point to the remarkable nature of Carbonado coal’s profitability and dangerousness.

In 1879, Robert Wingate found thick seams of bituminous coal along the Carbon River. However, location of the coal precluded efficient mining. Two thousand feet of non-coal bearing, loosely structured gravel glacial deposits covered the Company’s coal seams. Pleistocene glacial deposits blanketed the earlier rock formations, creating the plateaus and terraces common to the region.1 This unstable overburden increased the costs of mining and the danger to the miners. These costs and dangers increased owing to the “sadly faulted,” or warped, coal seams that “pitch[ed] deep into the ground” at an angle that varied from a gentle thirty degrees to severe eighty degrees below horizontal.2 Geologic conditions folded the Carbon River Coal Field into “long, narrow troughs of great depth with small throws and large faults, slickensides, and balls of crushed coal,

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[that] bear witness to the mechanical pressure the measures have been subjected to,”
according to Bailey Willis, a geologist with the United States Department of the Interior.³

Carbon River coal contained a high carbon content and low ash. Both qualities
were much desired, but the coal at Carbonado also contained a high level of volatile
gases.⁴ The rotting plants produced gases, mostly methane, which normally escaped into
the atmosphere during the evolution of the coal. The silt, which blanketed the peat during
the early stages of coal formation, trapped these gases in coal at Carbonado. Over the
eons, the layers of silt greatly compressed these trapped gasses. Miners released the
compressed gas when extracting the coal, usually with violent results.

After detailing the attributes of the coal seams along the Carbon River in his
report to Chandler, Wingate realized that although difficulties existed in the coal field,
they could be overcome profitably. Covered by overburden, the exposed seams at the
river allowed for a very simple and inexpensive form of mining known as drift mining.
The seams might pitch greatly, but the thickness of the seams, which varied from six to
ten feet with two to six feet of pure coal, allowed for mining with little extraneous
material. This cut down on screening costs of the coal.⁵ The intense folding caused by
the uplift of Mount Rainier and the rest of the Cascade Mountains made mining difficult,
but the heat and pressure essentially aged the coal and concentrated the carbon content.

Footnotes continued from previous page

²ibid., 109; Walsh and Phillips, 8; Ruffner, 110; Mineral Resources of the United States, 1886, 365.
by Bailey Willis, in Report on the Mining Industries of the United States (Exclusive of Precious Metals)
Railway, 1889), 107.
⁵Elwood Evans, State of Washington: A Brief History of the Discovery, Settlement, and
Organization of Washington, the “Evergreen State” as Well as a Compilation of Official Statistics Showing
the Material Development of the State Up to Date (Olympia: World’s Fair Commission of the State of
This gave the coal of this region its unique and valuable character.\textsuperscript{6} The presence of gas made safety a great necessity. With proper ventilation and safety procedures, however, it posed no imminent threat to the miners and the operations of the mine. Wingate saw that the coal seams at Carbonado, though not ideal for mining, would be profitable.

Carbonado miners dug all the coal mines either as drifts, slopes, or slopes off of drifts. Miners excavated the coal found above the water line first, usually employing drift mining methods. Drift mining was the most economical form of mining because of the lower level of technological sophistication needed; miners dug tunnels horizontally into the coal seam. (See Figure 15) After removing this coal, and seeing indications of coal below the water level, miners dug special tunnels known as slopes to continue mining.\textsuperscript{7} The driving of such a slope led to the discovery of the Wingate vein discussed in Chapter One. Unlike drift mines that are dug horizontally, slope mines follow or bisect coal seams at angles off horizontal. Once the miners dug below the water level, flooding of the mines became a problem. To combat inundation, the mines used gravity and pumps to remove excess water. (See Figure 16) A mine was not just a hole in the ground. Miners drove pairs of tunnels, known as the gangway and the counter, no matter what kind of mine was being excavated. The gangway transported men and coal; the counter ran parallel to the gangway for air circulation.\textsuperscript{8} (See Figure 17)

Commonly, miners used the room and pillar technique, first devised in English coal mines, to remove the coal systematically. The miner worked in a tunnel called a room, and the sides of the room, called the pillar, supported the roof. Miners then dug crosscuts into the pillars to provide ventilation and communication with the rooms dug

\textsuperscript{6}The Coal Fields of Pierce County, 29, and “Report on the Coal Fields of Washington Territory,” 763.
\textsuperscript{7}Adam Shurrick, The Coal Industry, (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1924) 58.
\textsuperscript{8}Schasse, et al., 11.
parallel to each other.\textsuperscript{9} When the miners reached the end of the workable coal in a room, they removed, or pulled, the remaining pillars for the coal they contained. Pulling pillars weakened the ability of the other pillars to keep the roof up, but it increased the amount of extractable coal. Carbonado miners also used a similar technique called chute and pillar because of the severe pitching of the seams. Miners dug chutes, which are like rooms but much smaller, that followed the path of the coal seam. The flatness of the coal seam determined whether the Carbonado miners used the room and pillar or the chute and pillar techniques to most efficiently remove the coal. (See Map 7)

After mining, a train of coal cars, called a trip, transported the coal to the surface for processing at the tipple. (See Figure 18) Most Washington coals, including Newcastle, Black Diamond, Roslyn, contained impurities peculiar to the local conditions in each area.\textsuperscript{10} Even with the thick seams, the Company washed the coal at Carbonado to remove ash, non-coal-bearing rock, and bone coal found in Carbonado area. Depending on the size of the chunks of coal and the type, the coal passed through one or more washings. Boys too young to work in the mine hand-screened the purest coal. Less pure coals went through a series of screen jigs that mechanically separated the coal from the impurities. These jigs also separated the coal into the various sizes sold. These sizes ranged from coal dust to lump coal.\textsuperscript{11}

The day to day mining for the men at Carbonado was spent removing the coal from the mine. Whether he dug in a chute or a room made no difference to the miner, he followed the coal and used the most efficient method. By mining in a systematic fashion,

\textsuperscript{10}The Coal Fields of Pierce County, 100.
more coal could be excavated and safety could be promoted. For all the miners’
diligence, the mines were a dangerous place.

At Carbonado, several factors impressed Wingate as making the mine inherently
hazardous. Steep pitching coal seams made mining dangerously difficult, especially in
Carbonado. The difficulties of mining in the Wingate vein and other seams in Carbonado
can only be compared to Pennsylvania hard-rock anthracite mining in terms of
difficulty.\textsuperscript{12} Even with these difficulties, the men of Carbonado produced eight hundred
tons a day by 1886 using picks, shovels, and blasting powder.\textsuperscript{13} (See Figure 19) Two
main dangers constantly lurked in the mines: the presence of gas and the instability of
the ground where the miners worked.

The presence of firedamp, or marsh gas, in the mines merely added to the dangers
of an already dangerous business. Gassy mines posed many dangers and the highly
flammable firedamp could kill in three main ways. Common occurrences, known as
bumps, killed many miners. Bumps occurred when a miner tapped a pocket of
compressed marsh gas. Compressed gas explodes when instantly exposed to air. Bumps,
however, killed only the miner who exposed the gas pocket. Because of the
unpredictability of bumps, there really was no way to protect miners against this
occurrence. Slow leaks of gas could also render a miner unconscious and suffocate him.
Methane and other gases that make up firedamp could not be detected by smell. The last
way gas in a mine could kill was similar to the previous two, but often was caused by a
conscious act. To loosen large sections of coal for excavation, the miners had to employ
dynamite. Blasting only occurred when the fire boss, the foreman in charge of all

\textsuperscript{12} Mining History of Pierce County, 73.
\textsuperscript{13} Mineral Resources of the United States, 1886, 365.
blasting on a shift, declared the mine gas-free after a thorough inspection.\textsuperscript{14} Just because the fireboss declared the mine gas free at the beginning of a shift did not mean it would remain so. The gas constantly escaped from the coal. A blast intended to free several tons of coal from the working face could ignite an inferno. To limit the chances of injuries, only a limited number of men remained near the blast site in case undetected gas was present. The blasts also only occurred in the morning.

Miners carried safety lamps that could detect the presence of gas, and worked in pairs to protect one another. The Company also kept air-circulating fans to prevent gas from accumulating in any area. These fans created currents so strong that one man said in some places the airflow could knock a hat off a person head.\textsuperscript{15} Foremen also strictly enforced rules against smoking or having an open flame in the mine.\textsuperscript{16} Miners could take many precautions, but a bump or an unknown area of gas could kill even the most cautious of men.

The second main danger in the mines had to do with the unstable structure of the ground. Explosions grabbed headlines, but falling slate and coal killed more miners.\textsuperscript{17} Rocks loosened from their prehistoric tombs by blasting often fell hours later, sometimes upon the clean-up crews. The unpredictability of rockfalls only increased the danger. One miner recalled how his best man died when a piece of slate “bigger than this room (a fifteen foot by fifteen foot kitchen)” crushed him. The uncle of the miner moved back to Iowa because “this was the healthiest country … but nobody died a natural death. He said he was going back to Iowa, because even if there was a depression, at least

\textsuperscript{14}“Many Homes are Made Desolate at Carbonado,” \textit{Tacoma Sunday Ledger} (WA), 10 December 1899: 2.
\textsuperscript{15}“No Blame Rests on Mine Officials,” \textit{Tacoma Daily Ledger} (WA), 15 December 1899, 5.
\textsuperscript{16}“Thirty-Two Miners Killed, \textit{Tacoma Daily Ledger} (WA), 11 December 1899: 2.
\textsuperscript{17}Shifflett, 103.
everybody died a natural death there.”

A rare occurrence connected with the ground took place in 1927. After heavy rains saturated the porous strata for two days, an “enormous irruption of mud and gravel” which killed seven miners. No amount of preparation could have prevented this accident.

Another byproduct of the unstable ground was dust. Dust alone is not dangerous, but dust particles suspended in air can be quite explosive. The risk existed at a low level but it still remained. A bump could trigger a larger dust explosion, but as long as miners followed safety rules, the risks were acceptable. In two cases however, violations of safety procedures had disastrous results. In December of 1899, one miner’s need to smoke his pipe, a clear violation of safety rules, caused the deaths of thirty-two miners, the worst disaster to befall Carbonado. Ben Zedler opened his miner’s lamp to light his pipe and the ensuing explosion was heard and felt “in every gangway, crosscut and shaft from the water level to almost a thousand feet to the summit of Wingate Hill.”

A second explosion involving dust occurred in April of 1930. A blasting party led by David Hughes, an experienced foreman, prepared a double shot, or two charges of blasting powder exploded one after the other to maximize the amount of coal released. Hughes set off the first charge that released a large amount of dust with the coal, and prepared to ignite the second charge. Unknown to Hughes, the first blast uncovered the second charge and when he hit the switch the second blast instantly blew out into the dust filled tunnel. Seventeen men died in the fireball or suffocated in the noxious fumes.

An extended discussion of the events of the three major disasters, which the regional papers

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20“Many Homes are Made Desolate ...,” 1.
all featured on their front pages, briefly touched upon in this chapter can be found in Appendix I.

The hazards, dangers, and difficulty of the work affected everyone who worked at the mine, even those holding sedate office jobs. For example, C. U. Lockridge, bored with his teaching job, came to the mines at Carbonado in 1884 to work in the mine office. The day before he arrived, a cable snapped and sent a few men to their deaths. On his arrival, the office manager sent Lockridge into the mine to retrieve the men. The sight of the dead men sickened him, and, once out of the mine, he quit and returned to his boring teaching position. Lockridge learned by the fates of others that the dangers inherent in the mining industry spared no one and it did not matter whether the person was mining or not.

Dangers and death not only affected the miners, but their families as well. When the emergency whistle sounded at the mines, the hearts of everyone on the surface stopped. The women of the town knew that any day their husbands might not come home and their financial support would be gone. On hearing of a disaster in the mines, the “[t]iny homes lining the streets of the mine town were deserted, women and children leaving lights blazing and doors ajar as they rushed panic stricken to the shaft opening.” Here the families would wait in silence while grief would come later. When the big disaster came in December 1899, it was all Superintendent David Davies could do to keep the families and friends of the miners “from plunging madly into the tunnel mouth.” Women would make the rounds to see all the grieving families, knowing that someday they might be visited after a similar disaster.

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The dangers posed by the unique structure of the Carbon River Coal Field took many lives in the coal mining era at Carbonado. Over one hundred and thirty men perished in the mines over a period of fifty seven years. Over a comparable period of time, 1889-1913, the mines at Carbonado averaged 2.7 deaths per year, a small part of the average for the state of Washington of 25.6 deaths per year over the same twenty-four year period.²⁵ The proper application of safety measures kept the deaths at a minimum, and allowed the Company to continue to mine successfully and profitably.

Figure 15: Miners pose near a mine entry along the Carbon River. Notice how the mine buildings sit precariously close the river. The various buildings housed the pumps necessary to keep the mines dry. Photograph courtesy of the Washington State Historical Society, Tacoma Washington, and used by permission.

Note: This image has been redacted due to copyright concerns.
Figure 16: Another mine entry at Carbonado. Behind the seated men is a pump wheel that helped keep the mine from flooding. Photograph courtesy of the Washington State Historical Society, Tacoma Washington, and used by permission.
Note: This image has been redacted due to copyright concerns.

Figure 17: Miners in a Wilkeson mine. Though this mine was not in Carbonado, it illustrates what a mine in this coal field looked like inside. Reprinted from a postcard given to the author by Dora Streepy.
Map 7: Map of the coal bunker yard and coke ovens. Drawn by the author.
Note: This image has been redacted due to copyright concerns.

Figure 18: Wingate, the location of the tipple, bunkers, and other buildings. Reprinted from a post card courtesy of Dora Streepy.
Figure 19: Group of miners posing for a photograph. The coal car track in the ground in front of the group indicates the photograph was taken down at the mine level. Photograph courtesy of the Washington State Historical Society, Tacoma Washington, and used by permission.

Note: This image has been redacted due to copyright concerns.
CHAPTER THREE
LIFE IN A COMPANY TOWN

A town emerged from the wilderness in 1880. This town became Carbonado. To attract and maintain a stable workforce, the Company had to build as comfortable and safe a town as possible where nothing before existed. The town existed for the benefit of its employees as a company town. Once built, the Company sought additional ways to provide for the inhabitants. Life in Carbonado outside of mining was framed by the fact that the Carbon Hill Coal Company owned the town and controlled everything in it, from the store in which the workers bought their food to the houses in which they slept. A town, however, was more than just a collection of housing and the miners with their families sought ways to establish lives outside of mining. The miners spent their off hours pursuing recreation such as music, sports and volunteerism.

The new town needed a name, but there was some confusion as to what that name was. Nancy Hall, in Carbon River Coal Country, stated that "[t]he men working in the area named the site of the proposed town, after Carbondale, Pennsylvania, a town some of them had recently been residents of." She went on to say that it was a matter of speculation when the town changed its name to Carbonado. The confusion arose because for a short period of time, around December of 1880, the post office listed the town as

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Carbondale. By March 1881 Carbonado replaced the earlier name of the post office. 

(See Figure 20) Before, during, and after this time, however, the Tacoma Weekly Ledger listed the town many times as Carbonado in articles, advertisements, and Northern Pacific Railroad schedules. The paper never referred to the town as Carbondale. An article in the Steilacoom Puget Sound Express, dated 14 August 1880, reported Robert Wingate asking for a county road “commencing at Wilkeson and thence to Carbonado.” Wingate, a mining expert, probably knew that the term carbonado meant black diamond. Considering the high quality of coal found at Carbonado, it suggests the aptness of this name for the community. The town was probably always called Carbonado, but was briefly listed as Carbondale at the post office by mistake.

The first workers and miners entering Carbonado would not find much more than a work camp. Miners wanted assurances that the new coal mining operation would not close down immediately before relocating families there. The government of the county made two decisions that cemented the future of the town in regard to voting and a school. In November 1880, the Pierce County Commissioners created a voting precinct for the new town. Citizens of the town now had a voice in the future of Pierce County and Washington Territory. Six months later, the Commissioners granted the new town its own school district number 19. The town’s public school began operations around this time, as did a private school. According to her advertisement in the Tacoma Weekly Ledger, Mrs. A. E. Bailey taught English and music and boarded students at the private school if they came from a distance. The establishment of schools made the town

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3“County Commissioners’ Court,” Steilacoom Puget Sound Express (WA), 14 August 1880: 3.
4W. P. Bonney, History of Pierce County, Washington, vol. I, 421. This was the final meeting ever held in Steilacoom as the county seat soon moved to Tacoma.
5 Ibid., vol. I, 424. Bonney states that the new district number was #23, but in fact it was #19. The school district is still in operation and the state gave #19 back to the district as a historical school district; Advertisement, Tacoma Weekly Ledger (WA), 27 May 1881: 3.
attractive to miners with families and for miners thinking of marriage and families. Official recognition from the county showed the Commissioners believed that the Carbon Hill Coal Company meant to stay, and their actions illustrated this to potential workers.

The isolation of Carbonado on the fringe of the eastern edge of the county made attracting worker harder. The town’s isolation, however, in the wilderness of eastern Pierce County was short lived. Communications with the outside world finally came on 2 September 1881 when the telegraph line between Carbonado and Tacoma went into operation. Communications allowed miners information beyond the town. The rail line went into operation at the end of 1881, and surpassed the winding county road for transportation uses.

