

historic resource study

KAY MOOR
NEW RIVER GORGE

NATIONAL RIVER • WEST VIRGINIA



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by Sharon A. Brown

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR / NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

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CHRONOLOGY

- 1873 – Purchase of Kay Moor property by Abiel Abbot Low of Low Moor Iron Company
- 1873 – Completion of Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad through the New River Gorge
- 1899 – Initial opening of Kay Moor No. 1 mine
- 1900 – First shipment of coal from Kay Moor No. 1 mine
- 1901 – Initial construction of employee housing at Kay Moor
- 1902 – Construction of employee housing
- 1903 – Opening of Kay Moor No. 2 mine
- 1905 – Construction of employee housing
- 1918-1919 – Construction of "New Camp"
- 1923 – United States Coal Commission investigation of Kay Moor
- 1924 – Fire destroyed tippie and other structures at Kay Moor No.1
- 1925 – Sale of Kay Moor complex to New River and Pocahontas Consolidated Coal and Coke Company
- 1926 – Construction of new processing plant at Kay Moor No. 1, Kay Moor No. 2 closed
- 1952 – Abandonment of Kay Moor Bottom, most residents moved out
- 1960 – Fire destroyed most of Kay Moor Bottom
- 1962 – Kay Moor No. 1 closed

PREFACE

This historic resource study has been prepared to satisfy the research needs as stated in the task directive concerning New River Gorge National River under Package No. 106. Data contained in this report will be used in interpretation, preservation, and management needs at the site.

This study focuses on the history of a town and mine located on the south side of the New River, at the top, mid-way, and bottom of the gorge. Opened in 1900 by the Low Moor Iron Company of Low Moor, Virginia, the mine and town site were donated to the National Park Service by the Berwind Land Company in December 1985. This study includes information concerning the town's founding, evolution, and social history; the significance of the New River coal mining industry; and a discussion of aspects of mining history, including ethnicity of miners, mine safety, and unionization issues.

Most of the research was conducted during field trips to the Library of Congress and National Archives in Washington, D.C., and to West Virginia and the University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, in May, June, and August 1986. Several people assisted in preparing this report. The author's thanks goes to Gene Cox, formerly of the New River Gorge National River staff, for opening his history files and supplying information. Dr. Fred Armstrong and the staff at the Department of Culture and History, Archives and History, in the Cultural Center in Charleston, West Virginia, provided research leads and sources. Dr. Kenneth Sullivan, editor *Goldenseal*, Charleston, also provided research ideas and leads. Ruth Larison, formerly of the Rocky Mountain Region Library acquired countless secondary sources through interlibrary loan. Dr. Lou Athey of the Franklin & Marshall University, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, provided research materials as well as generous use of his Kay Moor study draft. Staff in the Manuscripts Department, Alderman Library at the University of Virginia, Charlottesville, aided with research in the Low Moor Iron Company collection. Norma Camarena, Denver Service Center, drew the historical base maps and Joan E. Huff typed the draft. A final thanks goes to National Park Service Chief Historian Edwin C. Bearss for his enthusiasm for Kay Moor.

INTRODUCTION

The New River Gorge National River was authorized by Congress for inclusion in the National Park System by Title XI of P.L. 95-625 on November 10, 1978. Kay Moor is located upstream from the New River Bridge, located on Rt. 19, which is considered a cultural and engineering landmark in West Virginia. It is the second highest bridge in the United States and is also a significant symbol of state pride.

The origins of the Kay Moor mine and town can be traced to the Low Moor Iron Company of Low Moor, Virginia. Founded in 1873, the company utilized in its furnaces the coal and coke mined and manufactured at Kay Moor. The town of Kay Moor, located at both the top and bottom of the New River gorge, was founded to house the mine workers. It was a company town, with all aspects of housing, supplies, and transportation supplied by the Low Moor Iron Company. The town and mine were sold in 1925 to the New River and Pocahontas Consolidated Coal Company, a subsidiary of the Berwind-White Company, later the Berwind Land Company. Mining continued until 1962; Kay Moor Bottom had been emptied of inhabitants by 1952, with only portions of Kay Moor Top surviving in any form. Located in the famous New River fields, producers of the legendary "smokeless coal," the Kay Moor mine and its supporting town were thus contributors to a larger economic scene.

The remnants of mining activity still extant at Kay Moor offer a unique interpretive and visitor use challenge for the National Park Service. The story of bituminous coal mining in West Virginia can be interpreted at Kay Moor, with all of its extant structures and machinery.

A word must be said about the name of the mine and community. The site was originally named Kay Moor and appeared as such on papers of its owner and founder, the Low Moor Iron Company of Low Moor, Virginia. The name, however, appeared as Kaymoor in period newspaper articles as well as in other primary sources, and the name has evolved as such through the years. The author has agreed with Jack Bergstresser, author of the historical data section, "Kay Moor Historic Structure Report," to use the original nomenclature, hence, Kay Moor. Direct quotations or source titles using the one word name are honored.

Emphasis in this study was placed on Kay Moor's early years because of the availability of the Low Moor Iron Company's papers and the lack of primary source data during the Berwind-White Company years.

CHAPTER ONE: FAYETTE COUNTY COAL

Fayette County, West Virginia, is famous for its abundant natural resource, coal. Blessed with thick seams of "smokeless" coal, Fayette County has made its living through the mining of the two- to five-foot seams of 70 percent carbon coal, present in the New River coalfield.¹ The town and mine at Kay Moor, located on New River, in the New River smokeless coalfield within Fayette County, thus belongs in the larger story of Fayette County, West Virginia, and indeed, Appalachian coal mining history, for the more important economic role of New River coal was its contribution to low-cost iron and for the manufacture of low-cost, high-quality metallurgical coke. Kay Moor's history is an integral part of the Appalachian coal-mining and cultural heritage.

Fayette County

Fayette County was formed by an act of the General Assembly of Virginia on February 28, 1831. Named for Major General Marquis de Lafayette, who a few years previously had made a triumphant tour of the fledgling United States, the county was formed of portions of Kanawha, Nicholas, Greenbrier, and Logan counties. The first county seat was at New Haven, then Vandalia, whose name changed in 1837 to Fayetteville. The county later lost area to other counties, and now consists of 666.50 square miles.²

The New River's source is in the highlands of the Blue Ridge in North Carolina. The river flows for 50 miles through Fayette County, entering from the south through a narrow channel and joining the Gauley River at Gauley Bridge. On its way, the river drops from 1,200 to 650 feet elevation, resulting in numerous falls and rapids. The authors of a Fayette County history exclaimed: "The wild beauty of this canon, known as the New River Gorge, with the clear water of the river flowing swiftly among scattered boulders at the base of its precipitous and rocky walls, has appealed to thousands of people, and has afforded ample justification for the efforts at description made by many prominent writers."³ Within this sublime scenery lies the town and mine at Kay Moor.

West Virginia came into the Union in 1863 with 90 percent of its people isolated and agrarian. Most of the industrial and commercial works were connected to farming in some way, including sawmills, tanneries, and blacksmith shops. The rise of the coal industry transformed the landscape in economic, political, and social terms. The growth of the coal industry destroyed traditional mountain culture and attracted thousands of European immigrants and southern blacks to

1. Smokeless coal, or Pocahontas-New River coal as it is also known, can be found in five southern West Virginia counties: Fayette, Raleigh, Mercer, Wyoming, and McDowell; and in the two Virginia counties of Tazewell and Upper Buchanan. There is a wide range of volatile material in different coals. "Hard" or anthracite coal contains six to eight percent volatile matter. "Soft" or bituminous coal which contains 30 percent or more volatile matter is considered high, 24 to 30 percent is medium volatile, and 16 to 24 volatile is considered low. Low-volatile coal salesmen invented the commercial term "smokeless" to combat bituminous coal's bad image in the minds of urban consumers. Jerry Bruce Thomas, "Coal Country: The Rise of the Southern Smokeless Coal Industry and Its Effect on Area Development, 1872-1910" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1971), pp. 8, 10-11.

2. J.T. Peters and H.B. Carden, *History of Fayette County West Virginia*, (Charleston: Jarrett Printing Company, 1926; reprint ed., Parsons, West Virginia: McClain Printing Co., 1972), pp. 1-2.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

live among the native whites. The railroad and coal mining changed West Virginia so much that by 1921 the state's economy was linked to national and international markets.⁴

Colonials had known of southern West Virginia's coal potential. Thomas Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia* in 1785 mentioned that "coal is known to be in so many places, as to have induced an opinion that the whole tract between the Laurel Mountain and Ohio yields coal." Later geological surveys confirmed Jefferson's observations.⁵ In 1873 a successful Pennsylvania coal operator named Howell Fisher visited the New River field and wrote the following description of the excellent mining possibilities in the New River Gorge:

In respect to conditions most essential to cheap and profitable working, this region stands unrivalled. It has been stated before that the chasm of the river renders it most peculiar service in its relation to the coal. Cutting all the coal strata for nearly its whole length entirely through, and getting down among the shales under the coal, the river has caused the numerous streams which pierce this whole coal region to cut down through most of the coal-bearing strata on their courses, leaving the coal entirely above water level, accessible at hundreds of points by simply scraping off the surface soil; so that so far as the mere getting of the coal is concerned, two thousand dollars will open a mine ready to ship one thousand tons per week. There is no region in the world where less physical labor will prepare a mine for the delivery of coal at the drift's mouth. . . .

