

Twentieth Century Company Towns: The Model Towns of Millinocket, Maine and Lynch, Kentucky

Vast natural resources, especially forests and fast flowing rivers; the invention of new machinery and technologies; and the building of canals and railroads for transportation of people, raw materials and products; fueled the United States' market revolution in the late 19th century. Prior to 1900, many company towns were built in the United States to house the workers needed to run the textile mills, paper mills, shoe factories, coalmines, and a number of other American industries.¹

Two such company towns were Millinocket, Maine, and Lynch, Kentucky. Built in the early 1900s in different industries and regions, Millinocket, a paper mill town, and Lynch, a coalmining town, were strikingly similar. Major corporations funded by outside investors built both, and both were single industry towns. In addition to modern housing and other amenities for workers, both corporations built elaborate hotels to house visiting executives, potential investors and their families.² These and other company towns played a major role in shaping the American economy and culture, not only through labor relations, but also by determining race, class, and gender roles.

For the purpose of this paper, the definition of a company town is a town built specifically for housing the workers needed to extract the natural resources in the region or, as in the case of Millinocket, to convert the resources into a product. What the two towns have in common is that the labor force was almost entirely male, but, in order to attract a stable and permanent work force, the towns were built to accommodate men with families.

Much has been written about the entrepreneurs and laborers who made industrialization possible.³ Millinocket, like many other industrial towns, came into existence as a result of

capital investment in natural resources. The Northern Development Company, incorporated on October 17, 1898, became Great Northern Paper in 1899. In addition to Garret Schenck and Colonel Oliver H. Payne, the founders of the mill, the original shareholders were Charles W. Mullen and James B. Mullen of Old Town. Three shareholders, Henry M. Prentiss, President, Frederick H. Appleton, and Charles W. Mullen, were also directors. Each held one share in the corporation.⁴

Only two farms had previously existed on the land that became Millinocket. The mill and the town were built on the West Branch of the Penobscot River at the southeast base of Mt. Katahdin, the sacred mountain of the Penobscot Indians. The Penobscot River had been the major access to the densely forested land before the railroads. Logging companies had constructed some crude roads for the purpose of cutting and removing timber.

To turn raw materials into profit, investors had to employ effective ways of transforming farmland and wilderness into sites of industrial production. According to historian Richard Judd, “Abundant sources of water, rapid forest regeneration, and nearby markets gave Maine an early edge in the developing pulp and paper industry.”⁵ For Great Northern, Millinocket was an ideal site for a pulp and paper mill. Timber needed for producing paper was available in great abundance in Maine’s north woods and the Penobscot River provided ample electric power.

The construction of both Lynch and Millinocket coincided with the building of railroads. As Judd points out in his study of northern Maine, railroads played a major role in the development of the pulp and paper industry. The Bangor and Aroostook Railroad began service from Old Town to Houlton on Christmas Day, 1893, and soon expanded service to Presque Isle and Caribou with branches extending into Aroostook potato country. Not only did trains make it possible to harvest the North Woods, they provided transportation for executives and residents of

mill towns and brought in commodities for millworkers to purchase with the wages they earned. Railroads also made it possible to transport finished products to national and international markets.⁶ Dorothy Laverty writes of the Bangor and Aroostook, “It was to become the very lifeline for the new town of Millinocket, and this together with the mill’s transportation needs increased its assets tremendously.”⁷

In 1898, the Great Northern Paper Company, financed by Boston and New York investors, recruited Italian stonemasons to begin construction on the mill and, when completed in 1900, it was the largest pulp and paper mill in the world. In 1901, the corporation began construction on the town needed to house the workers. Millinocket, meaning “the land of many islands” because of all the islands in the Penobscot River, was transformed from a wilderness teeming with wild game and fish to an industrial complex without peer.