The town of Carbonado began not as a typical community founded by the inhabitants, but rather as a company town. In the last third of the nineteenth century, many Americans made their homes in communities built and owned by the companies that employed the men living there. Rolf Knight, in *Work Camps and Company Towns in Canada and the U.S.: An Annotated Bibliography*, defined company towns as "communities where most of the housing and other basic services [were] owned or directly controlled by the company owning the single predominant industry for which the town was established." Company towns served as a convenient way to house workers and their families in localities far from centers of population. (See Map 8) In such towns, there was no government because the company took this role for itself, and provided basic services such as housing, water, fuel, and access to provisions. Companies provided services not because these were basic rights, but because such

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6 "Brief Locals," *Tacoma Weekly Ledger* (WA), 9 September 1881: 3.
services attracted stable workers. In Washington alone, at least twenty-seven coal mining or logging company towns existed in the same era as Carbonado.⁸

Control is the purpose of a company town. Companies want to control their towns to control the labor force, and anything the companies provided such as housing or other basic services, or stipulated must be viewed in this regard. Company towns often were located far from any other settlement because of the location of the natural resources that necessitated the building of a community of workers. To work and live in the company's town, it directives must be followed. Companies wielded immense economic leverage. However, employers had to balance their control by providing sufficient amenities and a safe place to live or face loss of their employees.⁹

The company's absolute control had to be tempered with restraint. When company towns were near other towns with employment opportunities the loss of employees to rival towns was especially true. Harsh policies that infringed upon workers' freedom drove the workers away. The location of Carbonado fairly close to other settlements and other opportunities for employment, led to the Company treating the miners in the town with fairness.

Carbonado, in the beginning, followed the definition of a company town, owing to the Carbon Hill Coal Company's ownership. During Wingate's tenure as superintendent, the Carbon Hill Coal Company followed a liberal policy regarding the miners.¹⁰ Just as with other company towns across the country, the Carbon Hill Coal Company owned the miners' houses, the only store in town, and the mine, but the miners were not required to

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⁹Ibid., 124-125.

use them. However, the Company strictly enforced rules on the behavior of the miners. “Molly Maguires,” miners who believed in using violence to get better terms with coal operators, were not welcomed. If a company did not approve of a miner, the manager asked him to leave, forcefully if necessary.

The defining feature of a company town was the company store. It served as a tool used by the mining company to control their labor. By offering fair prices and a variety of supplies, the company persuaded the miners to remain in the town. The less a miner left the town, the more the company controlled him. Because Robert Wingate decided to focus more on the mine than on the town in order to get coal shipments started, out of necessity he leased the company store franchise for Carbonado to E. G. Ingalls. (See Figure 21) Ingalls’ store opened in October 1880 and supplied almost everything the miners could need, including provisions, tools, clothing, and furniture. If the miners needed something he did not have, he ordered it. Although it was the only store in the town, the men were not required to shop in it, but Ingalls kept the prices low to ensure a steady business in his establishment. His ads proclaimed prices cheaper than the cost of the item plus the cost of transporting the goods to the new town. (See Figure 22) After Ingalls’ death in the early 1880s, the Company acquired ownership of the store. The store became a true company store when Crocker bought the town, and forced the miners and their families to use it exclusively.

Miners frequently paid for their company store purchases on credit. Company stores encouraged credit purchases to lock the miner further into working for the

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11 Hall, 76.
12 ibid.
13 Seltzer, 17.
14 “Brief Locals,” Tacoma Weekly Ledger (WA), 22 October 1880: 3; and “Brief Locals,” Tacoma Weekly Ledger (WA), 3 June 1881: 3. Ingalls also owned a store on the waterfront of Tacoma. His success in Carbonado led him to close his store on the wharf to concentrate solely on Carbonado. Besides the store, he operated a boarding house called the Carbonado Hotel for unmarried miners.
company. The Carbon Hill Coal Company paid the miners in cash, after taking out all expenses incurred at the company store. The company store issued script for use between paychecks, in essence loaning the miner money to make purchases. Companies repeatedly discounted the value of script when the miners wanted to convert it to cash any time other than payday, as a way of controlling the workers. The company would assume that anytime a miner needed cash they were going to purchase something they should purchase at the company store, where the store accepted the script at face value for store purchases. The State of Washington, however, outlawed this practice to protect the miner in the first decade of the twentieth century. If the miner owed the store for purchases, he had to work that debt off before the Company granted permission for him to move away. The miners' wages covered rent, other bills owed to the company -- medical expenses, utilities, and coal -- and then against debts owed to the store.

Nothing caused more friction between owners and workers than the company store. The store served as a symbol of the relationship of the miners and the owners. In some mining camps, operations continued during slow periods because the mining company made enough money to offset the losses from the mine. The men in company towns often referred to the stores as "pluck me" stores in regards to company policies of cheating the customers. The men also referred to the stores with a more colorful term that will be left to the reader's imagination. The contempt the stores produced in the miners showed the depth of the control the town exercised over them.

After the arrival of new ownership in 1882, the Carbon Hill Coal Company required the town's residents to purchase only from the company store. (See Figure 23)
The enforcement of this rule generally held, but varied over the history of mining in the town. The loss of work always remained a constant threat for those caught buying supplies elsewhere.\textsuperscript{19} With the company store closed on Sunday, sometimes there was no choice. Families either did without or traveled the three miles to Wilkeson and hoped not to get caught.

The rewards of contraband outweighed the risks for some people at Carbonado and a number of farmers from the Puyallup Valley. The farmers carefully followed the treacherous road up the hill from the valley at night to meet townspeople in the dense woods surrounding the town. This clandestine system allowed the farmers to sell their eggs, green vegetables, and fresh butter to those living in Carbonado.\textsuperscript{20}

To battle contraband, the Company during the superintendency of David Davies allowed some farmers to come into town and sell fresh products that the store did not carry. A daughter of a miner remembered waking up early to go out and meet the milkman who drove his horse and wagon to town to deliver the milk. The milkman stopped and measured the milk into whatever container the person brought out.\textsuperscript{21} A baker from Buckley came once a week with bread and other baked goods.\textsuperscript{22}

The Carbon Hill Coal Company tried to keep the miners as happy and within town limits as possible by allowing a few new products and businesses in. Only businesses authorized by the Company operated in Carbonado. They remained only as long as the Company wished. When purchasing a town lot to build on for a potential

\textsuperscript{18} Seltzer, 21.
\textsuperscript{19} Agent 76, “Reports,” TD, 3 November 1913 to 1 January 1914, Pacific Improvement Company Records, Manuscripts and University Archives Division, University of Washington Libraries, Seattle, 4 November 1913. The agent reports that he was told that the union in Carbonado would not interfere with the operation of the company store because “If the miners do not like to buy there they can go to Wilkeson or wherever they like.”
\textsuperscript{20} Hall, 76.
business, the owner only secured the right to build on the land and nothing else. The land itself and what was under it belonged to the Company. Taverns proved quite popular and the town supported three at one time. Other businesses in town included two barbershops, a tailor, and meat market. (See Figure 20) A hundred pigs lived throughout the town and when the butcher was ready to slaughter he would do it in the street. Traveling peddlers, usually women, came to town to sell items from the city such as tablecloths, scarves, and beads. These sellers always came just after payday.23

After the company store, the most striking feature of company towns was the basic housing supplied by the employers. To keep costs down, companies built houses that just adequately provided shelter. Workers built cottages on about one hundred foot wide lots, which the Carbon Hill Coal Company rented to the miners at a low rate. The houses, whitewashed and constructed from poorly cut rough boards, all looked alike. (See Figures 24 and 25) The miners and their families chose only the size of their house. The basic floor plan consisted of a front room, with one or two bedrooms beside it, a kitchen and pantry area in the back, with an outhouse in the backyard. With no indoor plumbing until the first decade of the twentieth century, common taps located every few streets supplied the inhabitants' water. These taps made washing a difficult and time-consuming chore. Families often kept a barrel at home for storage and the children made as many trips as necessary to keep the barrel full. The Angeline family used a wagon with three cans in it to fill their barrel.24

The Company improved the cottages over the years as needed, and tore down the houses deemed unsafe. Although the Company electrified the mines in 1895, it took until

Footnotes continued from previous page
23ibid.
24Hall, 75.
1913 before the miners' cottages acquired this luxury.\textsuperscript{25} Until then, kerosene lit their households. David Davies ordered the houses plumbed with running hot and cold water and toilets.\textsuperscript{26}

J. F. Menzies took over the superintendency after Lewis Davies, and he tore down many ancient cottages still standing from the earliest days of the town to build more modern housing. To improve cleanliness for the miners, their houses, and the town in general, he also built a wash-and-change facility. Wash-and-change buildings allow miners to travel to and from work in street clothes leaving their work gear near the mines.\textsuperscript{27} Miners no longer sat in a tub at home to remove the layers of coal dust mixed with sweat that inevitably coated a person while working in the mine. The coal dust the miner brought home soon coated household surfaces as well.

The Company tried to provide housing for everyone, but adequate housing often was unavailable in town. Families often rented out a room in the late 1800s, both to provide shelter and raise extra income. Other company towns frequently did not allow such practices because the Company did not receive rent from the boarder.\textsuperscript{28} In Carbonado, however, the Company allowed boarding houses to operate, and the town supported many. These boarding houses usually consisted of just a group of men living together to save money. These men hired cooks and other domestic help that took the form of young, unmarried females from Carbonado or from the surrounding towns.\textsuperscript{29} Once the Company built a hotel to house single miners and guests to the town in the first decade of the twentieth century, they no longer allowed anyone to take in boarders, but the boarding houses continued for some time. (See Figure 26) If caught, the Company

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{25}Coal Fields of Pierce County, 65.
\item \textsuperscript{26}Hall, 96.
\item \textsuperscript{28}Seltzer, 17.
\end{itemize}
fired all the men in the offending household. They only wanted compliance and control. Once the boarder checked into the hotel, the previously fired men returned to work as if the incident never happened. The Company followed this pattern in regard to miners not following Company dictates.

The men who boarded at the hotel constantly complained about the service. For the entire time Agent 76, a union activity spy, stayed at Carbonado, the troubles occurring at the hotel were constantly mentioned. A major source of problems stemmed from the cook. The problem grew so serious the union called a special meeting. The boarders wanted to go on strike to force the Company to hire a new cook because of the cook’s horrible cooking. The union leadership, however, refused to authorize a strike over such a small problem. Someone decided to handle the situation himself. On 11 December 1913, a fire started in the hotel. An arsonist probably set the fire in a little used room. Luckily for the Company, someone walked by and noticed the smoke. A man who worked in the kitchen said “some of the damn anarchists” started the fire, and Agent 76 knew of a couple of boarders who were troublemakers and capable of starting the fire. On 31 December 1913, the Company responded to the blaze by firing the hotel cook.

Unique among the major coal towns in the state, Carbonado enjoyed a heterogeneous ethnic make-up. East of the Cascade Mountains, Irish and Welsh miners dominated, while on the west side, English and Scots made up the bulk of the miners. The English, Welsh, and Scots came first to this little town, then the northern Europeans and the Finns, and finally the Italians, Slavs, and Hungarians soon followed. Because

Footnotes continued from previous page
29Partanen, 23. These women often met their husbands while working in these boarding houses.
30Hall, 94.
31Agent 76, 22 November 1913.
32ibid., 13 December 1913.
33ibid., 31 December 1913.
34Melder, Study of Washington..., 57.
of the varied groups of nationalities in town, no one group dominated. This situation created an atmosphere of assimilation as people from one country married people from others.\textsuperscript{36} That did not mean there were not ethnic divisions. The Finns preferred to remain as a group, and tended to congregate in a section of town where they had their own church and meeting hall. A large group of the Finns, at least nine families, all left at the same time to become farmers.\textsuperscript{37}

Because the Carbon Hill Coal Company owned Carbonado, the town lacked the machinery for many municipal services. There was no mayor or town council, as the Company acted as the executive and legislative bodies for the community.\textsuperscript{38} However, the townspeople formed associations or clubs to conduct the practical town business on a volunteer basis. With nearly every structure in town constructed of wood, fire posed a huge threat to Carbonado and the Company. The first volunteer Hose Company organized in January of 1886. Twenty-five men organized the Carbon Hill Hose Company Number One. The men made this decision after the untrained and disorganized volunteers that previously manned the town's fire equipment could not handle a small fire on New Year's Eve.\textsuperscript{39} The Company supported the men in this measure and built hose cart houses throughout the town for easy access and quicker response time for a fire. They also provided the hose carts.\textsuperscript{40} During the summer, women in town often canned wild blackberry jam, and house fires were common owing to the use of coal fired stoves. Even with training, about one man per block would drop from exhaustion pulling the cart. This system proved effective for the town and remained in place until the 1950s.

\textsuperscript{36}Hall, 91.
\textsuperscript{37}ibid., 88.
\textsuperscript{38}Allen, 120. The lack of municipal structures was common to company towns throughout the west.
\textsuperscript{39}“Carbonado Firemen,” \textit{Tacoma Daily Ledger} (WA), 20 January 1886: 5.
\textsuperscript{40}Interview by author with John R. Streepy, former Carbonado town councilmen and fire commissioner, 27 March 1997.
Volunteers also manned the Community Club during the 1920s. This club managed the affairs of the town and acted as a de-facto town ‘government. They administered the town’s non-denominational church, movie theater, and social hall. For a small monthly fee paid to the club, a family had access to nine picture shows and two dances each month as well as admission to all social events and athletic competitions.\footnote{“Dedicate Carbon Gym December 7,” \textit{Buckley Banner} (WA), 28 November 1929: 1.}

The role of religion in the lives of the miners cannot be overlooked. The dangers of mining often led to the miners seeking a higher power. Coming together in worship is a very powerful thing. For the recent immigrants, religion served as a connection to the homeland, as well as a way to better integrate into American society. Carbonado supported two churches before the turn of the century for the spiritual needs of the miners. Prior to 1887, all services were held in the schoolhouse built by Superintendent Pinkerton in 1883. The townspeople built a church in 1887 and it served the majority of the residents with non-denominational services in English. This community church survived until the mid-1950s when the parishioners tore the building down and built a new community church. The other church in town was the Finnish-Lutheran church. A rotating group of ministers performed the services at this ethnic church, but the Finns performed baptisms in their homes.\footnote{“Dedicate Carbon Gym December 7,” \textit{Buckley Banner} (WA), 28 November 1929: 1.} When the Finns left the town, their church folded leaving only the non-denominational community church.

Another pastime proved very popular in the town, as well elsewhere in America, and it must be included in any description of life in Carbonado. The consumption of alcoholic spirits has always been a way for hard working men to relieve themselves from the stresses of their work. Many outlets for this activity existed in Carbonado. Men brewed moonshine in the dense woods surrounding the town and a number of distinct “brands” existed. The town supported up to three taverns at one time. Many miners
stopped at the saloons located down by the railroad depot prior to heading home from work. (See Figure 27) Agent 76 witnessed the miners relaxing in the saloons, and saw heavy drinking. If a miner wanted a supply of alcohol separate from the taverns in town, and home brew did not suit his tastes, a man from Tacoma frequently came to town and took orders for wine and liquor. Though the purchase of alcoholic spirits outside of a saloon was illegal, the Company did not acknowledge this trade nor try to stop it. They kept alcohol readily available as a relief for the workers. Most likely this myopia served as a way of keeping contraband to a minimum. Preventing the use of alcohol in the town would have caused more problems for the Company, so it is easy to see why they turned a blind eye to illegal activities occurring in the area. If the alcohol impacted the level of work, the most important concern of the Company, changes would have occurred.

Work abounded in a mining town, but the men would not work twenty-four hours a day. During the off hours, or in the periodic times when the mines shut down for repairs or upgrades of equipment, a variety of other activities occupied the townspeople of Carbonado. These activities included many of the popular pastimes or entertainment of the era. In the nineteenth century, the townspeople indulged in music and sports and volunteerism. As the twentieth century arrived, technological advances provided new diversions for the miners and their families to augment the already popular recreations. The town sustained a movie theater built after the turn of the century. People from neighboring communities traveled to Carbonado to frequent the only theater in the area. By the 1920s, nearly every home in town had a radio, and all had an automobile. One of the garages in town ordered autos for buyers. The abundance of leisure activities

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42 Anderson, 16.
43 Agent 76, 5 November 1913, 6 November 1913.
44 ibid., 15 November 1913.
45 Hall, 97.
available demonstrated that Carbonado was a vibrant community, not just a mining camp. Even with these advances, the most popular diversions remained the simplest: music, sports, and group activities.

Almost from the beginning the townspeople found music to be an escape from the drudgery of the mines. A string band performed at Christmas in 1882. The Carbonado Choral Society, made up of twenty-four members, also performed at that Christmas party. The town supported a brass band that performed on New Years’ Eve. Years later, the Finns assembled a band that wore blue-gray uniforms. This band traveled to Seattle for performances with other groups of Finnish miners from mining towns in Western Washington. The Downing family owned the only Victrola among the miners, and the men regularly gathered in the Downing’s parlor to listen to the music and talk. Songs of the miners’ homelands resonated as the men returned from work or the tavern. The Finns in town held dances in a hall they constructed. They decorated the building with cedar branches and someone played the piano and violin.