Now, in this great coal-field crossed by the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad, Nature has already sunk all the necessary pits and shafts, which need neither repair, renewal or labor to work them. The laws of gravity have provided the most perfect, permanent, and costless pumping machinery; and the most ventilation of the mine and safety of the employees, instead of requiring scientific knowledge and anxious thought, is simply a matter of the most ordinary care, the almost perfect freedom from noxious gases being the natural result of the position of the coal strata.⁶

Despite this knowledge of West Virginia's coal potential, the fields remained unmined until the coming of the railroads. The Appalachians remained impenetrable to the iron rails even though transcontinentals crossed the country. Not until the 1870s did the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad enter the New River Gorge, the proverbial "machine in the garden." The same was true of all of southern West Virginia; major industrialists as John Pierpont Morgan, John D. Rockefeller, Edward H. Harriman, and Collis P. Huntington built railroads through the area in an effort to mine and transport coal.⁷

4. Otis K. Rice, *West Virginia A History* (Lexington, The University Press of Kentucky, 1985), p. 183; David Alan Corbin, *Life, Work, and Rebellion in the Coal Fields The Southern West Virginia Miners 1880-1922* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981), p. 1.

5. Jefferson is quoted in Corbin, *Life*, p. 2. Two-thirds of West Virginia is underlain with mineable coal seams. The major fields include, in addition to New River, the Kanawha, Winding Gulf, Flat Top-Pocahontas, Logan, Williamson, Fairmont, Elkins, Northern Panhandle, and Greenbrier.

6. Fisk and Hatch, Bankers, *The Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad* (New York: 1873), pp. 48-49, quoted in William McKinley Merrill, "Economics of the Southern Smokeless Coals" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois, 1953), p. 43.

7. Corbin, *Life*, p. 2.

Land and coal speculation ran rampant. Northern capitalists did not respect the property rights of the native mountaineers who owned the land, and used many unscrupulous means to obtain property. Original Revolutionary War land grants were purchased with claims that the speculators were the rightful owners; claims denied by the U.S. Supreme Court, but upheld by local federal judges. Native owners were thrown off their land, left, or had to sell out.⁸ Outside capital bought West Virginia.⁹

Mining brought profound changes to West Virginia. The production of ginseng as a cash crop and logging had brought national economic ties to the region, but the coal industry wrought changes in more ways than economic. The traditional way of mountain life was transformed. Farming decreased, traditional family clans were broken, and new ways of thinking and value systems were introduced by the industrialists and working newcomers. The coal industry brought in a system of landless workers, a managing class, and a wealthy elite and superimposed it on a rural society. The company towns which evolved possessed a paternalism having nothing in common with the frontier spirit which had existed among the native white inhabitants.¹⁰

Use of "Smokeless" Coal

The importance of coal to the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century cannot be overstated. This country was relatively late to use coal because of abundant forests. Wood effectively supplied the colonial agrarian economy; thus, coal was not used in the United States for nearly 100 years later than in Europe. The growth of the bituminous coal industry occurred after 1850 to meet the demands generated by the use of steam locomotives, river steamers, and stationary steam engines. No longer were energy producers tied to river banks and waterfalls. The use of anthracite occurred first, because of proximity to the fields to urban centers, and because of the less sulphur and phosphorus and more carbon content in the hard coal. Urban customers preferred anthracite over bituminous coal because the latter produced more smoke and smell when burned. Bituminous coal, however, was cheaper because anthracite was in higher demand, was less

8. Ibid., p. 3. For further information on the legacy of hatred and mistrust, and indeed the legacy of Appalachian poverty due in part to this lack of local ownership of land, see Harry M. Caudill, *Night Comes to the Cumberlands A Biography of a Depressed Area* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1962), pp. 70-76. Caudill uses eastern Kentucky as the focus of his study. Appalachia has undergone intense scrutiny to determine causes and possible solutions for its poverty. For a definition of Appalachia, which includes West Virginia, and discussions of a legacy of environmental abuse and mistreatment of people, see, in addition to Caudill's text: John Gaventa, *Power and Powerlessness Quiescence and Rebellion in an Appalachian Valley* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1980); Thomas R. Ford, ed., *The Southern Appalachian Region A Survey* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1962); Helen Matthews Lewis, Linda Johnson, and Donald Askins, eds., *Colonialism in Modern America The Appalachian Case* (Boone, North Carolina: The Appalachian Consortium Press, 1978); Karl B. Raitz and Richard Ulack, *Appalachia A Regional Geography* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1984); Jack E. Weller, *Yesterday's People Life in Contemporary Appalachia* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965); Harry W. Ernst and Charles H. Drake, "Poor, Proud and Primitive," *The Nation* 188 (1959): 490-493; Richard Ulack and Karl Raitz, "Perceptions of Appalachia," *Environment and Behavior* 14 no. 6 (November 1982): 725-752; David S. Walls and Dwight B. Billings, "The Sociology of Southern Appalachia," *Appalachian Journal* 5 (1977): 131-144; John Calhoun Wells Jr., "Poverty Amidst Riches: Why People are Poor in Appalachia," (Ph. D. dissertation, Rutgers University, The State University of New Jersey, 1977).

9. David Alan Corbin provided the following examples: Baltimore banking house John A. Hubleton and Company bought 25,000 acres of Loup Creek in Fayette County; the Norfolk and Western Railroad of Virginia purchased four-fifths of the Pocahontas coal field; by 1919 U.S. Steel had acquired 32,600 acres in Logan and Mingo counties and 50,000 acres in McDowell County. Corbin, *Life*, p. 4.

10. Ibid., pp. 6-7; Rice, *West Virginia*, p. 188.

available, and was harder to mine. As early as 1875 bituminous coal became a more important fuel source than anthracite coal.¹¹

Seventy-five percent of the energy used in the United States in 1910 was supplied by coal. Coal fueled the factories, ships, and railroad locomotives, as well as warmed homes and generated power for the new electrical plants. Coke was a critical ingredient in the making of steel and iron. Coal was the main source of energy in the United States until after World War I when oil and gas gained ascendancy.¹²

It is no wonder that so much interest lay in the rich and plentiful coal of southern West Virginia. A low volatile content and high fixed carbon rate gave rise to comparisons with Welsh coal. An average British thermal unit of 15,200 gave it the highest heat unit in the country and made it the best steaming coal available anywhere. Low ash and sulphur content made southern West Virginia coal the best coking coal and the most fuel-efficient.¹³

Another factor in the phenomenal growth of the coal industry in West Virginia was the relatively small capital investment required to open a mine. Coal mining in West Virginia was cheaper than in other parts of the country because the seams were large and soft and were exposed on hillsides. More economical drift or slope mines could be used, rather than the more expensive shaft mines. Usually the mines were located above water levels, which made pumping unnecessary or minimal. Additionally expedient was the easy hauling of coal from the mine to the tippie to the railroad accesses, because of the sloping of the hillsides. The operators needed only to build houses for the miners, a store for supplies, and a tippie to fill the railroad cars with coal. Little other machinery was required, as the miners supplied their own tools. Coal mine leases were easy to obtain, and most coal mining companies were organized with a few investors sinking in as little as \$20,000 to \$30,000.¹⁴

Within only a few decades southern West Virginia coals were foremost on the nation's markets. The cheaper and superior coals outsold the midwestern fields, and were shipped to Indianapolis, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, and Dayton. Prior to 1900 most of the coal used in the upper Midwest came from Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. Southern Appalachian coal was used chiefly in the eastern markets and foreign trade. This changed by the turn of the century. The southern West Virginia coal operators began to open the Great Lakes trade.¹⁵ Additionally, only West Virginia coal was burned in Washington, D.C., which had strict smoke pollution regulations. The high heat content and relative smokelessness of the southern West Virginia coal fields also made it the preferred fuel, commonly called "Navy Standard," of the U.S. Navy. By 1900 southern West Virginia coal rivaled the anthracite coal market in New England, and was sold in South

11. Thomas, "Coal Country," pp. 2-5.

12. Ronald D. Eller, *Miners, Millhands, and Mountaineers Industrialization of the Appalachian South, 1880-1930* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1982), p. 128.