The wealth of natural resources available in the Maine woods warranted long-term investment in attracting and retaining dependable workers. Though the industry required two distinctly different operations, lumbering and paper making, all the people who lived in Millinocket were involved in the production of paper or in providing services for the workers such as boarding houses, restaurants, barber shops, laundries, and domestic services. The men involved in lumbering were housed in the woods by the lumber companies, not in Millinocket. Even though there was no competition from other industries for the labor force because Great Northern owned or controlled all the land, attracting workers to the area was a major concern.⁸

The large numbers of European and Canadian immigrants created a multicultural and multilingual society. Great Northern recruited laborers to build the roads and railroads. These early laborers, mostly single men, were housed in boarding houses or temporary shacks near the building sites. Among the first workers recruited from Europe were the Italian stonemasons who

built the foundations for the paper mill, the company buildings and the first permanent homes.⁹ Expensive paper making machines required skill and experience to operate and maintain, so Great Northern needed to attract and retain a responsible labor force, which, once trained, would stay loyal to the company. Before the mill went into operation in 1900, agents hired by Great Northern enlisted skilled workers from other United States paper mills, and their agent met the boats in Boston to convince immigrants to come to Maine. By the time the town was incorporated in 1901, the population had grown to over 3,000 men, women, and children.

Millinocket was considered a model company town because it contained all the amenities needed for family living. Great Northern went to great lengths to avoid being perceived as the kind of company town that existed in other industries and other parts of the country. The corporation owned all the land and built schools, churches, and modern hospitals. They built the splendid Great Northern Hotel built for upper management personnel and their families, also for prestigious guests such as corporate executives and potential investors.

Bachelor workers and management personnel were housed in boarding houses. Rather than building the type of row housing found in other company towns, the company allowed employees to choose their own house plots and with the help of company architects and stonemasons, design and build their own houses. Fred Morrison, who was the Town Site Manager for Great Northern, described the company's arrangement with the workers. All the houses had indoor plumbing and central heat, and were built along lighted and paved streets. In other Maine mill towns, workers usually lived in tenement houses; on the farms, few houses had electricity or plumbing. For people accustomed to living in rude homes with outhouses, the move to a well-constructed frame home with plumbing and electricity was a real enticement. Differences in management philosophy and practices may account for the different fate of the

two towns. Great Northern went to great lengths to avoid the image of company towns such as the mill towns of Massachusetts. Rather than a company store, individual merchants were allowed to operate grocery, furniture, appliance and clothing stores, but they had to be approved by Great Northern and could not duplicate products. Private doctors and dentists, also approved by the company, served the townspeople. Great Northern paid its workers in cash, which meant that they were free to buy their products, and supplies wherever they chose. Workers could also lease land from the company and build their own homes.

The fact remains, however, that Great Northern controlled every aspect of the millworkers' lives. No one could operate a business, bank, or even a health facility without express company approval. The large immigrant population prompted Great Northern to place strong emphasis on Americanization. In 1921, Great Northern's Social Service Division began publishing a magazine, *The Northern: A Magazine of contact between the Management and the Men*. Much of the focus of the magazine was Americanization. The editors stressed that "every man who has worked for the Great Northern long enough to be a real Northern man is a red blooded man and every red blooded man is a real American."¹⁰ The editors learned of an essay contest in a school on "the East Side of New York where the pupils are practically all of foreign extraction on 'What it means to be a good American Citizen'" and published the two winning essays in *The Northern*.¹¹ The author of each winning essay, with names such as Kupersmith, Steinwalder, and Schreiber, won \$5.00. The editors strongly recommend that the prominent citizens in every town start similar competitions.

Americanization also took place in the home and school. Because all children, native-born and immigrant, went to the same schools, they were required to speak English. The training of the children was first and foremost the obligation of mothers, and most women accepted this

assignment without question. As far as wives and mothers were concerned, as long as men's employment was secure and wages reasonably high, and their children well provided for, most were contented to remain in the background in a supporting position.