Sports played an equally important role in the miner’s lives. The Company constructed a football field and a baseball diamond across the tracks from the depot, on land next to where the Chinese workers formerly built their shanties, to support athletics in town. (See Figure 28) In the second decade of the century, J. F. Menzies, the

Footnotes continued from previous page


50Partanen, 24.

51Hall, 97.

52Ibid., 94.
superintendent who followed Lewis Davies, improved the baseball diamond and built a new grandstand for the football field.\textsuperscript{54} Carbonado teams played other neighboring communities in various team sports.\textsuperscript{55} The town fielded successful soccer and baseball teams. The soccer team won the state championship in 1929 and the following year the Carbonado baseball team defeated a Tacoma team for the Mountain League Pennant.\textsuperscript{56}

Outdoor recreation remained popular in the area because of the availability of the attractive wilderness areas. Opportunities for hunting and fishing abounded in the wilderness surrounding the town. Elk and deer herds found refuge in the woods of the foothills of Mount Rainier. Salmon spawned in the local rivers and streams, and trout could be found in the area as well. Sometimes miners and their families sought recreation and traveled to the nearby lakes during the hot summer months to spend the night by the shores.\textsuperscript{57}

Besides sports and music, the men of the town had other outlets for group activities. Fraternal organizations expanded greatly in the last third of the nineteenth century, and joining them became one of the most popular activities for the men in Carbonado. Many orders of secret societies cropped up across the country at this time, and Americans joined them by the thousands.\textsuperscript{58} The Carbon Hill Coal Company freely allowed fraternal organizations to establish branches in their town, and many did. Even Superintendent Davies belonged to a few, though the hierarchical structure of these orders

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\textsuperscript{53}Anderson, 16-17.
\textsuperscript{54}Hall, 96-97.
\textsuperscript{55}\textit{ibid.}, 101. In 1929, the miners fielded a well-respected state championship soccer throughout the 1920s, and in 1930 the town's baseball team defeated Tacoma two games to one in a three game series to capture the Mountain League Pennant “Carbonado: Carbonado Wins Soccer Game in Hot Sunday Mix,” Enumclaw Herald (WA), 15 March 1929: 5; and “Win Mountain League Pennant,” Buckley Banner (WA), 28 August 1930.
\textsuperscript{56}“Carbonado: Carbonado Wins Soccer Game in Hot Sunday Mix,” Enumclaw Herald, 15 March 1929: 5; and “Win Mountain League Pennant,” Buckley Banner, 28 August 1930: 1.
kept workers and management separate.\textsuperscript{59} Strict mining companies, especially those back east in the Appalachians, often forbade the establishment of men’s lodges, fearing the men might use these groups as a way to organize labor, or they only allowed fraternal orders that followed company dictates.\textsuperscript{60}

Fraternal organizations started two years after the founding of Carbonado. The Good Templars, whose members abstained from the use of alcohol, organized the first lodge in town on 12 October 1882.\textsuperscript{61} Others followed. Even though the Masons and Odd Fellows had strong, overlapping memberships in town, many felt there was room enough for additional lodges. In January of 1886, a group got together to organize a lodge of the Knights of Pythias.\textsuperscript{62} The construction of a multipurpose hall, built by the Company for use by the entire town, neared completion as the Knights of Pythias organized and all the orders used this hall. (See Figure 29) As the popularity of fraternal orders waned, some of these fraternal groups disappeared as the population could not support the multitude of groups, but the larger orders, such as Masons, Eagles, and Elks continued to be popular well into the mid-twentieth century.

Although Carbonado was a company town, the Carbon Hill Coal Company allowed the inhabitants to enjoy a wide range of latitude to live their lives. As long as the inhabitants respected the Company’s policies, or at least did not get caught, they pursued leisure activities outside the mines. The Company supported the townspeople’s activities, to keep them happy. Preventing the men from enjoying their free time served no one’s best interests. In fact, the Company benefited from many of the activities, such as the fire department, community club, and the various fraternal orders. The inhabitants in turn

\textsuperscript{59}Hall, 90.
\textsuperscript{60}Shifflett, 20. Mining companies in the Appalachians often refused to allow these groups.
\textsuperscript{61}“Carbonado Notes,” Tacoma \textit{Weekly Ledger} (WA), 22 December 1882: 3; and Schmidt, \textit{Fraternal Organizations}, 146.
benefited from the town being completely owned by the Carbon Hill Coal Company. In a non-company town, all improvements to the sewers, school, or anything else would have to be paid by the people. If one followed the rules, the Company left people alone and provided an orderly community in which to live.

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62 "Carbonado Doings," *Tacoma Daily Ledger* (WA), 26 January 1886: 5. They held their meetings in this hall until 1904 after construction of a new building located in the west part of town not far from the community church, Hall, 90.
Figure 20: Post office and barbershop. This is one of the oldest buildings still standing in Carbonado. It was located across the street from the company store. Photograph courtesy of the Washington State Historical Society, Tacoma, Washington, and used by permission.
Map 8: Map of Carbonado. Drawn by the author.
Figure 21: First company store building, later replaced by a brick building in Figure 23. Photograph courtesy of the Washington State Historical Society, Tacoma Washington, and used by permission.

Note: This image has been redacted due to copyright concerns.
Figure 22: Advertisements from the early years at Carbonado. Reprinted from the Tacoma Weekly Ledger, 29 October 1880: 3; 15 April 1881: 3; 27 May 1881: 3; 14 October 1881: 3.
Figure 23: View of Pershing Avenue, then known as Main Street. The brick building on the right was the new company store. Photograph courtesy of Dora Streepy.

Note: This image has been redacted due to copyright concerns.
Figure 24: Cottage of Emil Manil and his family. Manil, a Belgian miner, came to Carbonado via Nova Scotia. Photograph courtesy of the Museum of History and Industry, Seattle, Washington, and used by permission.

Note: This image has been redacted due to copyright concerns.
Figure 25: Picture of Carbonado showing similar houses. Reprinted from *The Coal Fields of Pierce County*, 124
Figure 26: Company hotel. This building also housed a restaurant and served as housing for unwed miners. Photograph courtesy of the Washington State Historical Society, Tacoma, Washington, and used by permission.

Note: This image has been redacted due to copyright concerns.
Note: This image has been redacted due to copyright concerns.

Figure 27: Northern Pacific Railroad depot in Carbonado. Reprinted from a post card courtesy of Dora Streepy.
Figure 28: Ball fields. The Company built these fields on the same meadow where the Chinese workers of the 1880s built their shanties. Photograph courtesy of the Washington State Historical Society, Tacoma, Washington, and used by permission.

Note: This image has been redacted due to copyright concerns.
Figure 29: View of Carbonado, circa 1911. The multipurpose hall used for lodge meetings is the two-story building behind the church near the middle of the photograph. Reprinted from *Coals of the State of Washington*, facing page 168.
CHAPTER FOUR
THE CHINESE IN CARBONADO

Many ethnic groups worked in the mines at Carbonado during the fifty-seven years of large-scale coal mining in the town. The overwhelming majority of these groups originated in Europe, and their stories are often told. These European ethnic groups each had unique experiences in their time in Carbonado. The Chinese ethnic group also had a unique experience in Carbonado. The often-overlooked experiences of the Chinese in Carbonado and in Pierce County as a whole deserve special attention.

In the early 1870s, workers from China began to arrive in Washington, either directly from Asia or from California in the south. The Chinese came to the region for employment, but the only jobs available were low paying menial tasks or laundry work that other ethnic groups or native-born refused to do. Unemployed whites loathed the "Heathen Chinee" because the Chinese had work, but whites refused to work for wages as low as the Chinese accepted. The resentment many felt towards the Chinese stemmed from three sources. Although the work needed to be done, white Americans' disdained the Chinese for performing the only jobs available to them. Another part of this resentment stemmed from the reluctance of the Chinese to assimilate into American society. Their distinct culture and appearance made Chinese immigrants targets for racists who viewed them as a threat to the fabric of the nation. Finally, this resentment came from the fact that in the 1800s, white Americans perceived the United States as a

homogeneously white country, and anything to the contrary to this was viewed as “antagonistic to republican and free-labor society.”

This hatred toward the Chinese occurred on a national basis, but the center of the anti-Chinese sentiments was the western United States. The supporters of the anti-Chinese cause came from the laboring classes, who feared for their livelihoods in the face of cheap Chinese labor, and politicians and newspapermen who both catered to the will of the people for votes and money. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, pushed through Congress by Californian interests, aimed to prevent cheap Chinese labor from flooding the West Coast. To stop the flow of Chinese workers into the region, the Territorial legislature of Washington passed a tax on Chinese workers, but the tax failed to slow the influx of Chinese workers coming up the coast.

Plenty of work existed in Carbonado as Robert Wingate rushed to meet Chandler’s request for shipments of coal as soon as possible in 1880. Some of the work did not appeal to the white worker, so Chinese workers came to the Carbonado mines at the urging of Wingate. The first U.S. Census of the Carbonado area in 1880 listed three of the initial residents as Chinese. In Carbonado, where nearly all Chinese in the Carbon River area worked, Chinese labor never exceeded one hundred people. In all of Pierce County there were only 950 Chinese out of total population of over ten thousand.

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5 Hall, 68.
The operators of the mine regarded the work done by the Chinese as meticulous, and the workers handled any job assigned. Down the steep canyon side, the Chinese cut a switchback trail known as the Chinese Steps, used for many years as a route to the mine level. When Charles Crocker bought the Carbonado Hill Coal Company, the Company continued to use Chinese labor as well. While overseeing the construction of the western half of the Trans-continental railroad, Crocker had employed Asian laborers and knew they worked hard for the little money they made.

While the Chinese worked in Carbonado, resentment towards the Chinese increased both locally and throughout the west. Groups sought ways to oust the Chinese from the country. Movement against the Chinese gripped the entire West Coast, and the problem reached as far as Wyoming where angry miners of Rock Springs attacked and expelled seven hundred Chinese. They killed twenty-eight Chinese and wounded fifteen more in the hostilities that stemmed from a dispute over a prime location in a coal mine.

Resentment of the Chinese spread among the citizens of Washington Territory in the mid-1880s, and the battle to evict the Chinese from the Territory touched all segments of society, businessmen, preachers, and workers. Angry people flocked to the anti-Chinese cause. Demagogues blamed every problem in society on the presence of the Chinese. The mayor of Tacoma, J. Robert Weisbach, led the chorus for the agitation in Pierce County in 1885, and used the situation to increase his power in the city. Weisbach

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8Hall, 68.
9James McCague, *Moguls and Iron Men: the Story of the First Transcontinental Railroad* (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1964), 103-104. Crocker’s use of Chinese labor began when he needed to stop strikes by the Irish workers on the railroad. The engineer ordered to gather a Chinese work crew did not think that the Chinese were strong enough to perform railroad work. Crocker knew better. Their diligence working worn out gold claims in the 1850s earned his respect. The Irish workers immediately recognized the threat from the Chinese and stopped striking.” Crocker did not think the Chinese would make good citizen however and told a legislative committee just that. He expected to use them for labor and they would then go home. Takaki, 99. The Chinese who worked at Carbonado received about $1.25 per day, whereas whites earned from $2.25 to $3.00, *Mineral Resources of the United States, 1883*, 96.
11Bonney, I, 457.
gained assistance from the Knights of Labor to rid the county of Chinese.\footnote{Carlos Schwantes, *The Pacific Northwest: An Interpretive History* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 257. The Noble and Holy Order of the Knights of Labor formed in Philadelphia in 1869 as an early union. “Solidarity of all branches of honorable toil—both skilled and unskilled workers, including women and blacks,” formed the core belief in the group, excluding Chinese. The union also did not allow lawyers, stockbrokers and professional gamblers to join as well.} The Knights used public meetings to get their point across to those who would possibly back them, whipping up the throng if necessary to gain support for their cause. Territorial Governor Watson Squire wrote in a message to L. Q. C. Lamar, the Secretary of the Interior, about their activities in the fall of 1885:

> Several public meetings have been held, at which were present, Delegates from an Association styled the “Knights of Labor,” and from other organizations claiming to represent working men; at which meetings, violent and incendiary speeches have been made, and resolutions have been passed, expressive of a determination to rid the country of the Chinese by forcible means in these people find it necessary to use force in so doing.\footnote{Watson Squire, Territorial Governor of Washington to L.Q.C. Lamar, Secretary of the Interior, 12 October 1885, TLS, in United States Department of the Interior, *Interior Department Territorial Papers, Washington, 1854-1902 Roll 3 Letters Received August 15, 1854 - October 4, 1890* (Washington, D.C.: The National Archives, 1950)}

In the same letter, Squire also relayed a message from the Chinese Consul in San Francisco who heard many complaints of violence and wanted protection for the Chinese.

Even though the anti-Chinese movement gained momentum, the Carbon Hill Coal Company decided to keep their Chinese workers. Davies traveled to San Francisco in October 1885 to discuss the situation with the board of directors. The Carbon Hill Coal Company board of directors ordered Davies to shut the mines down if the Chinese were removed. Chinese labor kept the cost of operations at an acceptable level.

The townspeople had another opinion. Later in October 1885, the *Tacoma Daily Ledger* reported that the town held a meeting and decided to boycott the Chinese.\footnote{“News Brevities,” *Tacoma Daily Ledger* (WA), 22 October 1885: 5. The *Tacoma Daily Ledger* had reported a rumor that the people of Carbonado requested the Chinese workers of the company to leave, and the Chinese left. It is doubtful that the Chinese left as a result of pressure from the miners. Work had slowed because of collier repairs, so the Chinese who left, left to find work. Also, if the townspeople expelled the Chinese, why would they then vote on boycotting the Chinese?}
During the Carbonado meeting, the miners explicitly stated their compliance with the hiring practices of the Company. The miners of Carbonado needed their jobs more than they wished the Chinese to leave their town. The mines at Carbonado did not produce much coal in October anyway, because of collier repairs in San Francisco. As a result of the slowdown in work, many of the Chinese workers had left town on their own. This situation created the best of both worlds for the miners. They could publicly support the Carbon Hill Coal Company’s policy to protect their jobs, but they knew most of the Chinese laborers had already left Carbonado because of lack of work.

The support of Chinese labor by the owners of the Carbon Hill Coal Company mine did not endear the leadership to many in the nearby localities. In a meeting at nearby Wilkeson, anti-Chinese activists in the town called the rest of the people to “place themselves in line with others of the Sound country in this reform movement.” Those in attendance passed a series of resolutions, seven with no vocal opposition. One of the heavily supported resolutions read:

Resolved: That we deplore the action taken by the Central Pacific railroad, at their mines in Pierce county, in carrying out a system of serf labor inaugurated by Stanford and Crocker, in league with the Chinese Six companies, which has cast such a blight on the labor and resources of the Pacific Coast.

The other resolutions passed by those in attendance stated their support of the action taken to remove the Chinese from their towns and workforces in other communities, mine companies, and the Northern Pacific Railroad. To show the rest of the county where Wilkeson stood on the Chinese question, they published the record of the proceedings in Tacoma newspapers. Participants chose one man from Wilkeson and another from

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15 “Coal Shipments and Output,” Tacoma Daily Ledger (WA) 5 November 1885: 5.
17 ibid. The Chinese Six Companies served as an employment placement facility for Chinese workers.
Carbonado to attend a mass meeting held by the Knights of Labor in Tacoma on Halloween.

Groups from around the Puget Sound attended the Knights of Labor’s Halloween meeting in Tacoma. Throughout the meeting speakers talked of Chinese barbarism, showed that the Chinese planned never to assimilate, and compared them unfavorably to slave labor, something the nation had worked hard to end recently. Applause met all the commentators. The assembly congratulated a local group in the Knights of Labor, known as the Committee of Fifteen, on its work to remove the Chinese from Pierce County as many of the Chinese had already left the city. In the midst of a series of resolutions, those assembled charged the Committee of Fifteen with the task of making a “thorough investigation of the city and ascertain how many Chinese yet remain in Tacoma and when they propose to depart,” on 3 November 1885.19

While the attendees congratulated the Committee of Fifteen for their work, a small group within the local Knights of Labor planned to accelerate the removal of the Chinese. This splinter group felt that the Committee of Fifteen played politics and did not act in good faith to evict the Chinese.20 These men formed a secret committee, called the Committee of Nine, and each member created another nine-member committee. No one knew anyone in the other committees, and these committees acted in a manner similar to cell groups used by terrorist today to maintain secrecy and more effectively organize the removal of the remaining Chinese.21

On 2 November 1885, both committees met separately in secret. The Committee of Fifteen prepared for their duties of warning the Chinese to leave town again the next

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18 ibid.
20 Bonney, I: 468.
day and determine the number of Chinese remaining in Tacoma. The Committee of Nine
resolved to take more drastic action. Instead of just suggesting the Chinese who lived in
Tacoma, the Committee of Nine decided to supercede the actions of the Committee of
Fifteen and force the Chinese out of the city the next day. The members of the secret
committee canvassed their assigned district, and told every man to gather to evict, by
force if necessary, the Chinese from their various shanties the next morning.22

As the day began on the third of November, the Chinese residents of Tacoma had
no warning of the day’s coming events. At 9:30 am, groups of white men gathered as a
result of the actions of the Committee of Nine. The crowd went from one Chinese shanty
to another strongly urging the occupants to vacate immediately. Although they behaved
in an orderly fashion as they traveled from one shanty to the next, the mob, as could be
expected, frightened the Chinese. For the most part, the Chinese complied with the
demands of the Committee of Nine to leave and grabbed what they could of their
belongings. Men from the mob loaded the belongings of the Chinese on wagons to more
quickly remove the Chinese. A few of the Chinese protested, but they could not stop the
events of the day. The mob escorted the Chinese to the wharf and loaded the 250 souls
that remained in the city on a steamer.23 Trains loaded with Chinese headed for Portland,
Oregon, one of the few places safe for the Chinese.24 A few Chinese shopkeepers
remained after the agitation to secure their goods, and they were protected by the mob
while they packed to leave.25 Considering the volatile nature of the situation, it is

Footnotes continued from previous page
Daniels, ed., Anti-Chinese Violence in North America (New York: ARNO Press, 1978), 279, and Bonney,
vol. I, 468.
22 Bonney, vol. I, 469.
23 “Gone,” Tacoma Daily Ledger (WA) 4 November 1885: 4, and Lorraine Barker Hildebrand,
Straw hats, Sandals, and Steel, (Tacoma: The Washington State American Revolution Bicentennial
Commission, 1977), 49.
24 Bonney, vol. I, 471. The Chinese also headed for San Francisco, Vancouver, British Columbia,
and Eastern Washington to escape the anti-Chinese activities along the Puget Sound.
25 ibid., 472.
amazing that there were no injuries. Although the men who escorted the Chinese out of Tacoma behaved in a civil manner, they were prepared to use force if necessary and the Chinese knew the dangers of resistance. The grace of the Chinese in the face of losing their homes and their quick compliance saved lives that day.