13. Corbin, *Life*, p. 4.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5; Eller, *Miners*, pp. 129-130.

15. Eller, *Miners*, pp. 128-129.

America and the Mediterranean.¹⁶ Fayette County coal production led all others until 1902 and was in second place until World War I.¹⁷

Low Moor Iron Company

One of the major factors influencing the development of a West Virginia coal industry was the belief that an iron boom was beginning in Virginia in the 1880s. Southern West Virginia's low-volatile coal was well suited for making coke. This boom did not last long, however, and by the 1890s the iron boom collapsed, and the southern West Virginia smokeless coal and coke producers no longer had local markets. After 1910, coke manufacturing ceased in most areas, and coal was shipped unprocessed to markets farther afield.¹⁸

The Kay Moor mine was part of this larger economic scheme. It supplied coal and coke for blast furnaces located in western Virginia. The furnaces were owned by entrepreneurs from Virginia who envisioned that the use of resources in both Virginia and West Virginia would result in the two states being first among industrial states. In the New River field, the railroad was the necessary ingredient to exploit the coal potential.

In the New River Gorge the changes came with the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad (C&O). Industrialist Collis P. Huntington had a dream of building a transcontinental railroad line from Newport News, Virginia, to San Francisco. The line was designed to link the Atlantic Ocean with the Midwest through the Teays, New, and Kanawha river valleys, and it emerged from two older lines, the Virginia Central and the Covington and Ohio.¹⁹ Together with New York capitalists, including Abiel Abbot Low, and the bankers Fisk and Hatch as financiers, Huntington revitalized the railroad's construction which linked the James and Ohio rivers. At the end of 1871 the western division of the line ran eastward from Huntington to Charleston, and onto Kanawha Falls at the junction of the Kanawha and New rivers by June 1872. The eastern division ended at White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia. After blasting a mile and a quarter through the mountains via the Big Bend Tunnel, the connection between the two divisions through 90 miles of mountainous country, including the New River Gorge, was finished in January 1873.²⁰ The entire line from Richmond, Virginia, to Huntington, West Virginia, was opened on April 1, 1873. According to a historian of the C&O, even Collis P. Huntington underestimated the opportunities offered by coal mining. In 1873 he stated that C&O management did not consider coal in its estimates of possible

16. In the first few months of 1916 coal was shipped from Hampton Roads, Virginia (Lambert's Point, Sewall's Point, and Newport News), to the following destinations: Argentine Republic; Azores; Brazil; British West Indies; Canal Zone; Chile; Columbia; Cuba; Danish West Indies; French West Indies; Georgetown or Demerara, British Guiana; Gibraltar; Greece; Italy; Mexico; Porto Rico; Santo Domingo; Sweden; Teneriffe, Canary Islands; Uruguay; and Venezuela. "Hampton Roads 1916 Exports," *Black Diamond* 56 no. 23 (June 3, 1916): 467.

17. Corbin, *Life*, pp. 4-5; Rice, *West Virginia*, p. 187.

18. Thomas, "Coal County," p. 101.

19. Huntington personally inspected the route and made the trip through the 45-mile long New River Gorge by batteau. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

20. It was at the Big Bend Tunnel where black folk hero John Henry held his contest with a steam drill.

revenues because the railroad could not compete with water haulage. "No capitalist was ever more mistaken."²¹

The main line was built along the New River's north side. Several settlements were soon built, including Stone Cliff, Fire Creek, Hawks Nest, Quinnimont, Sewell, and Nuttallburg.²² Thus the New River coalfields were linked by rail to the iron-producing counties of Virginia. Once inside the New River Gorge, the C&O built nine branch lines between 1890 and 1905 into the mountain hollows in Fayette County, opening new coal-bearing lands. Kay Moor would be located on the south side branch. A large assembly yard was also built at Thurmond, West Virginia.²³

Simultaneously with the railroad's entry into the New River Gorge, Abiel Abbot Low established the Low Moor Iron Company in Allegheny County, Virginia, in 1873.²⁴ Low purchased iron ore lands in Allegheny County and coal lands in Fayette County, West Virginia to feed his furnaces. In 1880 he purchased around 10,000 acres of coal land in Fayette, Raleigh, and Kanawha counties in West Virginia along the C&O route.²⁵ In the first few years the Low Moor Iron Company only pursued ore mining; however, in 1880 ironmaking was started with "the largest and most thoroughly well-appointed blast furnace ever constructed in Virginia or West Virginia."²⁶

On July 5, 1873, less than six months after the C&O was completed, the Low Moor Iron Company received its charter from the Commonwealth of Virginia. Abiel Abbott Low, on the C&O's board of directors, controlled the Low Moor Iron Company finances from New York as treasurer. A town and iron furnace at Low Moor, Virginia, named for Low, was planned and built, and drift, shaft, and pit mines opened.²⁷ The company claimed it was the first producer of pig iron in the state, and it was a self-contained manufacturing operation. The company's only product was

21. Rice, *West Virginia*, p. 185; Merrill, "Economics," p. 35; Thomas, "Coal Country," pp. 60-62; Lou Athey, *Kaymoor A New River Community* (n.p.: Eastern National Park & Monument Association, 1986), p. 2. (This book is available for purchase through Eastern National Park and Monument Association, P.O. Box 1189, Oak Hill, WV 25901); Charles W. Turner, *Chessie's Road* (Richmond, Virginia: Garrett & Massie, Incorporated, 1956), p. 107. Collis Potter Huntington (1821-1900), born in Connecticut, was a storekeeper in New York before emigrating to California in 1849. He established a merchandising business in miners' supplies in Sacramento which was very prosperous. In 1860 Huntington was one of the "Big Four," the other three being Charles Crocker, Mark Hopkins, and Leland Stanford, who promoted the construction of the transcontinental Central Pacific Railroad in 1869. He remained in railroad work for the rest of his life, being involved with the Southern Pacific, the C&O and others. *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. V, 1933 ed., s.v. "Huntington, Collis Potter," by Stuart Daggett.

22. Rice, *West Virginia*, p. 185; Athey, *Kaymoor*, p. 2.

23. Thomas, "Coal Country," p. 127.

24. *Fayette Tribune*, June 21, 1917. Even though this newspaper gives the date of charter as 1877, other secondary sources cite the 1873 date.

25. Thomas, "Coal Country," p. 101. Abiel Abbott Low (1811-1893) was born in Salem, Massachusetts. Educated in public school, he became a clerk in the house of Joseph Howard & Company. In 1829 Low's father moved from Salem to Brooklyn and opened an import business, where Low gained mercantile experience. In 1833 he sailed for China and became a clerk with Russell & Company. He returned to New York and opened A.A. Low & Brothers, a firm successful in the China and Japanese trade. In connection with Collis P. Huntington, Low helped found Newport News, Virginia, and Huntington, West Virginia. During the Civil War he served as president of the Union Defence Committee of New York, also serving as president of the New York Chamber of Commerce for several years. He died in Brooklyn. *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. VI, 1933 ed., s.v. "Low, Abiel Abbot," by Richard B. Morris.

26. Thomas, "Coal Country," p. 101.

27. Athey, *Kaymoor*, p. 6.

pig iron, made with resources from its own coal mines in West Virginia, from its limestone quarries at Low Moor, and iron ore from its Fenwick, Dolly Ann, Jordan, Rich Patch, Low Moor, and Longdale mines, located near Low Moor and other historic forging towns in western Virginia: Covington and Clifton Forge.²⁸

Between 1878 and 1895 the Low Moor Company expanded tremendously. A second furnace at Covington was operating by 1891, and a third opened at Low Moor by 1911. The Covington area became known as the "Pittsburgh of Virginia."²⁹ By 1917 every mine operating in Allegheny County was owned by the Low Moor Iron Company. The three furnaces were capable of operating on a 24-hour basis, and 8,000 tons of pig iron were blasted every month. Over 50 miles of railway were built in the county, with 42 locomotives to haul the ore. The company boasted a monthly pay roll of \$160,000 and it was a \$3 million concern.³⁰

Opening the West Virginia Mines

The West Virginia coalfields were held in reserve until the late 1890s. The Low Moor Coal Company gained corporation papers in the state of West Virginia in March 1890, with the purpose of acquiring and holding coal lands, of mining, shipping and selling coal, and of making mining leases of parts or all of the coal lands and real estate the corporation should acquire. The corporation papers were to last until January 1, 1940.³¹

In 1899, the Low Moor Iron Company opened a mine in the New River Gorge in order to obtain coal for its blast furnaces in Virginia. Construction began on a railroad siding, tipple, and a mine in a drift entry into the Sewell seam above the New River at Kay Moor. Founded on the South Side Branch of the C&O, the town and mine were laid out within guidelines established by H.G. Merry, general manager of the Low Moor Iron Company. The work was coordinated by James Kay, first superintendent at the site, hence the name, "Kay Moor."³²

The first coal shipment from Kay Moor was made on August 23, 1900. A C&O railroad car carried 58,900 pounds of Sewell coal eastward to the coke ovens at Low Moor.³³ Initial construction of employee housing began in 1901. By November 1904, 338 people were employed at Kay Moor.³⁴ By 1917 the mines at Kay Moor produced 15,000 tons of coal every month, which

28. Matthew P. Marowitz et al., "Guide, The Low Moor Iron Company Papers #662 in the Manuscripts Department of the University of Virginia Library," p. 3, typescript collection guide. Copy available from Manuscripts Department, Alderman Library, University of Virginia.