However, within their assigned sphere, women formed their own hierarchies. Managers' wives formed their own social networks and eased the transition into the community for wives of new managers. Among the workmen's wives, ethnicity and lack of language skills created separate, extremely close-knit communities. The residents of Little Italy, for example, rarely ventured into the town of Millinocket. Everything from food supplies to a helping hand with a work project was available within their own community. Bonds within these ethnic and social hierarchies were essential in maintaining support systems for women and in providing community services.

Labor relations played an important role in creating harmonious communities in Millinocket and East Millinocket. Great Northern Paper honored unions from the beginning, in part because of their need for skilled workers, but also because the investors were wealthy aristocrats who had strong convictions about their obligations to the laboring class. In fact, in many cases the corporations used unions to control workplace practices. A 1912 labor agreement with twelve items covers parties, jurisdiction, membership, period of agreement, paper mill schedule, pulp mill schedule, day workers, tour workers, holidays, wages, interruption of work and grievances. Item eleven states "No strikes or lockouts shall occur during the life of this agreement." General Manager William A. Whitcomb and fifteen labor union representatives signed the agreement. In addition, Whitcomb and representatives from Great Northern's three mills in Maine attended a labor conference in Boston on March 5, 1912 to negotiate relations between management and unions.¹²

Great Northern's recognition of unions contributed to a stable work environment without the strikes and slow-downs experienced by other corporations, and served to create bonds between workers, inside and outside the mill. Union membership gave the workers some control over wages and working conditions. Unions also negotiated economic relief for employees and their families in the form of compensation for disabled workers and widow's pensions.

Closely paralleling the development of Great Northern's paper mill towns in Maine was the development of coal company towns in Kentucky. The development of the Harlan County coalfields, the richest in the world, came largely from corporate interests outside the region and was financed by absentee capital. Railroads made the opening-up of the mountains to timber and mining operations possible, and moved not only supplies in and out of the mountains, but people as well. The isolation of Kentucky's coal rich region made company towns necessary for housing laborers and their families.¹³

Prior to the opening of the coal fields the population of Harlan County consisted primarily of pioneers and subsistence farmers, almost all of English origin, and many of them Revolutionary war soldiers who had been given land in payment for military service. In the early 1900s, most mining towns, often compared to feudal villages, were little more than shanties perched on a hillside, clustered around mine entrances or crowded into a valley between two ridges. Paul Taylor describes the houses, rented by miners for \$1.00 to \$2.00 a month as "all alike: small wooden, unpainted and unpretentious 'shot-gun' houses built extremely close together." He says each had an outhouse and a porch lighted by a single light bulb. Streams and creeks supplied the drinking water and served to wash away garbage.

Not all the miners lived in the coal camps, and those who lived in their own homes considered themselves a higher class than the camp dwellers. Many continued to live in crude

dwellings on small family farms where they raised livestock and crops. Many of these families looked on coalmining as a temporary measure necessary to supplement the family income.¹⁴

The United States Coal and Coke Company, a subsidiary of United States Steel Corporation, built the town of Lynch on farmland deep in the southeastern Kentucky Appalachian Mountains. The Louisville and Nashville Railroad had extended a rail line into Benham, a smaller company town built by Wisconsin Steel Corporation, a subsidiary of International Harvester in 1910, three miles downriver from where Lynch was located. Previously, the only access to the area had been overland on Indian Trails, streambeds, or on crude roads used by loggers or farmers for driving livestock to market.

Construction of the town of Lynch began in 1917, but was not completed until after World War I because of the difficulty in obtaining supplies and labor. When it was completed in 1924, United States Coal and Coke Company boasted of the largest coal tipple in the world.¹⁵ The sparse population of the mountain region made it necessary to recruit laborers to build the railroad, tipples, the company offices, and the town itself. As in Millinocket, among the first laborers were the men who built the roads and railroads, then the company recruited 400 to 500 Italian stonemasons who constructed mine offices and commercial buildings from native sandstone, and laid the foundation for the houses. They also contacted agents in port cities such as Boston and New York for immigrant miners, carpenters, and railroad workers.