The Governor requested the Pierce County Sheriff to appraise the situation in Tacoma and try to stop it. Sheriff Boyd supported the actions of the Committee of Nine, as many of the elected officials in Tacoma had, especially since the mayor of Tacoma was a leader in the movement, and replied with a telegram that stated: “Most of the Chinamen have been removed beyond city limits. No property destroyed. The remaining will be removed to-morrow [sic]. Nobody injured bodily. No Government force could reach here in time to prevent removal to-morrow [sic].”26 His wording made it clear that he could not, even if he wanted to, reverse the actions taken in Tacoma. The Tacoma Daily Ledger wrote, “‘Tis said that last spring Tacoma had a Chinese population of 700. Now there are not two score.”27 Once word spread of the action in Tacoma, other communities prepared to follow their lead.

After Tacoma, Governor Squire vowed to be ready for any further uprisings. Strong anti-Chinese sentiments also existed in Seattle at this time. Squire declared martial law in Seattle on 6 November 1885 and moved to forestall violence in the city. He prevented a mob from repeating the actions performed by the mob in Tacoma by mobilizing U.S. troops to keep the peace.28 The actions of the Governor in clamping down on Seattle, frustrated many people in King County who wanted to remove the Chinese from their county as those in Pierce County had.

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Miners from Black Diamond and Franklin in King County decided to take further action against the Chinese after the situation in Seattle had settled down. Because they could not purge their own county of the Chinese, the men looked for a place they could vent their anger and they found it at the Carbon Hill Coal Mines. (See Map 1) As the sun set on Wednesday, 10 February 1886, strangers appeared in Carbonado. Over one hundred well-armed interlopers gathered overnight. They petitioned Superintendent Davies to expel the Chinese, or they would force the Chinese to leave. Davies, after hearing their demands, told the mob he could do nothing without instructions from the owners in San Francisco. The mine superintendent promptly telegraphed the Company's board of directors to inform them of the explosive situation and ask for instructions. He knew what their answer would be, and he knew the miners from King County meant business. At the first signs of impending trouble, Davies had the cashier pay the sixty Chinese that remained in the town their wages as a precaution.

If the intrusive miners from King County expected help from residents of Carbonado, in Pierce County, they were mistaken. The townspeople of Carbonado refused to support the action of the outsiders from King County. The miners of the Carbon Hill Coal Company knew their jobs were on the line, and they knew the position of the Company.

The mob of miners decided they could not wait to hear what the owners in San Francisco had to say, and arranged for a train to transport the Chinese to Tacoma. Debris blocked the tracks and delayed the train, so the mob marched the Chinese workers down the tracks to meet the train. The King County coal miners then shipped the last of the Chinese in Pierce County to Tacoma, loaded them on a steamer, and sent them on their way.

The townspeople were wise not to join with the outsiders, knowing the reaction of the Company. Upon hearing of the situation, the Carbon Hill Coal Company's board of
directors ordered Davies to close the mine. This action by the King County miners, in their desire to rid the area of the "heathen Chinee" to protect jobs for white Americans, had the effect of putting two hundred white miners out of work.\textsuperscript{29} The forced removal of Chinese workers occurred without bloodshed in Carbonado, but unlike the situation in Tacoma, these men were willing to arm themselves to evict the Chinese. Thankfully, the Carbonado eviction proved to be the last action against the Chinese workers rather than a harbinger of more severe action against the Chinese. The involvement of the Governor and the lower number of Chinese remaining in the territory eased tensions.

The Chinese problem did not end in the Puget Sound region, but there were no more forced evictions. The backlash from the crisis soon began. The federal government sent marshals to the Puget Sound region, in an attempt to punish those responsible for the mob actions in November. They arrested some twenty-seven men on charges of "conspiring to insurrection and riot, depriving Chinese subjects of equal protection under the law and of breaking open houses and driving out the oriental occupants."\textsuperscript{30} Ironically, both the work of the anti-Chinese movement failed in the long run, as did the attempt to punish those responsible. The evictions were merely an interim in the immigration of Chinese into Washington, and mostly because of efforts by the Governor to prevent similar events from occurring elsewhere. No substantial shifts in Chinese population occurred. In 1880, the territory had 3,186 Chinese, by 1890, the number was 3,260.\textsuperscript{31} Violence failed to prevent the Chinese from staying in Washington. The federal government failed to secure any convictions in their cases against the agitators of the

\textsuperscript{29}"Chinese Exodus at Carbonado," \textit{Tacoma Daily Ledger} (WA), 12 February 1886: 4.
\textsuperscript{30}Bonney, vol. I, 476.
\textsuperscript{31}Compendium of the Eleventh Census: 1890 Part I – Population, 523. In Pierce County however, only 9 Chinese immigrants lived there in 1890.
evictions. Status quo returned to the region. Six months after the Chinese eviction, work began again in Carbonado and coal shipments resumed, but the Chinese did not return.32

The forced removal of Asian workers is a distasteful event for Carbonado, Pierce County, and the state as a whole. Few people showed compassion in those events. The mob escorting the Chinese out of Tacoma might have been civil, but they still rounded up free people and forced them to leave their homes because they looked, acted, and believed differently than those who evicted them. They broke the law, and in the end were not punished for it. The actions of those at Carbonado were no better. The miners showed indifference to the plight of their fellow workers. When the miners from King County arrived in town, the people of Carbonado refused to help them, but they did nothing to stop them either. The Carbonado miners, knowing the Company's support of Chinese labor, cared only for their own jobs. Considering the overall racism in the region and the anti-Chinese sentiments in nearby Wilkeson, the Carbonado miners themselves probably would have evicted the Chinese workers on their own but they did not because they did not want to jeopardize their jobs. Loss of work for six months does not equal the hardship of those workers who had to quickly pack their belongings and leave town.

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CHAPTER FIVE
THE STRIKE THAT ENDED COMPANY CONTROL

Laborers faced poor work conditions in the mid to late 1800s as management sought to squeeze every bit of profit from their enterprises as possible regardless of the effect their policies had upon their employees. To combat abuses by management, workers had two options: to quit and seek employment elsewhere or band together and present their demands to improve their working conditions. Individually, the miners had little effect upon their employers, but working together the miners could halt production to make management improve conditions. The later half of the nineteenth saw the formation of worker collectives to protect labor by united action. These proto-unions sought to increase wages, job security, and safety and evolved into the union system still in place today. Management and the unions often clashed over their beliefs, and in these cases the workers could strike to coerce their employers to meet their demands.

Mining is dirty work, conducted deep underground in wet, cramped locations where death lurks in the form of dangerous gases or rockfalls. Miners had much to complain about in their workplace. However, the miners at Carbonado did not strike often. For the majority of the coal mining era in Carbonado, labor and management cooperated in regard to the operation of the mine. The Carbon Hill Coal Company treated its miners fairly, paid high wages, and kept safety measures up-to-date in the mine. The cooperation between the two sides could not last. A strike by the miners in 1919 severed the peaceful relations between the Company and the miners, and was followed by a more devastating strike in 1921 that ended the Carbon Hill Coal Company
operations in Carbonado. A description of the general background toward coal mine unionization in the state and the nation before 1921 is essential background.

The first coal mining union in Washington came in 1888 to provide a voice for the miners. In that year, the Knights of Labor placed lodges of their union in various coal towns including Carbonado. The Knights wanted to force a confrontation with the mine operators in Washington to control labor. The union sought to end management’s full control over the cost of labor.

Two factors hampered the efforts of the Knights of Labor in Washington to organize the coal miners. First, the relative isolation of the coal towns tended to make these lodges worry over local rather than regional concerns. Map 4 illustrates the locations of the major coal mining communities in Washington. What this map does not show, however, is that although many coal towns might be near one another, the topography of the land made contact between towns difficult. Second, the domination of various ethnic groups, and these groups varied on the location of the mine, prevented cooperation within the towns. These groups often refused to work with one another or agree on anything because of biases based on ethnicity. These two factors worked against unionization by the individual lodges throughout the Pacific Northwest at the end of the 1880s.

The Knights of Labor effort to seize control over the coal mine laborers in Washington ended soon after it had begun. In the union’s attempt to wrest control out of the hands of the mine operators, the union collapsed because its members failed to work together. A strike in Roslyn, Washington in the autumn of 1888 ignited the struggle

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1 Melder, “Study of Washington...,” 56-57. Other localities that also became unionized at this time included Roslyn, Issaquah, Cedar Mountain, Franklin, Black Diamond, and Newcastle. These were the largest mine operations in the state. The Knights of Labor were at the forefront of the Anti-Chinese movement in the territory, which will be discussed in Chapter Four.

2 Campbell, 146.

3 Agent 76, 4 November 1913, 16 November 1913, and Melder, “Study of Washington,” 57.
between the union and the mine operators, and it illustrates the failure of the union. The operators of the Roslyn mine stood firm against the union; they brought in African Americans coal miners to replace the union miners and locked the Knights of Labor out. The company fired all non-union whites that refused to work under the company’s new labor contract. The example of Roslyn was followed by other coal mine towns, further weakening the union in the coal fields.

While the Knights of Labor battled to gain control of the miners in Washington, the national organization faced the upstart National Federation, a part of the American Federation of Labor, for control of the entire nation’s miners. The competing unions divided the workforce and spent much time arguing over territories. The growing weakness of the Knights of Labor eventually led to a merger with the National Federation. At first members of the National Federation opposed a merger, but both sides realized that this strife only hurt the welfare of all miners. John McBride, leader of the National Federation, and John B. Rae, leader of the Knights of Labor miners, worked out the details of a merger that sought to blend the two bodies rather than putting one group over the other. Thus the National Federation and the Knights of Labor miners became the United Mine Workers of America.

Labor problems in Carbonado were for the most part non-existent until the First World War. The efforts of President Woodrow Wilson to control the economy during the war changed the nature of the cooperation in Carbonado. The economic controls placed on industry and public by the Wilson Administration for the war effort greatly effected the coal industry in Washington and the rest of the United States, linking the smaller Washington industry with the larger coal fields back east. With proper authority from

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5 *Men and Coal*, 52-53.
Congress, in the form of the Lever Act, Wilson issued an order to control coal price scales on 21 August 1917. The President set coal prices for coal in the country based on actual costs of production and set up machinery for adjusting the price as costs changed.\(^6\) Mine officials in King and Pierce County successfully petitioned the Fuel Administration to raise the price for their best coal because of the increased costs in those two counties.\(^7\) The United Mine Workers and the Washington Coal Operators had signed a two-year contract in 1916, but with the increased cost of living because of the war, the operators reluctantly agreed with United Mine Workers of America requests for raises.\(^8\)

After World War I, coal operators in the U.S. neglected to react to the economic forces concerning their product. The coal industry greatly expanded after 1900.\(^9\) During the war, demand for coal reached an all-time high. With the end of the war the demand dropped. Instead of reacting to this new situation, the coal industry continued to expand, at a rate greater than it had during the war. By the end of the First World War, 8,319 coal mines operated in America. Investors continued to put capital into coal mine operations because of the profitability of mining during the war, believing that the coal market would continue to expand as other industries were. When other energy resources, such as oil and the burgeoning hydroelectric industry, proved more important than coal and mine profits did not meet expectations, mine owners began engaging in “bitter and prolonged price wars” to keep their investments secure. This usually meant taking whatever they


\(^7\)Ibid., 7.

\(^8\)Ibid., 9; and Melder, “Study of the Washington Coal Industry,” 92. In fact, the only significant labor difficulties in the state during the war occurred in Carbonado. The men walked out on strike in April 1917 not because of troubles with long hours or with wages but because they disagreed with the actions of the mine foreman. The miners’ local called the strike. After a month, the miners went back to work, having come to an agreement with the Company to put the foreman, the local union president, and the local union secretary on suspension. A later decision by an arbitration board consisting of miners and operators discharged all three. The Carbonado miners conducted an illegal strike according to the contract, but the Company overlooked that fact for the sake of harmony. Melder, “Study…,” 91 and *Annual Report of Coal Mines for the year ending December 31, 1917*, 10.
could get for their coal. Over one thousand mines had been added to over 8,300 mines in the five-year period following the war when demand for coal declined. This overreaction to a decline in demand is reminiscent of farmers who grew too much food, and then failed to understand why prices fell and they could not make mortgage payments. The question concerned supply and demand, but like the farmers, the coal operators responded incorrectly.

By ignoring the decline in demand, cutthroat competition arose in the inter-war period as mines struggle to meet their costs. The mine owners refused to close the mines because the high overhead costs of maintaining a closed mine. When any other sort of business closed down for an amount of time, the business only pays for guards, fire protection, interest on the debt, and possibly some insurance. Coal mines also incurred these costs, but companies supported constant maintenance on haulage ways, air ducts, tunnel roofs, pumps, ventilation fans, and the power plant as well. If the pumps failed or the roofs fell, the mine operator would essentially have to re-open the mine when work began again. These costs added up, so it was not in the best interest of the mine operators to close the mines. Mine operators might often decide to keep a mine open when their mine lost money to save on the initial start-up costs once the next upturn in the economy occurred, believing they would come out ahead in the long run.

Following the war, the mines had to cut costs and the best place to begin was labor. Unilaterally reducing wages, however, guaranteed a strike. American miners went on strike more than in any other industry, often at twice the rate for other industries. Not

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10Ibid.
only did miners strike more often, but they also stayed out longer and the strikes involved more people. That did not mean they succeeded more often. The peculiarities of the coal industry created a situation in which the miners were more willing to strike. Miners, on average, worked about sixty percent of the year because of greater mine capacity in the U.S. compared to eighty-two percent in other industries. Job dangers and the uncertainty of the economy added to the miners' willingness to walk out, as did living in a company town.¹⁴ With miners more willing to strike, the United Mine Workers of America, stronger following their gains made during World War I, would not hesitate to sit their men down in the face of wage cutbacks to protect gains made during the war.

Even with the threat of strikes, coal mine operators had to cut costs. The decline of coal prices forced the operators to reduce wages. After the war, American coal prices dropped from the high of $2.42 per ton in 1917-1918, as other fuel sources became more available from war uses. This caused operators to re-negotiate terms of contracts to maintain a level of profitability that placated their stockholders. The owners essentially wanted to return to the pre-war status quo, while the miners wanted standard of living increases owing to higher prices of consumer goods caused by the inflation that followed the war. This divergence of opinion forced the national coal miners strike of 1919, and became just one of a number of labor strikes that gripped the nation that year.

The 1919 strike by the coal miners was the largest on record to that date. Over 450,000 men walked off their jobs for an average of thirty-five days.¹⁵ The nation's bituminous coal production fell by about seventy percent during the six weeks of the

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¹⁴Fishback, 200,202, and 203.

strike. This strike occurred at the beginning of November in a year with predictions of a bitter winter in hopes to quickly force management to the bargaining table with public pressure. However, both sides prepared for the inevitable strike for weeks in advance.

At Carbonado, the national struggle between labor and management did not match local reality. Both the miners and the operators strongly voiced assertions that they had no animosity toward each other and that both sides wanted to continue working. The mine manager at Carbonado put it best, stating, "The way we look at it, we have no quarrel with our men here. They simply belong to the United Mine Workers of America and were called out by the international." A committee speaking for the miners at Carbonado said that the miners of Washington had good wages and that it did not know if the miners would have gone out if the United Mine Workers of America had not make the decision for them. An order by a federal judge temporarily forced the miners back to work a week after the strike started, but they refused. The refusal of the miners to return to work at Carbonado showed the Carbon Hill Coal Company that the miners were no longer loyal to the Company but to the union and attempts at cooperation would be colored by that realization.

It took a commission started by President Wilson to negotiate an end to the strike to get the miners to resume work. To help induce the miners of Carbonado to return to work, the Carbon Hill Coal Company increased wages temporarily fourteen percent. The Company warned, however, that if the government commission arbitrating the new
agreement determined that the fourteen percent increase should become permanent nationwide, the mines at Carbonado would close. On 15 December 1919, the miners of United Mine Workers of America District 10 agreed to the terms and voted to return to work. The Carbonado mines began producing coal two days later when the miners returned to work. The owners confidently believed that they would return to their normal weekly output of 900 tons within a week.