29. Ibid., pp. 7-8.

30. *Fayette Tribune*, June 21, 1917.

31. "Low Moor Coal Company," Book H, p. 100, Corporations Division, Secretary of State Office, Charleston, West Virginia. The other shareholders in addition to Abiel Abbot Low, were: E.H.R. Lyman, Brooklyn; Samuel E. Huntington, Brooklyn; C. Adolphe Low, New York; A. Augustus Low, Brooklyn; Frank Lyman, Brooklyn; and H.M. Bell, Staunton, Virginia.

32. Athey, *Kaymoor*, pp. 2-3.

33. Ibid.

34. Marowitz et al., "Guide," p. 3.

were largely shipped to Virginia.³⁵ (See appendix 1 for representative shipping statement and appendix 2 for Kay Moor managers.)

Kay Moor soon consisted of an operational mine with coke ovens, known as Kay Moor No. 1, supported by a town built by the Low Moor Iron Company. This company town was located at two sites, at the top (Kay Moor Top) and bottom (Kay Moor Bottom) of the gorge. A second mine and town was opened in 1903, known as Kay Moor No. 2. These mines' coal production was used primarily at the Low Moor furnaces; extra coal was marketed through the Chesapeake & Ohio Coal & Coke Co., with offices in New York, Newport News, Richmond, Cincinnati, Philadelphia, Chicago, and London.³⁶

The financial status of the Low Moor Iron Company fluctuated between 1880 and 1930. The company was one of the largest pig iron producers in the state, but it was not significant in the larger national economic picture. High expectations held for the Virginian iron industry were not met, which left the smokeless coalfields looking elsewhere for markets. The investments in equipment, land, and railroads could not be dismissed, which led to the entry of southern West Virginia's coal into other markets as early as the 1890s. Falling coal prices and labor struggles occurred at the same time. These factors, added to the collapse of the Virginia iron industry and the premature development of the New River and Pocahontas coalfields, contributed to the "chronically chaotic" conditions in the bituminous coal industry.³⁷

The Low Moor Iron Company itself opened the mines at Kay Moor after the Virginia iron industry had passed its peak, and after early belief in the potential for regional development went sour. Southern West Virginia coal mining, however, survived because new markets in the Northeast and Midwest were sought and entered during the 1890s.³⁸

Prices of coal declined during a financial panic in 1907, but Low Moor recovered dramatically during World War I. Problems with labor, procurement, and needed repairs were solved with government aid, yet the problem of supplies and cars for shipments continued to grow.³⁹ The economic picture did not remain rosy, and the post-war downturn seriously hurt the Low Moor Iron Company. Prices for pig iron fell, and a short-lived depression in 1921-1922 shut down its furnaces. Even though one furnace was refired in November 1922 the company never recovered. Talk of merging with two other iron companies was not fulfilled. Liquidation of property occurred, beginning in 1925, in order to provide capital and to specialize in iron production. Part of this liquidation involved selling the Kay Moor coal mines and towns.⁴⁰

The New River and Pocahontas Consolidated Coal and Coke Company purchased 5,000 acres of coal lands from the Low Moor Iron Company on March 1, 1925. At the time of this sale the *Fayette Tribune* reported that Frank Lyman, New York millionaire and son of one of the company's founders, had not realized a profit on the furnaces at Low Moor for several years. The

35. *Fayette Tribune*, June 21, 1917.

36. Neil Robinson, *The Kanawha and New River Coal Fields of West Virginia, U.S.A.* (Charleston, West Virginia: n.p., 1904), pp. 10, 23.

37. Thomas, "Coal Country," pp. 120-121.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 311.

39. Marowitz, "Guide," pp. 8-9.

40. *Ibid.*; Athey, *Kaymoor*, p. 7.

elderly Lyman did not wish to operate the company any longer. After Kay Moor was sold, the Low Moor Iron Company was out of debt with pig iron valued at several thousand dollars in its yards. The Low Moor furnace reportedly was in good condition, and there was a possibility that a purchaser or reorganized company could take over the property and continue the operations. According to the *Fayette Tribune*, "Dissolution of the old company will bring deep regrets from hundreds of old employees who have spent their lives in the organization."⁴¹

Following the sale, reports came that the Low Moor Iron Company was considering abandoning its operations at Low Moor and Covington, Virginia. According to the *Fayette Tribune*, "The Virginia furnaces are unable to compete in the iron market with other plants more favorably situated as to natural shipping advantages for both raw and finished products."⁴² In spite of the hopeful longings for a takeover, the Low Moor Iron Company continued to sell its holdings and finally dissolved in 1930. Unfair increases in freight rates on the C&O, and the discovery of rich iron ore in the Midwest, are reasons given for the demise of the Virginia iron industry. During the early years of the Low Moor Iron Company the conditions for manufacturing iron were favorable, with room around Low Moor for expansion, and the control of raw materials. Outside economics, however, tolled the final bell for the company.⁴³

The outside economics included the dreams of entrepreneurs to develop industry in Virginia and West Virginia. The coalfields and railroads were developed, but further industrial build-up did not occur. The two states lacked the industry to consume the coal, and became conduits for passing the coal to other more industrialized states. The South suffered the same fate; plentiful natural resources did not necessarily mean industry and prosperity. Northern states such as Pennsylvania, New York, and Ohio possessed interregional transportation, had investment capital, and honed business skills. In the South, and the Virginias, the predominantly agrarian economy resisted the change to a commercial-industrial economy.⁴⁴

Another factor was the opening of iron ore ranges in the upper Midwest. The Lake Superior ores were lower in phosphorus than the Virginia ores, and their mining was less expensive since they lay close to the earth surface. The iron ranges of Marquette, Menominee, Gogebic, Vermilion, and Mesabi provided an endless supply of high-grade ore to Northern iron and steelmakers at lower prices.⁴⁵

The mines at Kay Moor fit into these generalized conditions found throughout West Virginia. During the first 25 years of its life, Kay Moor existed for the sole purpose of supplying coal and coke to the Low Moor Iron Company. Extra coal mined which could not be utilized by the Low Moor furnaces was sold, through agents, on the open market, but it was Kay Moor's new owners who were deeply involved with supplying New River smokeless coal on the national and international markets.

41. *Fayette Tribune*, November 18, 1925.

42. *Ibid.*

43. Marowitz, "Guide," pp. 10-12. Box 204 of the Low Moor Iron Company records at the University of Virginia, Charlottesville, contains letters discussing disposition of equipment, brick from the Covington furnace and cranes, cars and rails. See: Papers of the Low Moor Iron Company #662 (LMIC), Manuscripts Division, Special Collections Department, University of Virginia Library (UVAC).

44. Thomas, "Coal Country," pp. 121-122.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 111.

New River and Pocahontas Consolidated Coal and Coke Company

Rumors of the impending sale of Kay Moor appeared in the *Fayette Tribune* as early as April 1924. New River management, including General Superintendent H.M. Bertolet and Charles F. Berwind, inspected the machines and mines at both Kay Moor Nos. 1 and 2. They also tested an undeveloped portion of the property lying on Wolf Creek, and these tests were satisfactory. In 1924 the Kay Moor property was considered to be one of the most valuable on the New River, with more than 5,000 acres, two mines and several hundred coke ovens.⁴⁶

By August 20 the newspaper predicted "final consummation of the sale of the Low Moor Company coal properties" at Kay Moor and Fayetteville within a few weeks. Negotiations had been underway for several months, and the deal closing was awaiting only the completion of the title abstracts.⁴⁷ Despite this prediction, the sale was not finalized until the following year. Two lawyers were hired, John Wehrle of Charleston and Alexander Hamilton of Fayetteville, to oversee all the details of title and deed research for the property sale.⁴⁸

The New River and Pocahontas Consolidated Coal and Coke Company took possession on March 1, 1925. Low Moor Superintendent F. U. Humbert confirmed the sale. According to the *Fayette Tribune* the new company was expected to make "extensive improvements and greatly increase the output of the two mines." One hundred new houses for miners were to be built at Kay Moor Top.⁴⁹

Charles F. Berwind paid \$1,001,000 for the Kay Moor mines, coke ovens, and coal lands. At the time of the sale Frank Lyman was the principal owner of the Low Moor Iron Company. He also headed the Coal Run Land Company, which owned almost all of the coal land in fee on the New River's south side from South Fayette to Thurmond. The Low Moor Iron Company holdings on the New River included 3,000 acres owned in fee and 2,000 acres under lease from the Coal Run Land Company.⁵⁰ Josiah Low, president of the Coal Run Land Company, received \$150,000 for two tracts of 1,684 acres in fee and 407 acres of mineral rights. The Low Moor Iron Company conveyed all 3,000 acres, half of it in fee.⁵¹

46. *Fayette Tribune*, April 16, 1924.