Unlike Great Northern, however, in the first two decades of the 20th century, United States Coal and Coke recruited thousands of black laborers, many of them convicts from Alabama, Georgia and Louisiana. Some of these laborers stayed on after the railroads were built to work in the mines and other blacks, including wives and children, followed. By 1907, black

miners comprised as much as 35% of the work force in some mines. The population of Lynch grew from 10,566 persons in 1910 to 64,557 in 1930.¹⁶

Lynch, like Millinocket, was considered a model town because of the modern conveniences and amenities it provided for miners' families. Coal camps other than Lynch and Benham tended to be rows of small temporary dwellings built near the mouth of the mine or along railroad tracks, but executives of the United States Coal and Coke Company knew that, in order to attract a stable and permanent work force of married men with families, they had to provide amenities such as churches, schools, and health care. But, unlike Great Northern, U. S. Coal and Coke built identical company houses and rented them to the miners. The size and location of the houses depended on a man's position in the mines. Stately superintendents houses were located high on the hill above the town, while the Lynch Hotel provided elegant accommodations for visiting executives.

Mountain miners and their families found themselves in strange new environments, working, living and trying to adjust to people who spoke different languages, and from different religions and cultures. All the groups faced major adjustments, not just to each other but to the lifestyle as well. As Ron Eller points out, "For the rural whites, blacks, and immigrants who came to work in the mountain coal mines, the greatest adjustment in their lives came not so much from their work as from the industrial organization and feudal living conditions which accompanied that work."¹⁷ Paternalism in the mining camps led workers to depend on the companies to supply every need.

This dependence effectively gave the corporation almost total control over workers lives. Miners bought their food, clothing, and furnishings at the company store, went to company controlled churches, sent their children to company schools, bought company insurance, did their

banking at company owned banks, received medical care at company hospitals, and buried their dead in company cemeteries. You could be born, graduate from high school, get married, raise families, and die without ever leaving the town's limits.

In both towns, the diverse, predominantly foreign-born population prompted company executives to place great emphasis on patriotism and teaching American values. An example of U.S. Coal and Coke's company propaganda is printed on a banner: "By training our children to obey the laws of our country, and doing so as good citizen (sic), we can make our county at home as powerful as our ships are on the sea for liberty and right."¹⁸

Women in both towns felt that the company town offered a better life than either rural or city dwelling. The "family wage" allowed women to stay at home with their children and provided them with free time to become involved in church or community activities. When some women, especially black women who had endured the hardships of tenant farms in the south, talk about the early days in Lynch, they describe life there in glowing terms. The corporate paternalism of the coal operators assured miners and their families that the company would provide for all their needs as long as they remained employed. They would be provided with modern housing, good schools, health care and churches.

In an interview with Ron Collier, Francis King, a Lynch coal miner's widow born in Georgia in 1901, talks about the life of black miners in Lynch in the 1920s. She speaks with obvious pride about Lynch's amenities, especially the company store. You could buy anything, she says, not trash but good quality products like men and women's clothing. There was also a grocery store and a drug store. She says Lynch was a wonderful place to live. The company brought in shows on holidays and sponsored street dances. The fact that the town was racially segregated seems not to have been an issue.¹⁹

Clara Clements voices similar sentiments about the town's amenities, but also talks about the class hierarchy and gender roles within the black community:

Ministers, educators, and health care providers were the top rung of the hierarchy in the black community. Except in the mines themselves, Lynch was totally segregated. There was some interaction between the blacks and Hungarians, Italians, and other Caucasians, but it was limited. Both blacks and whites lived on a few streets. Men worked but the women were in charge of how the money was spent. Women often overspent and that was to the company's advantage since men were paid in scrip and the men would have to work until their debt to the company was paid. Most women stayed at home. A few worked at the Lynch hotel and hospital, and a few worked as domestics. Black women have served on the city council and still do. There is a black councilwoman serving at the present time. Black and white babies were born in the hospital, delivered by excellent doctors hired by the company. Women and newborns were taken care of through the recovery period by older children, neighbors, and relatives.