After the strike in 1919, the miners worked without interruption. However, the 1919 deal between the miners and the operators did not change the underlying situation in the industry. It provided a pause in the struggle between the two sides. As F.E. Melder wrote in his 1931 masters thesis, the brewing labor problem was "the most extensive the Washington mining industry had ever seen," and "it furnishes a key to an understanding of the economic problems of the industry." The war between the coal mine operators, who needed to make a profit at all costs for their stockholders, and the union that desired to protect its members and its right to control the means of production at all costs, resumed in 1921. The Carbon Hill Coal Company and the miners of Carbonado were stuck in the middle. Both wanted to keep working, but unlike the past, both had to look out for their own group.

The Carbonado miners signed a valid contract with the Carbon Hill Coal Company in December 1919 that expired in 1922, but the Company wanted to circumvent this contract and reduce the miners’ wages to the rate in October of 1919. This change reversed the wage increase won in the 1919 strike, an increase the Company knew would destroy mining in the town. Talk of a strike spread quickly throughout the

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21 "Wage boost at Carbonado is promised," Tacoma Daily Ledger (WA), 12 December 1919: 1.
town. Wage reduction efforts did not only occur in Carbonado. All mine operations in Western Washington needed a wage reduction to remain profitable. The operators in Western Washington set a deadline of 15 March 1921 for the Union to accept the offer. If the miners did not accept the reduction, the operators would shut down the mines.

The regional union officers stood firm. On 15 March 1921, after the day shift quit at 4 p.m., the Carbon Hill Coal Company mines closed because of lack of workers. The national officers of the United Mine Workers of America backed the strikers in their fight, saying

> The miners are working under an agreement that is part of the national agreement reached when the nation-wide coal strike was settled ... in November 1919; that therefore no state, district, or local union has the power to change the wage scale, and that a revision of the wage scale must be considered from a national viewpoint.

The coal strike went on in the effected areas. Only union men responsible for maintaining the mines, the pump men and other maintenance personnel remained working in the coal fields of Western Washington as both sides wanted to keep the mines well maintained with regard to safety. However, on 22 July 1921, the union ordered that these men leave their posts if the owners evicted striking workers from company owned property in their localities. The companies, which evicted strikers as a way to end the strike, already hired new men to take over the maintenance duties. Both sides in this dispute were preparing for a long strike.

This strike became a war between the union and the companies, not between the miners and the companies. In Seattle, a conference of miners in August 1921 discussed arbitration to settle the strike. The miners could not agree on terms. This conference then went on record opposing any wage reduction, though the rank-in-file miners of

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Washington appeared to accept some sort of wage reduction. This conference showed that if local districts had been allowed to sign agreements separately rather than collectively, the strike would have ended then. The miners of Carbonado would have gone back to work as well.

The failure of arbitration to settle led the coal mine operators to seek a new solution. With the national union leadership refusing to negotiate, the state mine operators decided to go “open shop,” meaning the mine would hire non-union miners, on 9 August 1921. The mine operators, including the Carbon Hill Coal Company, released their intentions to former employees letting them know that they planned to open the mines “independently of the United Mine Workers of America.” If the miners wanted to work, they would be hired promptly under the new system. The strike started over a “downward revision in the wage scale,” but the strike became a battle between the coal companies and the national union over “whether the coal mines are to be operated … under a policy based on local conditions, or by a policy dictated by the United mines[sic] Workers of America, which completely disregards these interests.” The coal operators claimed that the United Mine Workers of America followed a policy of dictation rather than collective bargaining. In this sense, the operators had a point. The United Mine Workers of America took a very defiant stance in respect to the situation in Washington. They followed this line nationwide to protect their interests in the prime coal mining

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28 “Mine Workers Fail to Agree” Tacoma Daily Ledger (WA), 5 August 1921: 10.
31 “To the Public,” advertisement, Seattle Times, 9 August 1921: 3. It also appeared in the Tacoma Daily Ledger (WA) the following day.
fields in America. The impact of these policies on the more minor fields did not matter.

The possibility of violence between union and company men arose with the coming of the open shop. About sixty guards, hired by the Company, watched the mines in Carbonado and Burnett in preparation for any violence that might occur with the arrival of new employees. The striking miners in both Wilkeson and Burnett decided to stand against the new plan. Strikers had a history of violence in Wilkeson since the first post war strike. In situations where striking miners and replacement miners lived in the same town, violence often occurred. Mining companies hired armed men to patrol their towns to keep the peace. In Pierce County, the sheriff, owing to the lack of normal deputies, specially deputized these men. The companies sought to replace these hired guards with state troops. Their opinion was that "continued preservation of law and order in the mining districts of King and Pierce counties is being seriously imperiled by increasingly hostile demonstrations against the nonunion workers in the mines and the guards who are working under special deputy sheriff commissions." Governor Hart turned down the request after conferring with labor and business leaders about the situation. The fear of escalating violence turned to be unfounded since the actual

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33Coal In 1922, enclosed chart "Coal Produced in the United States from 1807, The Date of the Earliest Record, to the End of 1922," in 1921 the State of Washington produced nearly 2.5 million tons of coal, but in the same time period the state of Pennsylvania alone produced over 116 million tons. That is more than the total for Washington for its entire history.
36Seltzer, 18.
37"Armed Deputies Placed at Mines," Tacoma Daily Ledger (WA), 11 August 1921: 2. In total, over 200 men were sent out to guard the towns in both Pierce and King counties.
39"Sheriffs' Request is Denied," Tacoma Daily Ledger (WA), 1 November 1921: 1.
occurrence of violence between strikers and operators proved low, especially in Carbonado where no problems occurred with the arrival of the new miners.

Relations between the striking miners and the Company began to deteriorate almost immediately. The Company forced the Downings, a very popular and well-respected mining family in town, to leave because the Company officials blamed them for starting talk of the strike. Ironically, according to Nancy Hall in *Carbon River Coal Country*, Mr. Downing tried to calm the men down and make them think rationally about the situation. On the day the family left town, their friends took turns at the steam whistle, used to signal mine disasters, to honor them. The whistle sounded for more than four hours. The Company forced the people out of Company-owned housing when the strikers could no longer afford their payments. Replacement miners and their families quickly moved into the vacated houses. Over two years of the strike, only a few of the older families remained.

The strike finally ended in Washington after twenty-six months. At a meeting held in Buckley by the United Mine Workers of America District 10, the miners' representatives voted in favor of allowing their members to seek whatever employment they could find in the industry. Only one half of one percent crossed the picket lines without union permission during the strike. The union miners had been steadfastly loyal to a union that did not look after them. All they received for their loyalty was broken lives.

The success of the coal mine operators was short-lived. The strikes after the end of the First World War caused coal prices to soar. After the settlement of the 1919 strike,

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40 Hall, 98.
41 ibid.
coal reached the high price for this era at $3.75 per ton in 1920. In addition, a cold winter, lack of rolling stock, and a strike by railway switchmen effects this price. In the three year period, 1920-1922, the average price of coal was $3.22 per ton. Prices then fell, and reached a low of $1.31 per ton in 1932.\textsuperscript{44} The expansion into the industry and the fall that followed occurred because of the abundance of coal owing to older mines made more efficient or the driving of new mines. With more money funneled into the industry, by profit-seeking investors after the war, the many mines opened or re-opened caused production to rise and profits to drop.\textsuperscript{45} On a positive note, the strikes shook the coal industry out of its doldrums. Owners closed surplus and inefficient mines from their inventories.\textsuperscript{46}

In general, the strikes of the inter-war period were based on management attempts to cut what they saw as the high costs of labor, while labor tried to protect wages they felt were too low. The United Mine Workers barely survived the 1921 strike. It took eleven years before the union recovered lost areas.\textsuperscript{47} These strikes hit hard in Washington. For the entire state, the union lost ninety percent of their total membership. To be considered a member of the union, a miner had to be up to date with their dues, the numbers therefore could be misleading.\textsuperscript{48} During the war, all miners in Washington belonged to the union, but after the 1919 strike only one-tenth remained active. In other states, however, the numbers on union membership stayed the same or increased. The drop in Washington might only reflect cost cutting on the part of union members.

\textsuperscript{44}Supple, "Political Economy of Demoralization," 567.
\textsuperscript{45}ibid., 568.
\textsuperscript{46}Morris and Webb, 55.
\textsuperscript{48}Fishback, 24.
The strikes greatly effected the Company. Prior to the strike years, from 1908 to 1918, coal production in Carbonado totaled 2,692,128 tons.\textsuperscript{49} Carbon Hill Coal Company Superintendent J. F. Menzies planned in 1917 to organize the coal operators of Western Washington into a collective unit to streamline costs, control the market, and maximize profits. As part of the largest coking coal field on the Pacific coast, the Carbon Hill Coal Company was an extremely important part of his plan, but war concerns shelved these plans.\textsuperscript{50} After the strikes, it took nearly twice as long, 1919 to 1937, to mine a comparable amount of coal, 2,458,398 tons. The loss of experienced miners and increased costs during the strike years hurt the Company’s production average, and every year from 1919 to 1923 the Company operated at a loss.\textsuperscript{51} The significant drop in production signaled the end of their active ownership of the mines at Carbonado. The cost of running the mine became too high and the Company decided to search for another company to take over the town and mine.

\textsuperscript{49}All figures taken from \textit{Coal production in Washington as reported to the State Mine Inspector Between 1882-1982} plate 2, part 3.
\textsuperscript{50}\textlsuperscript{J. F. Menzies, Superintendent Carbon Hill Coal Company to B. L. Thane, Esq., TL, 6 April 1917, Pacific Improvement Company Records, Manuscript and University Archive Division, University of Washington Libraries, Seattle.}
\textsuperscript{51}\textlsuperscript{S. F. B. Morse, “Financial Report to the Board of Directors of the Pacific Improvement Company. Month of August 1923,” TDS, 24 September 1923, Joseph Daniels Papers, Manuscripts and University Archives Division, University of Washington Libraries, Seattle.}
CHAPTER SIX
THE END OF AN ERA

The town of Carbonado faced many challenges throughout its history, from the difficulties of getting the mine started, through the forced removal of the Chinese, to the decision of the railroad to convert to oil and the loss of David Davies. Yet, after each difficult event, the town recovered and continued to prosper. The period after the massive strikes in the mid-1920s, however, differed from the earlier periods. The price of coal could not cover expenses; the end was near.

In 1924, the Carbon Hill Coal Company received an offer from the Pacific Coast Coal Company to lease the town and the mines. The Pacific Coast Coal Company operated mines in the neighboring community of Burnett as well as in Black Diamond, South Prairie, and Newcastle. The mines continued to operate during the change in stewardship, so no interruption of operations occurred. Changes came with the shift in ownership. The new company burned the last of the ancient shacks and replaced them with housing transported from their recently closed operation in Burnett.¹ Beehive coking ceased in 1926, and the Pacific Coast Coal Company began to ship Douty coal to the Seattle Gas Company’s bi-product ovens for conversion into coke, where half of the mine output of Douty coal went to the Seattle Gas Company.²

¹Hall, 99.
²R. W. Smith to C. R. English, TL, 12 November 1945, Joseph Daniels Papers, Manuscripts and University Archives Division, University of Washington Libraries, Seattle.
The Pacific Coast Coal Company continued to mine in Carbonado for fourteen years, but as had been true for the Carbon Hill Coal Company, the costs became too high. The downward trend in profits gained through coal mining forced the Pacific Coast Coal Company to center their operations at their more modern mines in Black Diamond, about twenty miles due north in King County. Not only had mining become too expensive at Carbonado, but also industrial demand for high quality fuel dropped because of the ever-increasing use of oil and hydroelectric power. Production figures for the Carbonado mines had been on the decline since 1930.

The steep pitching veins created by the tectonic forces that created the excellent coal at Carbonado made the introduction of cost-cutting machinery impossible, thus cutting into the profits. Large-scale mechanical undercutters and other machinery used throughout the coal mining industry just could not fit in mines with pitches like those at Carbonado. Their weight caused instability. Only hand-held mechanical equipment, such as cyclone hand drills, could be used. The costs of running a mine that could not be fully modernized finally destroyed large-scale mining in Carbonado.

The unprofitability of coal from Carbonado in the market at that time, rather than unfavorable mining conditions closed the mines. If the market could have handled the added expense of hand mining, Carbonado mining would have continued. The miners of Carbonado proved that skilled, hard workers could still produce large amounts of coal. At the time of the closure, an estimate of recoverable coal remaining under the town ranged from twenty-three and a half to twenty-five million tons. If mining had

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4Mining History of Pierce County, 73; and G.W. Evans, “Mining Methods in the State of Washington: Pierce County Bituminous” TMs, George Watkin Evans Papers, Manuscripts and University Archives Division, University of Washington Libraries, Seattle, 19.
5Geo. S. Hopkins, to Joseph Daniels, TLS, 8 September 1949, Joseph Daniels Papers, Manuscripts and University Archives Division, University of Washington Libraries, Seattle, and R. W. Smith to C. R. English, TL, 12 November 1945, Joseph Daniels Papers, Manuscripts and University Archives Division, University of Washington Libraries, Seattle.
continued at the level of production for 1936, approximately 136,000 tons per year, the
mine could have remained in operation for another 180 years! It is a testament to the
superior quality and adaptability of coal and coke from Carbonado that the mines stayed
in operation for as long as they did with increased competition from more efficient mines
and alternative energy resources.6

The operators and miners were tremendously successful in extracting coal at
Carbonado. Miners extracted over 10.5 million tons of coal in fifty-seven years of
mining. The Carbon Hill Coal Company totaled over 8.88 million tons of coal during the
first forty-three years. Pacific Coast Coal Company added 1.7 million tons to this figure
during their fourteen years at Carbonado.7 This amount stands out as an incredible feat,
considering the miners used basically nineteenth century hand-loading techniques to
remove the coal. Technological advances over the years contributed to the mining
process, electric motors and lights increased safety and speed, explosives eased the
miners work, and locomotives quickly transported the coal out of the mine. However,
expensive hands not cheap machines freed the coal from the coal from its subterranean
tombs.8

With the departure of the Pacific Coast Coal Company in 1937, the land reverted
back to Carbon Hill Coal Company.9 The Pacific Improvement Company, the parent
company of the Carbon Hill Coal Company, previously decided to leave mining in 1924
when it leased the land to the Pacific Coast Coal Company. Therefore, the Company had
no interest in keeping the mines at Carbonado operating after the Pacific Coast Coal
Company withdrew to Black Diamond. This decision sealed the mine’s fate.

6Mining History of Pierce County, 73.
7Coal Production in Washington, Plate 2, Part 3.
8Fishback, 22-23.
9H. J. Glover, “Carbonado Stands as One of Hardy Pioneer Markers,” Enumclaw Courier-Herald
(WA), 29 July 1948: 14.
Groundwater immediately began to claim the twenty-five miles of underground tunnels on St. Patrick’s Day, when the Pacific Coast Coal Company shut down the pumps. Most of the tracks, cars, and the bunkers became salvage for use in other local mining operations. On April Fool’s Day, 1937, they sealed the mine and a chapter in the history of mining in Washington closed.

Throughout the west, ghost towns stand as tombstones of former company towns, marking the locations of past glory. When a company left or the resources ran out, everyone abandoned the town as well. Unlike other company towns however, Carbonado did not wither and die when the Company decided to pull out. The Carbon Hill Coal Company offered a deal to those who wished to remain in town. For only $240 to $340, the miners could buy the houses they previously rented for $14 a month. The other buildings, including the company store that remained in business as a general store, also went up for sale. Although a very good deal, many of the miners rejected the offer and moved to find new employment. A holding company, the Carbonado Improvement Company, administered the town’s sewer system, utilities, streets, and unsold buildings, and served as a contact point with the Carbon Hill Coal Company. The town’s population dropped from 777 people in 1930 to 454 in 1940.

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After the Company left, there was hardly enough to do in the town to provide jobs for many, but there were some people that worked full or part-time in the town. The school, general store, and the Carbonado Improvement Company employed several people. However, most workers in Carbonado drive down the hill to work. Mining jobs remained available twenty miles to the north in Black Diamond as well as logging jobs in the foothills of the Cascades, but other jobs were convenient as well. The Boeing aircraft factory and the various other factories that supply parts to the aircraft company were about forty miles away for someone willing to drive. There were the assorted mills on Commencement Bay in Tacoma about thirty miles away and the other nearby towns of Buckley and Enumclaw provided some jobs. Carbonado in essence became a suburb, or bedroom community, for the Puyallup Valley years before such areas became fixtures in American society following World War II.