47. *Ibid.*, August 20, 1924.

48. John Wehrle to Low Moor Iron Co., December 4, 1924, LMIC, Acc. 662, Box 16, Folder: 1924 Kay Moor Titles; John Wehrle to A.W. Hamilton, UVAC; Wehrle to New River & Pocahontas Cons. Coal Co., July 8, 1924, *Ibid.*; Wehrle to A.W. Hamilton, September 16, 1924, *Ibid.* On March 13, 1924, presumably in preparation for the sale, J.W. Monteith, manager of mines, reported to F.U. Humbert, general manager in Low Moor, several statistics concerning the Kay Moor mine. Coal recovery was 1,802 tons per foot acre, with the coal being 39 inches in thickness. Monteith believed there was still 21,551,264.94 tons of coal in the solid left on the West Virginia property. Monteith to Humbert, March 13, 1924, *Ibid.* Also in anticipation of the sale, Low Moor management supplied New River and Pocahontas with all of the insurance policies covering Kay Moor. These policies were with a variety of insurance companies including Fidelity and Casualty Company of New York, Colonial Fire Underwriters of Hartford, and the Boston Insurance Company. General Manager to D.A. Newhall, February 20, 1925, LMIC, Box 219, Folder: 1925 Letters #4, UVAC; General Manager to D.A. Newhall, February 25, 1925, *Ibid.*

49. *Fayette Tribune*, February 25, 1925; *Fayette Journal*, February 27, 1925.

50. *Fayette Tribune*, April 16, 1924; *Ibid.*, February 25, 1925.

51. *Ibid.*, November 11, 1925; *Fayette Journal*, November 13, 1925.

The New River and Pocahontas Consolidated Coal Company produced the greatest tonnage of coal in Fayette County in 1923. It operated 10 mines in the county and 9 mines in McDowell County. The New River and Pocahontas was among the top five coal producers in the Flat Top-Pocahontas and New River coalfields, and was a subsidiary of the Berwind-White Coal Mining Company. An office was located at Minden in the Fayetteville district, and another at Layland in the Quinimont district.⁵²

Charles F. Berwind was a nineteenth-century industrialist, raised in a Philadelphia banking family. He became vice-president of the Powellton Coal and Iron Company at age 21, and was a partner of Robert Hare Powell. By 1874 Berwind had reorganized the firm into Berwind-White and Company. He and his brothers – Edward, John, and Harry – gained a dominant position in coal on the Pennsylvania Railroad and supplied coal for every significant New York steamship company.⁵³

When New River and Pocahontas Consolidated Coal and Coke Company purchased Kay Moor the mine and town became only a small aspect of the Berwind-White empire consisting, in 1947, of the Wilmore Steamship Company, the Porto Rico Coal Company, the Kentland Coal and Coke Company, the Atlantic Coal Company of Massachusetts, the Berwind Fuel Company, the Cabell Coal Company, the Eureka Stores, and the Windber Electric Corporation. The Berwinds sought to control coal production from its mining to the retail outlets. Kay Moor, then, was part of a large corporation which was involved with energy production in the international community during the first 50 years of the twentieth century.⁵⁴

Even after Kay Moor was sold the Low Moor Iron Company continued to purchase coal from the mines there, if only for a short time. In November and December 1925 Low Moor management ordered coke at a net price of \$4.00 per ton f.o.b., (meaning free on board, freight charges paid by sender as opposed to cash on delivery) and different sizes of coal.⁵⁵

New River and Pocahontas operated Kay Moor No. 1 until it closed in 1962. Near the end of the mine's operational life, New River and Pocahontas leased it to the Barbara Gale Coal Company, which finished the work.⁵⁶

The coal operators of West Virginia supplied an ever-increasing percentage of coal for the nation's energy needs. They did so, however, at the short-term expense of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) and other unionized coal-producing states, and at the long-term expense of West Virginia's economic health.

52. Peters and Carden, *History*, p. 272; Athey, *Kaymoor*, p. 49. The New River and Pocahontas mines in Fayette County included, in addition to Kay Moor, Minden No. 2, No. 3, and No. 4; and Layland No. 1, No. 2, and No. 3. Phil Conley, *History of the West Virginia Coal Industry* (Charleston, West Virginia: Education Foundation, Inc., 1960), p. 214. It is not known when the company dropped the word "Coke" from its name.

53. Athey, *Kaymoor*, p. 47.

54. Ibid.

55. H.M. Bertolet to Low Moor Iron Company, November 20, 1925, LMIC, Acc. 662, Box 202, folder: Business Correspondence Misc B&U, #6, UVAC; The Low Moor Iron Company of Virginia to Berwind-White Coal Mining Co., December 1, 1925, Ibid.

56. Interview with Virgil Burgess by Paul Nyden, Oak Hill, West Virginia, March 30, 1982, typed transcript, p. 47.2. Copy available at New River Gorge National River (NERI).

Influence of West Virginia Coal Production

In West Virginia itself, few benefits were derived from the exploitation of its chief natural resource. The initial development brought in railroads and shipping facilities, but with the exception of the lumber industry, no other industrial investments were made. The concentration of landholding, together with the area's rough topography, made diversification difficult. Because no local or regional markets were available, West Virginia's coal economy became one of labor intensity with only a single export. Most of the income from the coal industry went to a few men who controlled government and economy, while the local population used its income to purchase the necessities of daily life. According to labor historian Thomas Edward Posey, "But the tragedy of it all is that these resources in most instances have been used to enrich outsiders rather than raise the standard of living of the West Virginians."⁵⁷

The coal industry in southern West Virginia continued to grow even though the hopes for interregional development failed to materialize. The area's topography provided excellent conditions for low cost mining, and the importation of southern blacks and immigrants provided a low cost labor force. The low-volatile coal provided a rich source for steaming and coking, than did coal from other regions. Additionally, southern West Virginia coalfields kept producing even in periods of labor strikes in other states.⁵⁸ Despite this growth, the southern West Virginia region failed to keep up with the rest of the nation both economically and socially.⁵⁹ These same characteristics may be applied to the Appalachian region as a whole.

Throughout the twentieth century southern West Virginia continued to produce one single raw product which was shipped, not to local or regional markets, but to distant ones. The success of the industry deterred a more diversified economy. Income from coal flowed out, into the pockets of out-of-state investors.⁶⁰

A U.S. Geological Survey analyst, Edward W. Parker, surveyed the situation in 1911:

Next to Pennsylvania, West Virginia possesses more wealth in supplies of coking and other high grade material than any other state in the Union, but as long as both the coal and the coke continued to be shipped out of the state, West Virginia will not attain the position she should occupy as a manufacturing state, nor will the miners of coal and makers of coke receive a just return for their products. At the present time, ranking second as a producer of coal and third in the production of coke, West Virginia stands thirty-fourth in the value of her manufactured products.

57. Thomas, "Coal Country," pp. 122-123; Thomas Edward Posey, "The Labor Movement in West Virginia 1900-1948," (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1948), p. 11.

58. Thomas, "Coal Country," pp. 311-312. For sample articles which, in fact, advertised the quality of smokeless coal and high living conditions in the towns, see: "Story of West Virginia's Famous Smokeless Coal Fields," *The West Virginia Review* (June 1926): 290-299; and S.C. Higgins, "The New River Coal Fields The Pioneer Semi-Bituminous Fields of the State," *The West Virginia Review* (October 1927): 26.

59. Thomas, "Coal Country," p. 123. This characterization of the "New South," a region which produces raw material, dominated by absentee owners, and located on the edge of industrialization, is an economic model analyzed by C. Vann Woodward in *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951).