Ms. Clements says the company was good to the miners. Even during strikes families never went hungry because the store carried them on account. People grew vegetable gardens and Ms. Clements' mother canned the produce they raised. Trucks would come into the community selling peaches, produce, and fish. Peddlers from out of town sold clothes and bedding. It is unclear how people paid for these products without cash. The homes, though sometimes crowded with two or more families, had running water and electricity. For every room except the kitchen there would often be a different family and an individual dwelling might hold two or three families. Streets and sidewalks were lighted and paved.²⁰

Despite the similarities between the planning and building of the two towns, the relationship between workers and management was quite different. By the 1930s, Millinocket had grown into a stable and productive town, but Lynch and the rest of Harlan County had turned into a bloody battleground between coal operators and miners. In Lynch, miners could draw scrip against their pay and often ended up owing their entire paycheck to the Company Store. Tennessee Earnie Ford expressed the miners' frustration in the song, *Sixteen Tons*:

You load sixteen tons and what do you get?
Another day older and deeper in debt.
St. Peter, don't you call me cause I can't go,
I owe my soul to the company store.²¹

They also rented their houses, paid for medical care and dental care, utilities, even contributed to schools and churches and their burial fund through payroll deductions. The company supplied all a miner's needs but it was the miner himself who paid.

U.S. Coal and Coke in Lynch, like other coal operators in Harlan County, was hostile to unions. Miners suspected of union activity were fired and their families evicted from the town. At the height of the miner's attempts to form unions, the company brought in armed guards and called on the state government to break up union activity. Without a union, men had little or no control over wages or safety conditions in the mines. Split shifts or long working hours left miners exhausted and vulnerable to accidents.

The well-documented tales of violence against the miners are among the most shocking in American history. Coal towns, even the larger company towns, became armed camps. The paternalism of the mining camps had become threatening and women had a new fear—the fear that their husbands might be shot by one of their employers' gunmen. It was this fear that drove women to militant protests and firmly set one class against the other. With no way to make a living wage themselves, they joined their men on the picket lines to demonstrate for their husbands' right to join the United Mine Workers of America, because the union promised health care, safer working conditions and higher wages for their husbands. Songs became one of the ways they expressed their resentment against the violence of the coal operators and their “thugs.” Many of these songs singled out Harlan County as a battleground, and testified to women's need to participate in that battle. Florence Reece's song, “Which Side Are You On?” became the battle cry of miner's wives everywhere and Harlan County became symbolic of coal

management brutality toward miners: “If you go to Harlan County/There is no neutral there/You’ll either be a union man/Or a thug for J. H. Blair/Which side are you on? /Which side are you on?”²²

Despite the conflict between companies and unions and the boom and bust cycles, the coal industry continued to grow. Harlan County’s political system and economy was then, and still is, dominated by coal interests. By 1940 well over a hundred coal camps dotted the Kentucky mountainside. The culture shaped by coalmining determined, and still does to a lesser degree, the role of women, which remained relatively unchallenged until the 1970s when, under pressure from the union and the women’s movement, women first entered the mines. By that time, however, advancements in technology had drastically cut the number of jobs available and the exodus out of the mountains into the cities to find employment was well underway.

The coal operators’ resistance to unions is a subject on ongoing debate. It may have been that, because most coal miners were unskilled laborers competing for jobs, especially during bust periods, they could be easily replaced. Sue Bassham Cudd, daughter of Pearl Bassham, known for his violent anti-union repression, says her father’s explanation was that he had come up the hard way, through the ranks, and he wouldn’t trust any man who couldn’t fight his own battles.²³ In Robert Dalzell’s study of the Boston Associates, he suggests that because Northern investors in New England’s early factories and mills came from privileged upper class, the tradition of *noblesse oblige* may have influenced their treatment of workers.²⁴ Men who had struggled to attain wealth and power would be less likely to concern themselves with worker’s welfare. Another factor may have been that corporate heads were confident that the racial and ethnic mix of workers would keep them from joining forces. In Lynch, African-American workers made up nearly one-third of the work force. U. S. Coal and Coke, and later U. S. Steel, dealt with racial