Mining continued after the Company sealed their mines by small and large independent companies. Smaller coal mining outfits were known as gypos. The four gypo companies that mined in the area from 1937 to 1973 mined just over 60,000 tons of coal. One larger company that mined in Carbonado after the Carbon Hill Coal Company departed was the Strain Coal Company. They opened a new mine with permission soon after the Carbon Hill mines closed on Company owned land. This company, based in Renton, employed around fifty miners at their mine located just north of the older operations. The Strain Coal Company lasted four years at the site and then moved to Black Diamond. In the years they mined in Carbonado, they extracted 66,695 tons of coal. These small mines might not have produced much coal, but they supplied a needed commodity for local markets. Although Washington had ample supplies of coal

14Coal Production in Washington, plate 2, part 3.
16Hall, 106, and Coal Production in Washington, plate 2, part 3.
in the ground, high paying war industry jobs and the draft from 1940-1945 cut the
number of miners. The gypo suppliers helped fill orders in the state’s need for fuel.
during the Second World War, but the demand far exceeded supply and imports from the
Eastern United States made up the difference.\(^{17}\)

The people of Carbonado might own the town, but everything beneath their
houses remained in the hands of the Carbon Hill Coal Company. If a feasible plan
emerged in the future to recover the remainder of the coal in the mines, the company
wanted to profit from their minerals in any way possible. To protect their interests in the
coal beneath the town, the Company placed Covenants, or restrictions, on the use of the
land. There were six Covenants that protected the Company’s investment in the Carbon
River Coal Field (see Appendix H), but the last Covenant hung over the town like the
Sword of Damocles. The sixth Covenant stated that if a homeowner violated any
Covenant, the deed became null and void and the title of the property would revert back
to the company.\(^{18}\) To make matters worse, the company alone decided if a person
breached a Covenant.

The people of Carbonado no longer followed Carbon Hill Coal Company policies
after 1937, but soon realized that the Company’s specter continued to be part of their
lives in a more insidious way. The thoughts of the Company would always be
intertwined with that of the town because of the Covenants. The Company’s influence
still impacted the town. If the market could handle the increased costs of Carbonado

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\(^{17}\)Washington State Department of Conservation and Development, Division of Mines and
Geology, \textit{Coal and Coal Mining in Washington} by Stephen H. Green, Reports of Investigations No. 4R,
(Olympia: State printing Plant, 1947): 26. After the Second World War, S. F. B. Morse, the Secretary-
General Manager of the Pacific Improvement Company, aimed to re-open the Carbon Hill Coal
Company’s holdings at Carbonado to take advantage of the market for coal and coke that existed at the
time. A mining expert told Morse that large amounts of quality coal still existed at Carbonado. However,
the costs of digging the new mine from scratch, setting up new surface infrastructure, the lengthy time
necessary to build structures, and the increased costs of an unmechanized mine prohibited construction.
The time for major operations at Carbonado was over.

\(^{18}\)Indenture and Quitclaim Deed between the Carbon Hill Coal Company and the Town of
Carbonado, TDS, 22 November 1966, Carbonado Town Hall.
coal, the Company might return. By the early 1960's, the Covenants placed on the land to protect the Company seriously stifled the town. Any time a homeowner in Carbonado needed to dig to install a basement or repair the foundation, letters seeking permission had to be sent to the stockholders of the Pacific Improvement Company which owned the Carbon Hill Coal Company. Many homeowners did not bother to notify the Company and lived in fear of losing their land because they installed a basement. Even the Community Church had a ‘wildcat’ basement. Also, people with dependable employment and excellent credit could not take mortgages out on their homes. The banks feared the sixth covenant which states, “... upon breach by the Grantee (homeowner), ... of any covenant here in contained, this deed shall become null and void and the title to said land, ... shall there upon revert to and be revested in the Grantor (Carbon Hill Coal Company).” The risk of a homeowner in Carbonado losing the property and in turn the bank losing the collateral backing the mortgage was too great.

The end of the large-scale mining era initially hurt the town of Carbonado. No longer was there a stable employer in the town. However, times had changed and the automobile allowed the townspeople to drive to their place of employment. The Covenants over Carbonado prohibited commercial activity within the town limits without permission. The lack of commercial enterprises did not hinder the town. The people of Carbonado could easily travel to other towns and cities to get needed items or employment. The town remained after the closing of the mine through the sheer will of the people who remained when the others left. Like other downturns in the history of the town, the loss of company was just something to overcome.

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19 Stan Reed, “By its ‘Deeds’ Carbonado is Doomed,” Seattle Post-Intelligencer, 7 November 1965: B.
21 Indenture and Quitclaim Deed ....
Written off as a ghost town, it started to come back in the 1940s. The town incorporated on 17 August 1948. The Carbonado Improvement Company sold the town the old company sewer system soon after for one dollar. The new mayor also served as president of the Carbonado Improvement Company president, so this deal went through rather quickly. The low purchase prices of the housing made it so that the occupants owned ninety-five percent of the homes in Carbonado. The town remained small but stable. By not relying on a single employer and making use of the automobile, the people of Carbonado could keep the town prospering.
Removal of the Covenants that stifled growth in the town of Carbonado became a priority to the town leadership and citizens in the mid-1960s. On 10 November 1964, the Town Council of Carbonado resolved to “petition the Carbon Hill Coal Company, San Francisco, California to take positive action for the immediate relaxing of those restrictive covenants to the deeds in this community.”¹ The Company had given relief from the covenants to other companies such as the gypos and logging companies that operated in Carbonado and on Company lands. The town council and residents wanted the same consideration, especially in regards to the reverter clause. Citizens of the town signed a petition to let the Company know that the townspeople supported the action. The handwritten letter attached to the petition stated the aims of a growing and prospering Carbonado “as any other American community has a right to expect.”²

Progress in the situation stalled soon after. Strong allies, such as Henry Jackson and Warren Magnuson, the powerful U.S. Senate duo, could do little or nothing to help the town. Politicians could do little because of the contractual nature of the Covenants, regardless of that contract’s fairness. There was “no legal authority to remove, or to interfere, with said restrictive covenants.”³ S. F. B. Morse, the general manager of the

¹“Resolution for Removal of Restrictive and Suppressive Covenants to Deeds and property in the Town of Carbonado, Washington,” TDS, 10 November 1964, Carbonado Town Hall.
²Petition and Signatures of the Citizens of Carbonado, DS, Carbonado Town Hall.
Pacific Improvement Company, the holding company that owned the Carbon Hill Coal Company, said the land and the structures went for low prices because of the Covenants and the "restrictions were completely understood by the purchaser." Morse did not want to let go of the property. In a letter to R. B. Wallace, a Buckley bank executive that worked hard for the town to remove the Covenants, Morse commented, "Your statement that you are getting no where [sic] in the matter of Carbonado is quite correct."5

The fight stalled until Wallace came upon a new tactic -- taxes. Wallace discovered that the Company paid only $233 a year in taxes, and that Pierce County assessed the coal lands at a paltry $4,210.6 Corporations often undervalue their land for tax purposes, especially when that land is not being used for any commercial venture at the time. Morse explained to Wallace, who wanted an explanation for the low assessment, that the coal lands were not worth much during periods of low demand. Wallace called his reasoning illogical because the coal had value whether or not the demand was low. Morse then suggested that the town make an offer for the coal rights, and Wallace offered $4,210. Morse balked and replied that a figure in the neighborhood of a quarter of a million was more appropriate.

Wallace caught Morse and the Company in a tight spot. He wrote the Pierce County Assessors' office saying that the Company valued the land at $250,000. With the threat of a tax battle, Morse offered the townspeople part of what they wanted. The Company declared that the surface rights of the land extended to fifty feet beneath the town. Morse still wanted to keep the land in case of a market upswing in which the sale of the lands could net millions. The Seattle Times claimed that the "battle is over."7 Wallace knew the "concessions" offered by Morse meant nothing. With the last covenant

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4Hannula, 15; and Bradt, 10.
6ibid.
still in place, banks would continue to refuse to lend any money to the homeowners. The Pierce County Assessor suggested the town take the matter up with the State Board of Equalization. Some months later, the Washington State Board of Equalization decided that the taxable value of the Carbon Hill Coal Company's property would jump to $50,000.8

S.F.B. Morse declared that the company would hold the lands indefinitely rather than take any sum he felt was below its value, but then Morse suddenly changed his mind. After not being able to find a buyer for the property and with the company's taxes jumping over 200%, he made the town an offer they could not refuse. A quitclaim transferring all mineral rights to the town:

The Conveyance and transfer by First party (Carbon Hill Coal Company) here in provided for, and its acceptance by Second party (Carbonado), will be beneficial to the Second party and its inhabitants and in furtherance of its rights and powers.9

The company placed one enlightened proviso on the transfer, based probably on the fact that Stanford University and the University of California both owned stock in the Pacific Improvement Company. Any money raised through fees for the transfer of the mineral rights must go toward "public educational purposes within said town of Carbonado as may be designated by the town council."10 The company's grip on Carbonado slipped away.

In the years following their success over the Carbon Hill Coal Company, the town changed very little. No huge population boom followed the freeing of the land. In fact, fewer people lived in Carbonado four years after the town received the mineral rights

Footnotes continued from previous page

7 "Land-Use Restrictions in Carbonado Relaxed," Seattle Times, 10 February 1966: 3.
8 Bradt, 11.
9 Indenture and Quitclaim Deed, 2-3.
10 Ibid., 4.
than six years prior. With the Covenant removed and titles secured, banks began to lend money for home improvements. The little miners’ cottages began to be improved, with additions, new roofs, and basements, and reflected the character of the owners. New houses cropped in the town, built mostly by second-generation citizens who grew up in Carbonado and preferred to live in the quiet town rather than closer to work.

In 1999, ghosts of the coal mining days remain in Carbonado. Some are easy to find, while others are more difficult. After the Company left, the town had supported a general store, gas station, and tavern. Now only the Carbonado Tavern remains, in the same building that once housed the post office and barber shop. (See Figures 30 and 20) The Carbonado cemetery inters many of the victims of the mining era. (See Figure 31) The bulk of the town housing remains, the last generation of miners’ cottages. (See Figure 1) However, nearly all of them have been remodeled in some fashion. The oldest structure in town is a former bandstand, now enclosed as a building, located next to the Community Church. (See Figure 32) Originally built as a gymnasium, the Carbonado School building dates back to 1929. (See Figure 33)

An empty lot marks the site of the company store. The only structure remaining is the decaying shell of the Company’s vault. (See Figure 34) The foundation of the building can barely be seen in the grass. Not more than twenty yards away from the vault lies the remains of the incline’s powerhouse foundation. (See Figure 35) Garbage and paint splatters from vandals’ spray paint cans litter both these ruins. At the top of Hillside Drive, which leads down to where the depot used to sit, are the remnants of a brick foundation of a company warehouse. When major digging is done in Carbonado,

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artifacts from the coal mining era are frequently unearthed. These artifacts often include medicine bottles, broken flatware, and tools.

The history of Carbonado allows the reader to examine a number of unique chapters in the history of Washington. Once the site of the largest coal mine on the Pacific coast, Carbonado is now one of the smallest towns in the State of Washington. In the fifty-seven years of active coal mining, disasters, racism, labor strife, and the decline of the economy all battered this small town, yet it survived. By luck and perseverance, the town did not disappear as others had. Carbonado still lives and will continue, well into the next century.
Figure 30: Carbonado Tavern. This is the same building that once housed the post office and the barbershop shown in Figure 20. Photograph taken by the author.
Figure 31: The Carbonado Cemetery, established in 1880. Photograph taken by the author.
Figure 32: The oldest structure in Carbonado. Formerly a bandstand, it is now a church building. Photograph taken by the author.
Figure 33: The Carbonado school today, built originally as a gymnasium with coal money in the late 1920s. Photograph taken by the author.
Figure 34: Close-up view of the ruins of the company store vault. Photograph taken by the author.
Figure 35: The remains of the incline powerhouse foundation. Photograph taken by the author.
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Afterdamp</td>
<td>A mixture of gases that remains after mine fires or explosions. It consists of carbonic acid gas, water vapor, nitrogen, oxygen, carbon monoxide, and occasionally free hydrogen. This gas mixture is very deadly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Airway</td>
<td>A passage that sole purpose is to carry air; also-known as the air course.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anthracite</td>
<td>A hard, black coal sometimes called hard coal. It is usually found in Eastern coal-fields of the U.S. Difficult to light, produces no smoke, and burns very hot.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beehive coke ovens</td>
<td>A type of coke oven that looks like an old-fashioned beehive with a brick floor, side walls, and a domed roof.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bi-product Coke Oven</td>
<td>A type of coke oven that employs higher temperatures and chemical reactions to create more pure coke.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bituminous</td>
<td>A coal that contains a large amount of gases and burns with a smoky flame.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blackdamp</td>
<td>A term generally applied to carbon dioxide, and is formed by mine fires.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bone coal</td>
<td>Coal with a high ash content, must be washed prior to use.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bump</td>
<td>A sudden, explosive discharge of coal, often lethal. Also known as coal bumps.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bunkers</td>
<td>A large container for the storage of coal often situated at ports for the steamship use.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Carbonado: A form of diamond. Compact, opaque, dark gray to black, lacking cleavage planes, and is very tough.

Chute: A trough used for the transportation of coal by gravity. Also the equivalent of a room in mines because of their geology cannot support the use of rooms.

Coke: Bituminous coal that has been heated to drive off the volatile components.

Company Town: A town owned by a company usually to facilitate the production of a single natural resource.

Covenant: A usually formal, solemn, and binding agreement.

Crosscut: An opening made in a pillar at spaced regularly to provide ventilation and haulage. Also any small passageway cut at right angles to main passages. Also known as a breakthrough.

Damp: A general term for gaseous products formed in coal mines.

Drift: Above water level entry driven horizontally into the seam.

Drift Mine: An easier form of mining, with openings nearly level or horizontal. Usually opened at the coal outcrop.

Entry: A passage to the surface, a haulageway, airway, or gangway.

Fireboss: The person whose job it is to inspect all working places in the mine for signs of gas or other dangers.

Firedamp: A highly combustible gas composed almost entirely of methane. When combined with air it is explosive.

Gangway: The main haulageway underground, also known as an entry. It is the baseline from which the other mine workings are started.

Gob: Loose waste left in the mine.

Gypo: A small mining outfit.

Hand loading: Mining coal with out the use of machinery.

Holding company: Any company whose primary business is holding a controlling interest in the securities of other companies.

Jig: A device in which crushed coal is separated from impurities by agitating in water.
Lignite: A low form of coal that is high in moisture.

Operator: Any firm, company, corporation, or individual that works a mine.

Overcast: An airtight bridge over another air current to prevent airflow problems.

Peat: The first stage in the development of coal. Contains a lot of moisture and vegetative matter.

Pillar: A block of coal left to act as a roof support, that may or may not be removed later.

Pitch: The angle at which a coal seam dip below horizontal.

Pulling Pillars: The act of mining pillars after the rest of the usable coal has been extracted. Also known as pillar robbing.

Quitclaim deed: A legal document used to release an entity’s right, title, or interest to another entity without providing a guarantee or warranty of title.

Rockfall: A sudden discharge of rock and coal from the roof.

Roof: The rock, usually shale, above a seam of coal.

Room and Pillar: A type of mining that can extract fifty percent or more of the coal in the first working. Coal is mined in rooms separated by thin pillars that support the roof. Pillars may later be mined themselves. Also known as Breast and Pillar Mining where the main entry to the coal seam is by a vertical shaft.

Shaft mining: Mining where the main entry to the coal seam is by a vertical shaft.

Shot: An explosive charge used to separate coal from the seam. Also the act of setting off a charge of explosives.

Skip: A steel car used to haul coal. They usually contain 4 to 10 tons.

Slope mining: A mine where the entry to the coal seams are driven at an angle.

Superintendent: The person supervising the operation of a mine or group of mines on the behalf of the operator.

Tipple: The surface structures outside a mine for the preparation of coal.
Trip: A train of mine cars.

Tunnel: A horizontal excavation, opened at both ends, used as an entrance or exit for men and material, or for drainage, ventilation, or haulage.

Working Face: Any place in the mine where coal or rock is being removed.
## APPENDIX B
### CHRONOLOGY OF CARBONADO

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1833</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dr. William Fraser Tolmie, an H.B.C. Factor recorded in his journal that he examined an outcropping of coal near the junction of the Toutle and Cowlitz Rivers. The first recorded discovery of coal in what is now Washington.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1845</td>
<td>26 October</td>
<td>British explorers Warre and Vavasour mention coal from the Cowlitz River, commenting that the quality was poor because the coal being taken from the surface.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lignite mined in small amounts from along the Cowlitz, found to be of poor quality.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-1850</td>
<td></td>
<td>A Frenchman named Remeau discovered coal along the Skookum Chuck Creek in Thurston County, creating interest in the possible linking of Puget Sound and the Columbia by rail.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td></td>
<td>Capt. William Pattie, looking for spar timber for the H.B.C., definitely discovered coal at Bellingham Bay, confirming earlier reports by Samuel Hancock in 1849. Mines were opened and they operated for 25 years.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1853</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dr. R. H. Bigelow discovered coal on his donation claim on the Black River in King County. Attempts to develop a mine failed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859</td>
<td></td>
<td>David Mowery and L.B. Andrews discovered coal near present day Issaquah. Nothing further until 1862 when coal was brought to Seattle. Mining began, but transport costs were very high. When prices fell too low, mining ceased.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td></td>
<td>Coal first discovered in the Carbon River Canyon. (Report cannot be authenticated)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td></td>
<td>Phillip H. Lewis and Edwin Richardson accidentally discovered coal on the north bank of Coal Creek in King County, which led to further mining development of the area.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td></td>
<td>E. M. Smithers discovered coal near Renton, and organized the Renton Coal Company to exploit the find.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td></td>
<td>The Flett Brothers along with their brother-in-law, a man named Gale, opened a claim on Gale Creek just above Wilkeson.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>Summer</td>
<td>Mines began operation at Wilkeson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td></td>
<td>The rail line from Tacoma was completed early this year.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1879
The Carbon River Coal Mining Company purchases the rights to mine along the Carbon River.
R. D. Chandler sends Robert Wingate to investigate the coal mining possibilities along the Carbon River, Chandler then purchases the Carbon River Coal Mining Company's rights to mine along the Carbon River.