60. Thomas, "Coal Country," pp. 313-314.

The principal beneficiaries of the coal mining and cokemaking industries in the state are transportation companies.⁶¹

The height of bituminous coal production was reached in 1923 when more than 700,000 miners worked in 12,000 mines, producing almost a billion tons. Depression in the industry set in by 1925, and by 1927 mines in Appalachia began to decline. Smaller operations folded first, while the larger companies continued to operate but reduced the size of their production and workforce. When the Great Depression hit, the Appalachian coalfields were filled with hunger, unemployment, and destitution. With the outbreak of World War II coal production recovered, but it never again reached the peak of the 1920s.⁶²

Other factors influenced the fall of southern West Virginia coal. Favorable freight rate differentials on the long-haul transportation of coal had allowed southern operators, including those in West Virginia, to enter the Great Lakes markets. Northern operators brought suit before the Interstate Commerce Commission to change the freight rate structure. They requested a .20-per-ton reduction in their rates to the lake ports. On May 28, 1927, the ICC ruled in favor of the northern operators, and this loss of competitive advantage in the midwestern markets aided in depressing the Appalachian coal industry.⁶³

A decline in market demand for coal accompanied the problems of increased shipping costs and overproduction. Gas and oil began to claim their share of the market. Additionally, mine mechanization occurred quickly after 1915. Most of the larger operations used mining machines by 1930, and mechanization significantly reduced the work force.⁶⁴

The mines at Kay Moor were opened as part of a larger interregional scheme to develop a Virginia iron industry; as this industry failed, Kay Moor became part of another larger market – one with national and international influence. But even as a captive mine for the Low Moor Iron Company, Kay Moor exhibited general characteristics of Appalachian coal mining as a whole. It was a mine worked by native and imported laborers who suffered their share of fatal and near-fatal accidents while welding picks and shovels and coping with mechanization. Kay Moor was also renegade in that its owners banded together with other New River operators to keep labor costs down by keeping the UMWA out of West Virginia mines. The story of the major mine at Kay Moor is woven into larger themes of miner pride and independence, senseless deaths resulting from a dangerous occupation with haphazard safety laws, and the decades-long bloody struggle of the UMWA to unionize the West Virginia coalfields.

61. Edward W. Parker, as quoted in Thomas, "Coal Country," p. 142.

62. Eller, *Miners*, pp. 157-158.

63. As recently as the 1950s there continued to be four major traffic flows of coal from the southern West Virginia smokeless fields: to the tidewater or Virginia, all-rail to the Southeast, all-rail to the West, and to the Great Lakes. For a thorough discussion of the structure of freight rates applicable to these flows, see Merrill, "Economics," beginning on p. 133.

64. Eller, *Miners*, pp. 158-160.

CHAPTER TWO: THE KAY MOOR MINE

For 25 years the Low Moor Iron Company of Low Moor, Virginia, mined coal from the Sewell seam in the New River Gorge at Kay Moor. Two mines were opened, one with a life far exceeding that of its parent company, and another, smaller mine which supplied coal from a thin seam only during peak periods of demand for coal and iron. The coal at Kay Moor was so rich and pure and plentiful that it not only fed the furnaces at Low Moor, but later in its life it probably powered the U.S. Navy as well. When the two mines were sold in 1925 the new owner closed the smaller mine, Kay Moor No. 2, but continued to operate the larger until 1962. The emphasis in this resource study is on the larger mine at Kay Moor, known as Kay Moor No. 1.

Kay Moor No. 1

The Kay Moor No. 1 mine was opened on a south hillside of the New River on the south side branch of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad. It was two miles upstream from the town of South Fayette. (See illustration 1 for map of Kay Moor and vicinity and illustration 4 for map of the Kay Moor mine.) The mine entered the three-foot three-inch Sewell seam outcrop at 1,490 feet elevation. Analyses of the Sewell seam in 1904 revealed the coal at Kay Moor contained 0.96 moisture, 25.14 volatile matter, 71.15 fixed carbon, 2.75 ash, 0.005 phosphorus, and burned at 14,965 B.T.U.¹ The mine was opened by James Kay, who engineered construction of a rail siding and a transport system to carry the coal from the mine entry down the side of the gorge to the railroad next to the river. Coal was removed when the mine's main entry and horizontal air passages were constructed. A 1,000-foot inclined plane on tracks was built to carry the coal from the headhouse at the mine entry level to the tipple next to the railroad. Eight-ton monitors carried the coal down the gorge wall and across a wooden trestle to the tipple. The weight of a descending monitor pulled a second up the wire to the mine entrance.²

Before World War I the techniques involved with mining coal did not change much from the traditional methods. Even though mining machines were in use after 1900, and were used at Kay Moor, most coal was dug with human muscle power, and was loaded by hand. Advanced methods of preparing and cleaning coal did not come until the 1920s.³

Once a mine was opened and a coal seam reached, long corridors were developed. In almost all American deep mines small working areas were opened off the entries. These were called rooms, and pillars were left standing to support the roof in the rooms. This method of coal mining was

1. Ray V. Hennen, *West Virginia Geological Survey*, (Wheeling, West Virginia: Wheeling News Litho., 1919), p. 707. The geologists believed the mine to be "over 30 years old" in 1919. Ibid.; Robinson, *Kanawha and New River Coal Fields*, p. 14. Coal mining consisted of three general types: deep or underground, surface or strip, and punch mining. Punch mining operations occurred in deep mines which are nearly exhausted. The workers blasted out the coal left untouched. All of the coal was loaded and hauled by hand. Underground mines were opened in three different ways, depending upon terrain. Drift mines were opened by digging horizontally into the coal seam; such mines, like Kay Moor, were located on hillsides. Slope mines were opened by tunnels into a hillside, and shaft mines were opened through vertical descents to reach the coal vein. Strip mining is common where the coal vein is close to the surface. The overlying earth is removed with earth-moving equipment, including bulldozers, draglines, and power shovels. Morton S. Baratz, *The Union and the Coal Industry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955; reprint ed., Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, Publishers, 1983), pp. 2-3, 11-12.

2. Athey, *Kaymoor*, p. 9.

3. Thomas, "Coal Country," pp. 217-218.

called the room-and-pillar system.⁴ Kay Moor No. 1 was a room-and-pillar mine, with a main double drift entry and side entries. As rooms were opened huge blocks of coal were left in place after mining to support the roof. In each of the rooms where the mining occurred the miners shoveled coal into cars which mules pulled from the rooms and side entries to the main track and headhouse. After electricity became available electric locomotives hauled the coal cars on the main track.

The actual mining procedure, once the miners reached their working rooms, involved undercutting the coal "face." This made the blasting safer and ensured more production of lump sizes of coal. "Shooting off the solid," involving blasting with no previous cutting, resulted in more breakage of coal. This method also increased the danger of roof collapse. After the face was cut, the miners drilled holes into it to inset the blasting charges. The blast loosened not only coal, but impurities such as slate. Some of the impurities were "gobbed," or pushed aside, while others were removed in the tipple. The coal was then loaded into cars for hauling to the mine mouth.⁵

In August 1916 miners at Kay Moor No. 1 were undercutting coal with air punchers and electric chain cutters. The face was broken with black blasting powder. None of the coal was shipped as run-of-mine (ungraded or unsorted). Screening in the tipple had bar screens spaced four inches apart, and approximately 66 percent of the coal passed through these screens. Smaller bar screens with one-and-one-half inch screens produced egg coal. Three loading tracks had a capacity for 16 empty coal cars and 16 loaded coal cars. Storage bins held 400 tons of screened coal and 600 tons of screenings, or fine coal. The unwashed screenings were sent to the coke ovens. In August 1916 about 500 acres of the company's 10,000 acres of coal lands had been worked. The mine's daily output was 550 tons, with a maximum day's run of 750 tons. The output was expected to be increased to 850 tons "in the near future."⁶

In 1923, two years before Kay Moor was sold, 300 men worked in the two mines. Twelve pick and 102 machine miners produced a total of 143,503 tons of coal. Two mules and 17 electric locomotives hauled the coal dug by nine mining machines.⁷ Once the coal reached the surface it was processed at the tipple. In the first years this tipple was wooden, and the coal was sorted on screens: the slack and lump was used in the coke ovens while the egg and nut coal was shipped to Low Moor.⁸

The mine and coal processing did not always proceed smoothly. In addition to strikes, the Kay Moor mine was sometimes closed because of equipment failure, landslides which covered the C&O tracks, production lulls, or fires.⁹ A fire in April 1913 destroyed the mine's fan house, machine shop, and blacksmith shop. The loss was estimated at \$10,000 with \$3,500 insurance. One fan was not greatly damaged as it was enclosed by a concrete wall; it was repaired and the mine

4. Baratz, *Union*, p. 12.

5. Ibid.

6. Hennen, *West Virginia Geological Study*, note, p. 708.

7. Peters and Carden, *History*, p. 276.

8. Slack coal was a grade of coal which passed through small screens, sized 9/16 inches and 5/8 inches. Lump coal consisted of larger sizes: 1/2 inch x 5/6 inch pea, 5/6 inch x 1 and 3/4 inches nut, 1 and 1/4 inch x 3 inch stove, and 3 inch by 3 and 3/4 inch egg coal.