and ethnic tensions by attempting to segregate blacks from whites and immigrants from native-born Americans. Despite measures to keep the different groups separated, the coal miners themselves worked side by side in the mines, and when the men left the mines, covered with coal dust, it was difficult to differentiate the black from the white. The saying, "All miners are black underground," indicates a shared identity. Whether this interaction between black and white miners led to the inclusion of blacks in The United Mine Worker of America or if the inclusion of blacks created interaction, blacks and whites banded together on the picket lines in the 1930s, and it was the UMWA that came to their aid.²⁵

Lynch is no longer a coalmining town. United States Steel has left the region and sold the houses to the residents. Ironically, the corporation retains the mineral rights to the land, which they can sell or lease to other companies for strip mining or mountain top removal mining. United States Steel even took out the railroad tracks and tore down both the hotel and the more elegant homes. The residents of the neighboring town of Cumberland, which grew as a support town for Lynch and Benham, fight desperately to keep the town alive, but because coal companies and large property owners still own most of the land in Harlan County, no other industry can come in. Coal is a non-renewable resource and when the richer veins are worked out, companies prefer strip-mining and mountaintop removal to underground mining since most of the work can be done by machines and requires few laborers. The impact on the environment is devastating. The topsoil clogs the mountain streams, killing the few fish that remain while erosion swallows the rivers. Because all the trees are removed and vegetation cannot recover in the exposed clay soil, strip mining destroys the habitat for wildlife.

The fear that Millinocket will suffer a similar fate becomes stronger as more paper mills move to other regions. The ownership of the Millinocket and East Millinocket mills has changed

hands several times in the past decade. Environmental groups are putting pressure on the companies to clean up air and water pollution caused by toxic chemicals used in paper making and processing, and the companies react by saying such expensive improvements will force them to relocate to areas with less restrictive environmental policies. Many paper companies are moving south where the cutover regions have reforested and labor is cheaper, or overseas, because large numbers of non-union workers are available. The residents of Millinocket can only wait and see what happens. They are at the mercy of mill owners, as the people of Lynch were at the mercy of the coal companies.

¹ Some of these important studies are Mary H. Blewitt, *Men, Women and Work: Class, Gender and Protest in the New England Shoe Industry, 1780—1910* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988); Margaret F. Byington, *Homestead: The Households of a Mill Town* (New York: Charities Publication Committee, 1910); Thomas Dublin, *Women at Work: The Transformation of Work and Community in Lowell, Massachusetts 1826—1860* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979).

² Dorothy Laverty has written a comprehensive history of Millinocket and its inhabitants; Dorothy Laverty, *Millinocket, the Magic City in the Maine Woods* (Freeport: The Bond Wheelwright Company, 1973). On Lynch, see Harry M. Caudill, *Theirs Be the Power: The Moguls of Eastern Kentucky* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1983); Chapter 7, “The Kingdom of Lynch” outlines in detail the building and incorporation of the town of Lynch.

³ Robert F. Dalzell, Jr., *Enterprising Elite: The Boston Associates and the World They Made* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987) discusses the first American investors in textile mills; Kenneth Warren, *Big Steel: The First Century of the United States Steel Corporation 1901—2001* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2001) discusses the formation of the largest industrial corporation in the world and the careers of Elbert H. Gary, Andrew Carnegie and their cohorts; Harry M. Caudill, *Theirs Be the Power: The Moguls of Eastern Kentucky* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1983) discusses the careers of investors in Kentucky coal such as Alexander Alan Arthur, John Murray Forbes, and John C. C. Mayo.

⁴ Great Northern Papers, Box 836, File 4, Fogler Library Special Collections, University of Maine.

⁵ Richard Judd, *Aroostook: A Century of Logging in Northern Maine* (Orono: University of Maine Press, 1989).