1880
6 May
Carbon Hill Coal Company incorporates in San Francisco for the sole purpose of exploiting coal finds along the Carbon River in Pierce County, Washington. The company files incorporation papers in Pierce County on 14 September 1881.

7 May
Post Office established at Carbonado, or rather Carbondale the first name of the town:

2, 3, & 4 June
Population of the Carbon River Coal Mines is 23.

10 August
Robert Wingate petitions the County Council for a county road from Wilkeson to Carbonado. The town is listed as Carbonado not Carbondale.

9 November
Carbonado voting precinct created at the last Pierce County Commissioners meeting held in Steilacoom, just before New Tacoma became the county seat.

Early December
Railroad extension completed from Wilkeson.

3 December
First carload of coal travels up the incline. Later, 20 cars are shipped to Tacoma.

1881
19 May
Carbonado School District established #19.

October
John A. Steinberger replaced Wingate as mine superintendent. Mr. Pinkerton soon replaced him in turn.

1882

1883

1884
Captain David Davies became mine superintendent, replacing Mr. Pinkerton and remained Carbonado's chief until his death in 1901.

27 January
Pat Dalton killed in the mine.

14 June
A. G. Macetti killed by a blast in the mine.

1885
13 March
John Cowan (?) died, suffocated by gas.

15 June
John Scott died, suffocated by gas.

19 July
John Smith and William McLaughlin killed by a gas explosion caused by their own carelessness.

20 October
Town holds a meeting, voting to boycott the Chinese.

3 November
Chinese forcibly evicted from Tacoma and most of Pierce County.

1886
10 February
Miners from Black Diamond and Franklin arrive and force the Company at gunpoint to release the remaining Chinese workers. The situation caused the mine to close for a period of time and significantly hampered production.

13 July
Frank Johnson died after falling down an air chute.

28 September
Tabeauo Seuizou (?) crushed between a chute and a coal car while riding a coal car out of the mine.
1887 Mines are the largest producer in the state, with a daily output of 800 to 1,000 tons. 250 men employed. Steam locomotives introduced into the mines for underground and surface transportation. Church built. It was tore down in 1956 and replaced by the current church.

14 February 1888 Lance Evans hurt in a mine accident, dies four days later.

April 1889 Wingate mine caught fire and had to be flooded to extinguish.

Rail spur completed from Crocker, built at the river level.

1890 4 August Henry W. Jones and T.B. Morgan instantly killed when one of the two carelessly opened his lamp, Thomas Williams suffered fatal injuries in the blast.

1891 15 October 350 men employed by the company

John Koskinen died of asphyxiation.

1892 24 August Hospital system inaugurated by the miners. Each miner deducts $1.00 from their pay to support the hospital and drug store.

27 August 365 men employed by the company.

2 December 493 men employed by the company, working 253 days.

1893 7 March Ebenezer Williams killed in a landslide.

12 March Joe Hilton killed.

1894 455 men employed by the company.

Communication in the mine is handled by a speaking tube, with signals relayed by electric bells.

493 men employed by the company, working 253 days.

1895 475 men employed by the company, working 266 days.

Mine No. 1 becomes the first mine in the state to be illuminated by electric lights. Town housing remained lit by kerosene lamps.

24 January Peter Piipo killed in a fall of coal.

27 February David Thomas killed is wrapped into a fan shaft.

27 August Joseph Angelina killed by a shot that fired too fast.

478 men employed by the company, working 266 days.

1896 4 September Max Jarvola found dead in the mine.

32 die when Ben Zedler opened his lamp to light his pipe, most killed by after damp.

1899 9 December Population of the Carbonado Precinct is 1,140.

2 January Mike Knish killed by rockfall.

11 January Oscar Salio killed by rockfall.

4 April Gecomo Carwelini (A.K.A. George Kello) killed by gas.

6 November Matt Leeten, Charles Huntale, and Gus Sandburg killed while pulling pillars.

5 December Andrew N. Johnson died of unknown causes.

1898 Southern Pacific switches to oil in their trains.

1899 4 March John Walker smothered to death when drawn into coal chute.

11 March Charles Elli smothered to death by roof fall.
10 May  Abraham Maki crushed by large block of coal.
22 May  Jacob Hanson drowned after falling into river from mine car.
17 July  Herman O. Johnson killed pulling a pillar causing a cave in.
27 November William Bakkala killed pulling a pillar causing a cave in.
28 December Capt. David T. Davies, superintendent of the Carbon Hill Coal Mines died of pneumonia.

1902 Carbon Hill Coal Company built six coke ovens as an experiment, the ovens did not produce satisfactory results.

10 November John Lewis killed rock falling down slope.

1903 425 men employed by the company, working 303 days.

17 February Samuel C. Cox killed.
29 March George Koral killed.
25 August Henry Jones killed.

1904 350 men employed by the company, working 291 days.

28 May John Peachagut suffocated by black damp in a chute.
8 December Carbon Hill Coal Co. Miners assist rescue efforts in mine disaster in Burnett.

1905 23 March Joseph Rosatti ran over by a line of coal cars that broke loose from the line.
25 September John Jenkins killed when a bump caused walls of a crosscut to squeeze shut.

1907
1908
1909 17 February John Navin and Jas. Ross died, suffocated by fine coal blown by an outburst of gas.

1910 Population of the Carbonado Precinct is 1,215.

21 May Frank Hill fatally injured while drilling in a hole and igniting gunpowder remnants. Died soon after.

1911
1912 Carbon Hill Coal Company built 50 coke ovens (including the 6 from 1902), 21 more were added in 1913.

1913
1914
1915 5 March Andrew Leiskar killed when he lost control of the new electric hoist that had replaced the steam hoist the week before, while at the top of the shaft. Heavy castings placed on the shaft broke apart, hitting Leiskar, who died the following day from his injuries.
23 October Leon Bouffioux killed while pulling a pillar, a bump caused the timbers to loosen and the roof to cave.
10 December Atilas Guccolo and Vlahnovich Kasmir killed by a bump that filled their breast with coal.

1916 12 September Joe Testa killed in a rock fall while trying to strengthen a pillar.

1917 6 December Alexander Kissel died after firing a blast with too short a fuse, the flying debris killed him.

12 January Carbon Hill Coal Company built 60 coke ovens at Crocker.

Owen Williams and Joe Wallock killed while attempting to timber a section of the mine, a cave in from the top and the rib squeezed them to death.
24 January Martin Revine injured when squeezed between coal car and a load of timber, he died the following day.
19 April William Hamens, a fireboss working as a miner because of labor problems, suffocated by gas while he and his partner were trying to link a chute to a new slope while the mine was idle.
26 June John Bradley, fireboss, killed by a rocks falling down a chute.
10 October Mike Kovich ran over by coal cars while trying to load the boiler.
7 November Patrick Deegan suffocated on gas after he entered an area known to be full of gas before the fireboss could clear it with compressed air. Found 15 minutes after he entered the area, all attempts to revive failed.
5 December Joe Futan killed by a bump that threw coal over his face burying him.
26 December Mike Moras killed when hit by a timber falling down a chute that he had no warning of.
29 December Ben Esche, age 16, was killed by a steam locomotive that he was attempting to hitch a ride upon, a clear violation of the rules.

1918 16 January Axel Robertson killed by a runaway trip.
10 July Joe Metalak fatally injured while oiling a running line shaft. He did not shut the shaft down to oil it and a screw on the shaft caught his overalls. His clothes were tore off and he was wound around the shaft. He died later in the day.
26 July Felix Centenute killed by a rock fall while moving timbers.

1919 2 February Thomas Spenser ran over by timber car while riding the same. Car jerked and Spenser was thrown forward and killed.
9 September Walter Ojalla, age 17, fatally injured trying to catch a ride on a trip. His leg was caught and was dragged 300 feet. Infection set in and leg was amputated on 14 September. He died later that day.
1 November All mines in the state closed because of National Strike. Mines idle for six weeks. Miners received a 14% raise in wages.

1920
1921
1922
1924 Carbonado High school students start attending high school in Buckley. Classes for grades kindergarten through eighth continue to be held in Carbonado to the present.
September The Pacific Coast Coal Company acquires the town and the mines, and this company begins operations the same year. The Carbon Hill Coal Company produced 8,882,326 tons of coal in forty-four years of mining.

1925 20 January Harry Julian killed by a fall of gob while at the work face.
6 October Steve Manos killed by fall of gob while at the work face.
1926

5 February
Ernest Swiger suffocated by coal while skipping pillars.
19 March
Arthur Olsen suffocated by powder smoke in a crosscut.

1927

8 April
W.H. Burd, Dan Dick, Frank Erspamer, A.P. Meshishnek, Edwin Smith, George Temby, and T.E. West were killed when a violent irruption of mud, water and gravel flooded the mine.

1928

10 February
Walter M. Melvin killed in a cave in.
5 May
Henry Young killed by a rock fall.
4 December
Anton Gilantz electrocuted by a power line on the gangway.

1929

2 March
Dan Sullivan killed by a rock fall.
12 September
Egan Bogaty killed pulling a pillar.
29 October
Wall Street Stock Market Crash.

1930

14 January
Population for the Carbonado Precinct is 777.
12 April
Ray Harkema ran over by a trip.
30 June
James Nelson killed in a roof fall.

1931

The Carbonado-Wingate Coal Company begins operations.

1932

The first Queen Coal Company begins operations.

1933

The Carbonado-Wingate Coal Company closes, it produced only 805 tons of coal in two years of mining.

1934

30 January
The first Carbonado Coal Company begins operations.
Edward Durand electrocuted.

1935

1936

1937

16 March
Donald T. Birkett crushed between a mine car and a chute lip. Last man to die from wounds sustained in the mines at Carbonado.
17 March
Mine Closure Announced, cost of continuing operations too expensive. Pacific Coast Coal Company centers its operation in Black Diamond. Pumps were shut down and equipment was pulled out. The Pacific Coast Coal Company produced 1,761,097 tons in 13 years of operations.
1 April
Mine sealed.

1938

The first Carbonado Coal Company ceases operations, producing 11,986 tons in four years. The Strain Coal Company pulls out from its Carbonado operations to go to Black Diamond, producing 66,605 tons in their four years.

1939

1940

Population for Carbonado Precinct is 454. The first Carbonado Coal Company ceases operations, producing 11,986 tons in four years. The Strain Coal Company pulls out from its Carbonado operations to go to Black Diamond, producing 66,605 tons in their four years.

1941

The first Queen Coal Company ceases operations, and produced 11,841 tons in its ten years of operations.
1943
1944
1945
1946
1947
1948
17 August
13 September
1949
January

The second Carbonado Coal Company begins operations.

Town of Carbonado incorporates.
First town council meeting.
Mayor: Ralph E. McCulley
Clerk: Sheridan Hopkins
Councilmen: Walter Gentala, Clifford Jones, Mearl Hiam, John R. Streepy, and John Stranz.

Town acquires ownership of the sewer system for $1.00.
Town of Carbonado population is 412.

The second Carbonado Coal Company ceases operations. It produced 30,927 tons in fifteen years.
Town of Carbonado population is 424.
The second Queen Coal Company begins operations.

10 November
Town council unanimously passes a resolution to petition the Carbon Hill Coal Company to relax the restrictive covenants on the town.

22 November
Carbonado City Council signed the agreement with the Carbon Hill Coal Company to remove the Covenants and to turn over mineral rights to the town. All proceed from subsequent transfers for mineral rights must go to the school.

Town of Carbonado population is 394.

The second Queen Coal Company is forced to close by restrictive regulations by the Federal government. The mine produced 5,290 tons in twelve years of operations.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Town of Carbonado Population is 456.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
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<tr>
<td>1984</td>
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<td>1985</td>
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<td>1986</td>
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<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>2 August Carbonado celebrates it Centennial with a barbecue at Argo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hall.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>Estimated town population is 605</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Town of Carbonado population is 495.</td>
</tr>
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</tbody>
</table>
## APPENDIX C

### POPULATION OF CARBONADO: 1880 -- 1990

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Census Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Carbon River Coal Mines&quot;</td>
<td>1880</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Precinct</td>
<td>1890</td>
<td>727</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village</td>
<td>1890</td>
<td>705</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Precinct</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>1,140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Precinct</td>
<td>1910</td>
<td>1,215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Precinct</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>1,126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Precinct</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>777</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Precinct</td>
<td>1940</td>
<td>454</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Town</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>412</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Town</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Town</td>
<td>1970</td>
<td>394</td>
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<td>Town</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>456</td>
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<tr>
<td>Town</td>
<td>1990</td>
<td>495</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Town (est.)</td>
<td>1996</td>
<td>605</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

APPENDIX D

THE UNITED STATES CENSUS FOR 1880

THE CARBON RIVER COAL MINES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Profession</th>
<th>Place of Birth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Andrew Miller</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Coal Miner</td>
<td>Scotland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary A. Miller</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Keeping house</td>
<td>England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burgeois Miller</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Oregon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Bosder</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Hotel clerk</td>
<td>Isle of Jersey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thos. Lewis</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Coal Miner</td>
<td>Wales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wm. Davis</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>Coal Miner</td>
<td>Wales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naham Plaisted</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>House Carpenter</td>
<td>Maine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrew Doury</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Laborer</td>
<td>Illinois</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philip Algar</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Laborer</td>
<td>England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Hodges</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Coal Miner</td>
<td>Wales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laf. Griffith</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Laborer</td>
<td>Kentucky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaffee Freer</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Laborer</td>
<td>Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alex. McDonald</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Rock Miner</td>
<td>Scotland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jas. Murphy</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Coal Miner</td>
<td>Ireland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Cowin</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Coal Miner</td>
<td>Scotland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ha Ah</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Hotel Cook</td>
<td>China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Laborer</td>
<td>China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing La</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Laborer</td>
<td>China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dan'I Harrison</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Coal Miner</td>
<td>Wales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jack Tenant</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>Coal Miner</td>
<td>Scotland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absolem Aberdeen</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Coal Miner</td>
<td>Scotland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harry Biggs</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Coal Miner</td>
<td>British Columbia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wm. Driver</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Coal Miner</td>
<td>Ireland</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## APPENDIX E

### COAL COMPANIES AT CARBONADO AND THEIR PRODUCTION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coal Company</th>
<th>Years Operated</th>
<th>Tons of Coal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Carbon Hill Coal Company</td>
<td>1880-1924</td>
<td>8,882,326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pacific Coast Coal Company</td>
<td>1924-1937</td>
<td>1,761,097</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strain Coal Company</td>
<td>1937-1940</td>
<td>66,605</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carbonado Coal Company #2</td>
<td>1945-1959</td>
<td>30,927</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carbonado Coal Company #1</td>
<td>1937-1940</td>
<td>11,986</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queen Coal Company #1</td>
<td>1932-1942</td>
<td>11,841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queen Coal Company #2</td>
<td>1961-1973</td>
<td>5,290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carbon Wingate Coal Company</td>
<td>1931-1933</td>
<td>805</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Tons Mined</strong></td>
<td><strong>1880-1973</strong></td>
<td><strong>10,770,877</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

APPENDIX F

COAL PRODUCTION BY YEAR\(^1\)

Legend: Carbonado Coal Company (First, 1937-40): CCC1; Carbonado Coal Company (Second, 1945-1959): CCC2; Carbon Hill Coal Company: CHCC (1882-1924); Carbon Wingate Coal Company: CWCC (1931-33); Pacific Coast Coal Company: PCCC (1924-37); Queen Coal Company (First, 1932-42): QCCI; Queen Coal Company (Second, 1961-73): QCC2; Strain Coal Company: SCC.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>CHCC</th>
<th>PCCC</th>
<th>SCC</th>
<th>CCC2</th>
<th>CCC1</th>
<th>QCCI</th>
<th>QCC2</th>
<th>CWCC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>64,745</td>
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<td>1883</td>
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<tr>
<td>1884</td>
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<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>135,926</td>
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<td>1886</td>
<td>120,965</td>
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<tr>
<td>1889</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>129,457</td>
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<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>161,041</td>
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<tr>
<td>1892</td>
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<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>267,545</td>
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<td>1894</td>
<td>266,111</td>
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<td>1895</td>
<td>303,087</td>
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<td>297,000</td>
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<td>310,488</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>335,000</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>287,952</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>341,633</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>323,395</td>
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<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>169,733</td>
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\(^1\)Coal Production in Washington, Plate 2, Part 3.
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## APPENDIX G

**COAL PRODUCTION IN PIERCE COUNTY: 1884-1960**

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Total 21,945,644 10,560,707 48
When the Carbon Hill Coal Company decided to cease operations at Carbonado, they allowed the miners who remained to buy their homes at a very low price. The sale of property was conditional. These conditions, known collectively as the Covenants, are six in number and they are explained as follows:

1. The Company, its successors and assigns, retains ownership of the mineral rights and reserves the right to be able to return and begin mining operations. The Company in pursuing this right is not liable for any damage caused in their mining activities. The intention of the deed is only to transfer the surface of the land.