9. *Fayette Journal*, January 31, 1907; *Fayette Sun*, April 29, 1913; *Fayette Tribune*, July 15, 1915; Ibid., May 20, 1916; Ibid., February 27, 1924; Ibid., April 21, 1926.

resumed operations within four days.¹⁰ In February 1924 another fire at Kay Moor No. 1 destroyed the tippie, crushing plant conveyor, and three storage bins. Some of the coal in the bins was saved and used to keep the coke ovens burning. The incline to the mine was saved by tearing a portion of it out to block the fire's spread. A temporary tippie was soon put into operation.¹¹ A new steel tippie, or processing plant, was completed by April 1926. It was a four-track structure which could handle 250 tons of coal an hour. A new steel coke oven bin was also constructed.¹²

Kay Moor No. 1 was the main producing mine for both the Low Moor Iron Company and the New River and Pocahontas Consolidated Coal Company. As previously mentioned, a second mine, Kay Moor No. 2, was opened but never was as large an operation as Kay Moor No. 1.

Kay Moor No. 2

A second mine on Low Moor Iron Company land within the New River Gorge was opened in 1903. The mine was opened into the Sewell seam at an elevation of 1,290 feet, a quarter-mile downriver from the town of South Fayette, on the south side of the river. The coal seam was three feet, one inch high. The mine was often shut down in times of oversupply to the Low Moor Iron Company; when the mine was visited by geologists for the state geological survey in 1916, Kay Moor No. 2 had been idle for 19 months and was just starting up again. Fifty men were working in the mine. Kay Moor No. 2 fine coal was coked at Low Moor, Virginia, while lump coal was sent east for domestic use.¹³

Sometimes when the mine was closed the miners would move over to the Kay Moor No. 1 operation. In November 1911, most of the 100 laid off men started at the larger mine, while inquiries were made into leasing the closed mine. Operations did not start again until March 1912.¹⁴ When the mine closed again in August 1912 about 40 men sought other work. Further closures occurred in 1916 and 1919, due to slack demand and strikes.¹⁵

A supporting housing community was built for Kay Moor No. 2, located within the incorporate limits of Fayetteville.¹⁶ After the mine was closed in 1926, its passageways served as water drainage for Kay Moor No. 1.¹⁷ The mine presently is filled with cement as it is located directly below the south approach to the New River Gorge Bridge.

10. Fayette *Sun*, April 29, 1913.

11. Fayette *Tribune*, February 27, 1924.

12. Ibid., April 21, 1926.

13. Hennen, *West Virginia Geological Survey*, p. 706. In this report Kay Moor No. 2 was called Low Moor No. 2 mine.

14. Fayette *Tribune*, November 2, 1911; Ibid., March 14, 1912; Fayette *Sun*, March 14, 1912.

15. Fayette *Sun*, August 6, 1912; Fayette *Democrat*, August 15, 1916; Fayette *Tribune*, April 17, 1919; Ibid., May 22, 1919.

16. Fayette *Journal*, September 17, 1903.

17. Athey, *Kaymoor*, p. 13.

Another mine opening was made in May 1904, located near the "mountain wagon road." A "tram road from the lower mine around the side of the mountain" was also built.¹⁸ This mine might have been the "Pinetop Entry" of Kay Moor No. 2. This mine was on the southwest side of "hill road," one-fourth mile south of South Fayette at 1,255 feet elevation. The seam measured three feet, three inches.¹⁹

Kay Moor Coke

Even though regional industrial development in the Virginias did not occur as hoped, coal operators in the smokeless coal regions continued to manufacture coke. Technological change in the industry occurred slowly; American iron makers were reluctant at first to use coke as fuel for their furnaces, and even after they did, cokemakers continued to use wasteful beehive ovens. Urban coke consumers finally innovated with better processes. Cokemaking was separated from coal mining, and relegated to coking plants in the cities. The by-product oven, which was externally heated and could capture the gasses and other by-products, eventually precipitated the demise of the beehive ovens.²⁰

The loss of the coke industry in the New River field had no effect on the use of the area's coal, however. The most suitable coke for use in blast foundries in a by-product oven continued to be made with 20 to 30 percent of the total coal mixture being southern smokeless coal. Southern West Virginia coal stayed in demand.²¹

The New River and Pocahontas coalfields lagged only behind the Connellsville, Pennsylvania region in the production of coke. As early as the 1880s, New River coke was being sold all over the Midwest. By 1902, soon after Kay Moor began operations, 39 companies in southern West Virginia were manufacturing coke in 7,434 ovens. West Virginia coke production reached a peak in 1910 with four million tons. After this time period the by-product ovens were in full use, and the beehive ovens in the New River field were soon closed.²² The coke ovens at Kay Moor were an exception to this general economic condition as these manufactured products went primarily to fire the furnaces at Low Moor.

Cokemaking began at Kay Moor soon after the mine was opened. In June 1901 a battery of 120 coke ovens were completed at Kay Moor at the bottom of the gorge next to the railroad. Foundations for 120 more were also laid, parallel to the first row. Within the year the ovens produced 15,000 tons of coke for use in the Low Moor furnaces. Analyses of 72-hour coke made from Sewell seam coal at Kay Moor in 1904 revealed 0.07 moisture, 1.18 volatile matter, 88.60 fixed carbon, 10.15 ash, 0.54 sulphur and 0.012 phosphorus.²³ The beehive oven was made of firebrick, and was a circular, vaulted chamber with a flat tile bottom. The oven had an opening at

18. Fayette *Journal*, May 19, 1904.

19. Hennen, *West Virginia Geological Survey*, p. 707.

20. Thomas, "Coal Country," pp. 114-115, 117-118.

21. Merrill, "Economics," n.p. The best coking coals were found not only in the New River and Flat Top fields, but in the Connellsville section of western Pennsylvania and at George's Creek, Maryland.

22. Thomas, "Coal Country," pp. 119-120.

23. Athey, *Kaymoor*, p. 14; Robinson, *Kanawha and New River Coal Fields*, p. 15.

the top and an arched door at the bottom. A fire was built inside the oven to heat the firebrick, and the coal was then added from the top from a "larry" car, which ran on tracks on top of the ovens. Spontaneous combustion occurred when the coal touched the hot firebrick. The coal was then slowly burned for 48 or 72 hours with low oxygen. The process of making coke in beehive ovens was inefficient and wasteful. It additionally was highly polluting, with the release of gases into the air which destroyed surrounding vegetation.²⁴

Many workers were needed to tend to the ovens. In the 1920s coke workers at Kay Moor included the following: three foremen, two machine runners, four men changing cars, two men dropping cars, three men dumping coke, one ash man, one car dropper, one shaker man, one engineer, two brakemen, one man dropping cars on new block, two men carrying coal in sacks for machine, one man draughting ovens, four men watering ovens, and one man hauling load. Workers were also needed to clean, level, and daub the ovens. A charger and a helper were hired as well to hand draw the ovens.²⁵

These first ovens at Kay Moor were used, even in a state of disrepair, until World War I, when demand dictated more be built. The Janutolo Construction Company of Fayetteville, West Virginia, built 59 new ovens the same size, shape, and dimensions equal to the ovens already at the site in March 1917. A local newspaper reported 20 more ovens were being built in June 1917, "making a total of 202 ovens."²⁶

During World War I, 202 coke ovens operated at full capacity at Kay Moor. Electric-powered coke extractors were then purchased to replace the steam-driven machines. Kay Moor coke production reached its peak production of 70,000 tons per year. During its life-time the Kay Moor coke ovens produced 1,208,776 tons of coke.²⁷ (See illustrations 2 and 3 for Kay Moor coke operations and appendix 3 for Kay Moor coal and coke production.)

These ovens were in use until 1935, when closed by the New River and Pocahontas Consolidated Coal Company.²⁸ The beehive ovens could not compete with the newer, efficient gas-fired furnaces or ovens which could recycle exhaust gases and capture byproducts.²⁹

24. Thomas, "Coal Country," pp. 116-117.

25. "Report on Kaymoor Mine," n.d., LMIC, Acc. 662, Box 147, Folder: 1920-1927 Misc U-W Low Moor #7, UVAC. It is not known how many ovens these men were tending, as the numbers utilized in the 1920s varied.

26. A. Janutolo & Company to The Low Moor Iron Co., of Va., (March 1917, penciled notation), LMIC, Acc. 662, Box 10A, Folder: 1917 Kay Low Moor, UVAC; *Fayette Tribune*, June 14, 1917. References to all of the coke oven construction were obviously not correct since the three known constructions, of 120 ovens in 1901, 159 and 20 ovens in 1917 do not add up to 202, the total number of ovens at Kay Moor.