⁶ Judd, *Aroostook*, 174. While Judd includes only a brief mention of the creation of Millinocket, he examines in depth the growth of the pulp and paper industry in Maine in Chapter 8, “The Emergent Pulp and Paper Industry, 1900—1929.”

⁷ Laverty, *Millinocket*, 7.

⁸ This information was obtained from a number of sources including John McLeod, *The Northern, the Way I Remember*, condensed from a history written by McLeod and presented as a gift to the Fogler Library by Great Northern. In Chapter 2, “About the Land” McLeod discusses, in defense of Great Northern, the history of the distribution and ownership of Maine’s forestlands. In an interview with Fred Morrison conducted by the author, Morrison also stated that Great Northern owned all the land.

⁹ Laverty, *Millinocket*, 23.

¹⁰ Editorial *The Northern*, (April 21, 1921), 5

¹¹ *The Northern*, (April 21, 1921) 6, 7.

¹² Great Northern Papers, Box 836.

¹³ George Titler, *Hell in Harlan*. I was unable to locate the book, but selected chapters can be found at <http://home.fuse.net/cestes/bloodyharlan.htm.HTM>

¹⁴ Paul F. Taylor, *Bloody Harlan: The United Mine Workers of America in Harlan County, Kentucky, 1931-1941* (New York: University Press of America, 1990), 5; History of Benham obtained at the Lynch Court House, June, 2000.

¹⁵ A tipple is a tall structure where coal is cleaned and loaded onto railroad cars or trucks.

¹⁶ *Harlan County, Kentucky, A Case Study On Land*, Prepared by Linda Johnson, Joey Childers and Mark Middleton, Grace House Learning/Training Center, St. Paul, Virginia for the APPALACHIAN LAND OWNERSHIP TASK FORCE, November, 1980; Taylor, *Bloody Harlan*, 4.

¹⁷ Ronald D. Eller, *Miners, Millhands and Mountaineers: Industrialization of the Appalachian South, 1880-1930*. (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1982), 175.

¹⁸ United States Steel papers, Southeast Community College Archives.

¹⁹ Francis King, Videotaped Oral Interview with Ronald Edgar Collier, February 8, 1999. Mrs., King, born in Georgia in 1902, talks about coming to Lynch from Alabama in the 1920s, her second marriage to Willie King, a coal miner, and how life in Lynch has changed since the early days.

²⁰ Clara Clements, Lynch resident and secretary of the Mt. Sinai Baptist Church, interview by the author at Southeast Community College, June 8, 2000.

²¹ Rich Kienzle, *Sixteen Tons: The Story Behind the Legend* <http://www.ernieford.com/Sixteen%20Tons.htm> Merle Travis, singer, songwriter, and coalminer's son, wrote the song, *Sixteen Tons*, in 1946, and when it was released in 1947 on a Capital LP, *Folk Songs From the Hills*, it caused so much controversy in the anti-communist, cold-war hysteria of the time that radio stations were advised, in at least one case by the FBI themselves, not to play it or any of Merle Travis' records. When Tennessee Ernie Ford reintroduced the song on NBC in 1955, it was an instant hit. He recorded the song on September 17, 1955 and it sold more than 2,000,000 copies, which, according to his press agents makes it the most successful single ever recorded.

²² Florence Reece, "Which Side Are You On?" (Storm King Music, Inc. BMI, 1952). Included in the CD *Coalmining Women*, cut 19. J. H. Blair was John Henry Blair, sheriff of Harlan County who turned against the union miners who had elected him "by appointing over 200 deputy sheriffs employed by coal companies as mine guards," Taylor, *Bloody Harlan*, 14.

²³ Sue Bassham Cudd, interview conducted by James Goode, director of the Appalachian Archives at Southeast Community College in Cumberland, Kentucky, March 8, 1984.

²⁴ Dalzell, *Enterprising Elite*, 12-13.

²⁵ Titler, *Hell in Harlan*, 91.