2. The only uses for the land will be residential, or agricultural, or any like purposes. No business, trade, or enterprise can be established without the express permission of the Company. The Company also reserves all rights to use existing sewers and the right to lay any needed sewers or water lines across the land as they see fit, as long as they do not interfere with the cultivation of the soil.

3. The Company reserves the right to use any creeks or streams flowing across the land if needed for the pursuit of its mining concerns.

4. All existing roads cannot be closed to Company access without written permission of the Company.

5. It is to be understood that the Company or the Pacific Coast Coal Company has no duty or obligation to maintain or repair the streets, sidewalks, or sewer lines in the Town of Carbonado. Nor is the Company or the Pacific Coast Coal Company required to provide water or electricity to any premises, and they may cut the supply of water or electricity at any time without liability.

6. These covenants are legally binding to both the Company and property owners both present and future, and any breach of any covenants shall make this deed null and void and the title of the land shall revert to the Company.

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1Indenture and Quitclaim Deed between the Carbon Hill Coal Company and the Town of Carbonado, TDS, 22 November 1966, Carbonado Town Hall.
APPENDIX I

DISASTERS THAT STRUCK CARBONADO

Miners faced death every time they descended into wet, cramped mines. Survival depended upon knowledge and the ability to recognize danger, but it also had to do with luck. No matter how much time and money a mining company devoted to safety, disasters did occur. Numerous accidents occurred in the mines at Carbonado killing or maiming one or two people at a time, however this chapter will not deal with these deaths. For a more complete list of accidents in the Carbonado mines, please see Appendix B -- Chronology of Carbonado. There are two sorts of emergencies in mining: those caused by the actions of man and preventable, and those created by nature which no amount of preparation can prevent. Carbonado experienced both sorts of emergencies, with over one hundred and forty men dying in and around the mines. From 1880 to 1937, the people of Carbonado endured three disasters. The first, and worst, occurred in December 1899.

The Catastrophe -- 9 December 1899

Rees Jones, the fireboss, declared mine number seven clear of gas on 9 December 1899, and allowed the morning shift to enter the mine to begin their workday. With his pipe and tobacco firmly in his pocket, Ben Zedler and seventy-two others started their
long march into the depths of the earth to mine coal on the shift from 7 a.m. to 3 p.m. Howel Meredith and his sons also went to work that day. The elder Meredith went to the upper reaches of the mine to mop up areas left behind, recovering any coal possible, while his sons went deep down to where the major mining occurred. The Company had warned Zedler and other miners against opening their lamps to smoke while underground. An open lamp killed two miners at the Carbonado mines in August of 1890, and the Company did not want a repeat of that accident.

Ben Zedler decided to take a break halfway through his shift. Carefully, he tamped the tobacco into his corncob pipe. Despite the warnings, Zedler opened his miner's lamp just after 11:00 in the morning. Miners heard and felt the ensuing explosion, "...in every gangway, crosscut and shaft from the water level to almost a thousand feet to the summit of Wingate Hill." James Conway thought, "a ton of dynamite had burst." The explosion killed outright those closest to it, but other casualties would die before the day ended. Most died because of the gases known as afterdamp produced by the coal explosion smothered the miners before they escaped. Unrecognizable, the dead and wounded were "blackened and burned," with their clothing "almost burned from their bodies," and "their eyebrows and hair singed ... their faces black and bleeding."

The survivors of the initial blast did what they could to escape. The foreman, Jonah Davis, immediately called to all the men on all the levels to "look out for the

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1."Many Homes are Made Desolate," Tacoma Daily Ledger (WA), 10 December 1899: 1.
5."Many Homes are Made Desolate."
6.Ibid.
7.Ibid.
blackdamp and get out with your lives.”

8 Even though his son worked in the affected area, Davis resisted the urge to rush off to find his son and held his ground to warn as many of his men that he could. Waiting as long as he dared, Davis hopped on a coal car with his crew and signaled to leave. Many Finns escaped through timbered air-shafts, that exited the surface at the top of Wingate Hill, driven to vent the deadly gases from the mine.9 The headlines of the *Tacoma Daily Ledger* proclaimed the “Cowardice of the Finns,” yet the article failed to describe the Finns’ so-called cowardice, saying only that they escaped by way of the airshafts. In such a situation, most would take whatever exit path they could find. Luck provided the Finns a direct route to the surface. Of the men on the shift, forty-four survived the afterdamp.10 Miners carried Peter Merpax out as one of the dead, but once in clearer air he revived. Merpax walked out of the mine on his own. He first asked about his beloved dogs waiting for him at his home.11

As soon as the mine office managers of the Company heard of the accident, they cut off communication with the outside world. Word did not reach Tacoma until the afternoon, when the Company sent only a terse message stating that an explosion occurred. The Company refused attempts for information by reporters from the *Tacoma Daily Ledger*. Too busy trying to deal with the situation at hand, the Company had no time to answer questions.

The only way to find out what exactly happened in Carbonado was to travel to the site. A. C. Little, the acting mine inspector, made arrangements to ride the train from Tacoma to Carbonado. With Little traveled Governor Rodgers, who wanted to appraise the situation, two doctors to assist with the wounded, and a coroner to officiate over the dead. Rebuffed in its attempts to ascertain information over the telegraph and telephone,

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8 *ibid.*
9 *ibid.*, 2.
the *Tacoma Daily Ledger* finally arranged for two reporters to go to the mine. At 4:30 in the afternoon the train left for Carbonado and the blast site.\(^{12}\)

Once the men were out of the mine, rescue parties formed quickly to brave the dangers of the afterdamp and attempt to save their fallen comrades. Word of the explosion had been immediately sent up to the town level, the danger whistle blew, and those not working gathered at the mine entrance to help in the rescue attempts. The Welsh, who made up the majority of the miners working that day, wanted to rush back into the mine. Superintendent David Davies and his foremen decided to be cautious with good reason. Rescuers who rushed into the mine before the gas had time to clear would most likely die besides the victims they tried to recover. Guards placed at the mine entrances ensured that the miners would not place their lives in harm’s way to save their family and friends. The clock struck nine in the evening before men re-entered the mine.\(^ {13}\)

Davies could not control those who tried to re-enter the mine. Those who remained in the mine began their own rescue efforts. The vibration of the explosion rocked through every crawl space and tunnel. The elder Meredith felt it in the relative safety of the upper reaches of the mine. He and his partner could easily escape through an airshaft, much as the Finns had, but Meredith knew his sons worked down below near where the explosion occurred. Unlike Foreman Davis, who had several men depending upon him, Meredith was responsible only for himself. He plunged down the airshaft to find his boys and make sure they were safe. He died, smothered by afterdamp, in his attempt to find his sons. His two sons survived the blast and they escaped. Jonah Davis led his men to the top of the shaft and safety. After fulfilling his duty as foreman, he

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\(^{11}\) *ibid.*, 1.

\(^{12}\) "Many Homes are Made Desolate," 2.

\(^{13}\) *ibid.*, 1.
formed a small rescue party of others who remained behind to go back for his son and any others they could find. His search for his son ended when his party turned back after they encountered a thick cloud of deadly afterdamp. Davis could not save his son Dan. 14

After the air cleared in the mine and rescue and recovery operations began, an inquiry board, made up of company officials, the Governor, and the acting mine inspector, attempted to determine the cause of the accident. The mine “throws off” marsh gas in huge amounts, and according to the State Coal Mine Inspector the Company tried to make it “the best ventilated mine on the coast.” 15 One man testified that “there was plenty of air in the mine. One could stand in some places and the force of the air would be strong enough to blow a hat off.” 16

Key discoveries led to the eventual determination of the cause of the accident. Miners found an empty powder keg thrown far from the site of the explosion, and the officials’ first theory held that someone blasted without permission where gas had accumulated. Superintendent Davies believed a bump triggered a larger dust explosion because the Company regard the number seven mine as a “dry” or dusty mine. 17 The investigation in the mine focused on discovering Rees Jones’ body in the hope that finding the fireboss might lead to an explanation of what went tragically wrong that morning. Ironically, it appeared that Jones was heading out of the mine when the explosion occurred. 18 While looking for Jones, searchers discovered Ben Zedler next to his half-opened lamp with a corn cob pipe nearby. Upon this discovery, Superintendent Davies altered his theory and blamed Zedler, who had paid for his life and that of thirty-

14 Ibid.
16 “No Blame Rests on Mine Officials,” 5.
18 “No Blame Rests on Mine Officials.”
one others by lighting his pipe.\textsuperscript{19} The Company and the miners considered Zedler and the men he worked with as some of the best miners in Carbonado. His act of carelessness robbed the Carbon Hill Coal Company of many of its most valued workers. The inquiry board agreed with Davies and cleared the Company of any negligence.

With the discovery of the cause of the blast, the people of Carbonado began the process of surviving. The townspeople buried the dead on the 12th of December. Fresh dirt lay in twenty-three mounds at the Carbonado Cemetery.\textsuperscript{20} The other victims of the tragedy found their last resting-places at other cemeteries in the area at the request of surviving relatives. Rain continually fell upon the town, as if the sky mourned the loss of life in the small town below.\textsuperscript{21} To further help the townspeople with their losses, the Relief Committee of Carbonado placed an “Appeal to the Public” in the 12 December 1899 \textit{Tacoma Daily Ledge}. In the article the committee told of the tragedy that had occurred and that Christmas there would be a sorrowful one. The best eulogy for the dead came in the Carbonado Relief Committee’s appeal:

\begin{quote}
... Fate had blotted from the book of the living the strong and the industrious at the post of human duty and hit the virtuous, innocent, and helpless as a charge the more fortunate, for temporary aid.\textsuperscript{22}
\end{quote}

Local individuals and groups did not ignore the call for aid after the disaster. The miners themselves donated one day’s pay for the survivors, while W. G. Armstrong, the American Federation of Labor Pacific representative, wired his Detroit headquarters for assistance.\textsuperscript{23} Fraternal lodges, especially the Knights of Pythias, vowed to aid the survivors of their fallen brothers. Small barrels placed in front of two Tacoma businesses

\begin{footnotes}
\item[19]“To Relieve the Distressed,” \textit{Tacoma Daily Ledger} (WA), 12 December 1899: 7; and “Bury the Victims of Mine Explosion,” 2.
\item[20]“Bury the Victims of Mine Explosion,” 2.
\item[21]“To Relieve the Distressed,” 7.
\item[22]“Appeal to the Public,” \textit{Tacoma Daily Ledger} (WA), 12 December 1899, 1.
\end{footnotes}
collected silver from passersby. The Retail Clerks Association pledged their support and the Flints, traveling hypnotist entertainers, donated one-third of the proceeds from a special performance. Personal checks in the amounts of ten to twenty-six dollars came to the Carbonado Relief Committee. The regular meeting Executive Board of the State Red Cross occurred soon after the disaster and the subject of Carbonado topped their list for consideration. They resolved to help “make the families of the dead miners comfortable for the future.” Though aid can never replace the loss of a loved one, it did help in this time of need.

Flood of mud -- 8 April 1927

The second major disaster to strike Carbonado occurred three years after the Pacific Coast Coal Company took over the Carbon Hill Coal mines, and unlike the tragic

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23 "Jury Knows No Cause," Tacoma Daily Ledger (WA), 14 December 1899, 2.
24 "Give Relief to Sufferers," Tacoma Daily Ledger (WA), 13 December 1899, 5; "To Help Mine Sufferers," Tacoma Daily Ledger (WA), 13 December 1899, 5. The amounts do not seem like much today, but the value of the dollar was once much greater.
25 "State Red Cross Lends its Aid." Tacoma Daily Ledger (WA), 14 December 1899, 8.
26 Almost five years to the day since the disaster in the Carbonado mines, the nearby mining community of Burnett faced its own catastrophe. Though not a disaster related to the mines at Carbonado, this disaster shows the willingness of miners to help their fellow workers and again shows the dangerousness of any work in a mine. An explosion ravaged the mine and took the lives of sixteen miners with it on 8 December 1904. A delegation from Carbonado quickly responded to help. These Carbonado miners knew what the miners in Burnett now faced, having faced the same situation five years before. They joined in the rescue efforts, and took risks in the midst of the noxious fumes to aid their fellow miners.
"Burnett is Scene of Sorrow," Tacoma Daily Ledger (WA), 9 December 1904, 1, 2. The Tacoma Daily Ledger reported rumors that the Carbonado miners refused to enter the Burnett mine on the five year anniversary of their own disaster. Upon reading the erroneous news account, State Mine Inspector C. F. Owen, who himself had worked with Carbonado miners and suffered because of the effects of afterdamp, set the newspaper straight:

The miners of Carbonado rendered all assistance possible after the explosion, ... Certain it is that none of the miners refused to work or enter the underground passages. As a matter of fact they proffered their services, but as there was nothing that they could do that had not already been done or provided for after the first wave of excitement and horror had passed their services were not utilized. The men were perfectly willing to assist at all times and I am frank to admit that but for the efforts of the miners from Carbonado I might not have been in Tacoma today correcting a statement which somewhat discredits them...
mistake of Ben Zedler, the new operators could not have done anything to prevent this accident. On 8 April 1927, an “enormous irruption of mud and gravel into the Carbonado mine of the Pacific Coast Coal Company.”

The mudslides occurred about 200 feet below the surface in the mine workings, and filled a 150-foot section in the water level mine.

Down below the surface, men fought for survival after being surprised by the mud. The muck swallowed seven lives as it flooded three chutes and oozed into the gangway, and the remaining miners scrambled for their lives. Nick Oster and Timothy E. West heard and felt the air roar by as the mud rushed into the mine displacing everything in front of it. They had no other warning. The two miners tried to escape by running out of the crosscut, but mud and slime poured into the area covering West up to his waist. Oster tried in vain to free his partner by pulling his arms, but he could not overcome the immense suction of the muck. The mud soon enveloped West’s shoulders, and Oster knew he could not change his partner’s fate. He climbed up an airshaft to the surface and safety. The mud and muck that killed West hampered recovery efforts. Luckily, the weather broke, and no more rain added to the soggy ground.

The State Mine Inspector called the accident “one of the most unusual ever recorded in the annals of mining.” An unavoidable mishap created by heavy rains that for two days saturated the porous strata. The accumulation of rainwater together, combined with high levels of water in the ground, broke through weaker strata and

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in the eyes of the public. “Owen Saved by Carbonado Men,” Tacoma Daily Ledger (WA), 12 December 1904, 5


29 “Seven Carbonado Miners Killed,” 7.


31 “Seven Carbonado Miners Killed,” 7.
The third and final major disaster occurred by the hand of a man, but the events were as uncontrollable as nature. One hundred and forty men went on shift at three o’clock to work the Douty seam on 12 April 1930. David Hughes, an experienced foreman, led his down a new tunnel. He began preparations to blast the coal from the working face. After drilling and loading a double shot, or two charges of blasting powder to be exploded one after the other to maximize the amount of coal separated from the working face, Hughes fired the first shot and released large quantities of dust along with the coal. The second charge, which Hughes did not know was uncovered by the first explosion, instantly blew out into the dust filled tunnel when Hughes hit the switch at 5:30 pm. A gigantic fireball filled the tunnel that consumed all available air and replacing it with deadly noxious fumes. A gauge on the large mine fan keeps a record of air pressure in the mine, so the exact time of the disaster is known because the fan speed dropped at 5:30 p.m.

The phone rang in the mine office just after 5:30 p.m. The frantic voice at the other end spoke of a horrific explosion, and a rockfall. The workings throughout the

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32 ibid.
35 ibid.
mine had been jarred, but the office heard nothing until the call and the alarm was sounded. They did not die immediately. Five burned in the initial blast, but at least six tried to escape the afterdamp. One ran as far as 350 feet before succumbing to the invisible death. The remainder of the men died from the concussion of the explosion. The explosion caught many unaware. No gas had been reported for several days and the previous shift confirmed the absence of gas in the section. (See Figure 27)

In another part of the Douty seam, W. G. Wilson and his fifteen men fought to survive. Just after the blast, which Wilson felt would blow his eardrums out. The group ran to escape the mine. The labyrinth of tunnels in the mine caused the men to follow an escape route that took them near the explosion site. They ran into a wall of afterdamp. To protect themselves, the miners "retreated as far as [they] could and threw up a barricade of canvass. [They] stayed there for more than an hour." When the air cleared, they proceeded to the surface.

Rescue parties quickly turned back because of gas and a rockfall. "Great piles of rock and coal tumbled down in the untimbered ends of the drifts where the men were at work and the level, choked with splintered timbers, was full of dust." Breathing equipment trucked in from another Pacific Coast Coal mine in Black Diamond, arrived and the attempts began again in earnest to search for possible survivors and reach the blast zone. Once found, it was nearly a mile from the blast point to the temporary morgue in the underground blacksmith shop where the victims could be identified and

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37 "Mine Blast was Not Loud," Seattle Times, 14 April 1930: 4.
38 "Mine Blast Cause Revealed," 1, 3.
39 "Mine Blast was Not Loud," 4.
prepared. The first bodies finally came out of the mine five and a half hours after the explosion. The last of the bodies reached the surface by one in the morning.42

42"Mystery Thwarts Probe in 17 Carbonado Mine Deaths," _Tacoma Daily Ledger_ (WA), 14 April 1930: 3.