27. Athey, *Kaymoor*, p. 16; *Fayette Tribune*, February 20, 1919.

28. Former Kay Moor employee Virgil Burgess remembered the coke ovens being closed in 1933. Interview with Virgil Burgess, p. 47.4.

29. For a history of beehive cokemaking in the New River Gorge, see: Louis L. Athey, "A Kind of Pittsburgh: Beehive Coke Making in the New River Gorge" in *Proceedings New River Symposium*, Beckley, West Virginia, May 6-8, 1982. Copy available at NERI.

The Miners

Local mountaineers were not numerous enough to supply labor in the southern West Virginia mines, so the coal operators imported a workforce. Labor agents were sent to east coast immigration ports, and sometimes even across the Atlantic Ocean to recruit European labor. Another source of physical working power was southern blacks. From 1880 to 1910 West Virginia's population of black miners increased from zero to 12,000. All but a few hundred labored in the southern West Virginia coal mines. Immigrants tell the same story; in 1880 the state could only boast 924 European immigrant miners, a number which increased to 28,000 by 1910.³⁰

In the first few years of Kay Moor's operation, most of its miners were recruited from surrounding coal areas in West Virginia, Kentucky, and Virginia. The 1910 census revealed that many of the Kay Moor inhabitants emigrated from these neighboring states. The Low Moor Iron Company also relied on its own managers and professional recruiters to obtain southern black and European immigrant labor. The workforce at Kay Moor was thus composed of native West Virginians, emigrants from nearby states, southern blacks, and southern and eastern European immigrants. (See appendix 4 for the 1910 census.)

Immigrant Miners

The early British immigrant miners had a profound impact on the coal mining industry. Their ideas and traditions helped define the shape of the industry in America. Paying a portion of wages in material goods was a British tradition, as well as miners supplying their own tools and blasting powder. Also British in origin was the tradition of paying miners according to the tonnage of coal they loaded. Several of the early West Virginia coal operators were British who brought countrymen with them after years of experience in the Pennsylvania anthracite fields. The British usually immigrated with their families, which helped establish stability in the coal towns. The unsuccessful 1902 strike in Pennsylvania and West Virginia precipitated the moving of many British to unionized coal regions, and by 1910 less than 1,000 British miners worked in southern West Virginia. When they left they took with them the sense and meaning of union solidarity and unity.³¹ It was a loss which would haunt the United Mine Workers of America for decades.

West Virginians were first interested in attracting immigrants to the state in the early 1870s. The first immigrants were farmers, but their numbers remained few. The large waves of southern or eastern European immigrants began arriving between 1900 and 1917. They grew to number more than half the entire coal industry workforce.³²

The immigrant miners arrived at the southern West Virginia mines in a variety of ways; some were attracted by relatives who had arrived earlier, others were attracted by the high wages paid in the mines. Still others were recruited by coal company or labor company agents who met them in their native lands. The companies sometimes offered good wages, citizenship, free transportation and an advance on wages. Other companies recruited the workers at Ellis Island in

30. Corbin, *Miners*, p. 8.

31. Thomas, "Coal Country," pp. 189-190.

32. Kenneth R. Bailey, "A Judicious Mixture: Negroes and Immigrants in the West Virginia Mines, 1880-1917," in *Blacks in Appalachia* ed. by William H. Turner and Edward J. Cabbell (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1985), p. 118; Thomas, "Coal Country," p. 191.

New York City. The agents were often recent immigrants themselves. In many instances the immigrants were led to believe that West Virginia was only a short distance from New York.³³

The coal companies often brought the men "on transportation" to West Virginia. Transportation was provided and the immigrants then were worked as long as possible to recover the costs. While it is true that many immigrants fully intended to work in the mines to pay their transportation costs, others who did not wish to remain employed in the coal mines were held against their will. They were held in "debt peonage."³⁴

Reports of debt peonage and murders of immigrants led to the creation of an immigration bureau. An immigration commissioner, paid by the coal companies, then visited England and Wales, looking for prospective miners. This commissioner's activities were investigated by the United States Senate after the 1912-1913 Paint Creek strike, and the government did not consider West Virginia mines to be safe enough for any miners, let alone immigrant miners. It opposed any further recruitment into West Virginia until the mines met UMWA requirements. Nevertheless, the immigration commissioner continued to attract foreign workers to West Virginia.³⁵

As the immigrants kept coming into the state questions were raised as to the value of their work. Many West Virginia newspapers praised the immigrants' industrious ways, while others feared the influx would undermine the wages and living conditions of the native-born Americans. Nativism still came forth, however, especially during strikes. A labor shortage occurred during World War I, when many immigrants who were reservists returned home to fight. A June 1915 estimate was that West Virginia and Pennsylvania had lost a total of 15,000 miners. Usually this would not have been a problem, but the war effectively cut off further immigration. The labor problem was partially solved with the importation of southern blacks.³⁶

Many of the first immigrants who arrived in the fields were either single or left their families behind. They often worked to save money to pay passage for their loved ones. Wives contributed to the family income by taking in boarders and doing laundry. The entire household contributed toward the purchase of beer on pay days, and holidays were suitably celebrated. It was noticed that the immigrants generally spent less on liquor than did the blacks or native whites.³⁷

According to historian Kenneth R. Bailey, coal companies liked to recruit both immigrants and blacks so there would be a "judicious mixture" of these groups and the native white miners. The companies would then try to use one group against the others to foil unionization attempts.³⁸

The largest immigrant group in the New River field were the Italians. Many arrived to work for the railroad and stayed as miners. Additional Italians arrived as strikebreakers in 1902. They

33. Bailey, "Judicious," pp. 118-119.

34. Ibid., pp. 119-120.

35. Ibid., pp. 122-123.

36. Ibid., pp. 124-125.

37. Ibid., p. 125.

38. Ibid., p. 127.

soon established a reputation for hard work, thrift, and they saved to bring families over from Italy. Many Italians were skilled masons, and were sought to build coke ovens and stone structures.³⁹

Magyars, from the Austro-Hungarian empire, were the second largest immigrant group in the New River field. They worked almost exclusively as pick-miners. Other representative immigrant workers included Germans, Croatians, and Serbs. Most of these immigrants came from agrarian, rural backgrounds, and in 1910 only 10 percent of them had any mining experience in Europe. Many had never before worked for wages.⁴⁰

From 1907 to 1911 the United States Immigration Commission, also called the Dillingham Commission, studied the effects of immigration in the southern West Virginia coalfields. One prominent finding was that job hierarchies did exist based on ethnicity and race. Native whites continued to move from coal digging into supervisory or day-wage positions. Immigrants and blacks continued to draw coke, load, and pick mine at piece rate wages.⁴¹

As soon as large numbers of immigrants moved into the coalfields the native white Americans began to move out, either to escape the ethnically mixed coal towns or to seek higher wages in unionized coal regions. The UMW possessed the same attitude toward the southern and eastern Europeans as it did toward black miners. The union's president, John Mitchell, believed the immigrants drove down wages and took jobs away from American whites. However, the union had to embrace the foreign workers in its unionization efforts.⁴²

A number of immigrants worked the Kay Moor mine throughout its history. It is not known how they arrived at Kay Moor, or by what means they learned of the available work there, but it is known that some of them were recruited by professional employment agencies as well as by Low Moor management.

In 1907 Atwood's Employment Agency of Chicago, Illinois, run by Mrs. S.J. Atwood, recruited both black and white workers for the Low Moor Iron Company. The company obtained black labor from Roanoke, Virginia, while "Polanders" and Russians were obtained from Philadelphia. The charge for each man was \$3.00.⁴³ It could not be ascertained from the correspondence whether these men were sent to work at Kay Moor or at Low Moor.

Low Moor management also personally recruited workers on occasion. Ed D. Wickes, superintendent at Kay Moor, wrote his father George T. Wickes, manager of mines at Covington in April 1906 about the latest group of recruits:

39. Thomas, "Coal Country," pp. 194-195.

40. Ibid., p. 197. The United States Coal and Coke Company, with mines in McDowell County, West Virginia, adopted the moving picture as a way of instructing its employees, native and immigrant, in the techniques of mining. See Frank H. Kneeland, "The Moving Picture in Coal Mining," *Coal Age* 5, no. 26, (June 27, 1914): 1036-1040.

41. Thomas, "Coal Country," p. 198-199.

42. Ibid., p. 199. An excellent study of immigrant labor in the Pennsylvania anthracite fields may be found in Donald L. Miller and Richard E. Sharpless, *The Kingdom of Coal Work. Enterprise, and Ethnic Communities in the Mine Fields* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985). This study may be used in comparing conditions in the West Virginia bituminous fields.

43. Atwood's Employment Agency to Low Moor Iron Co., May 28, 1907, LMIC, Acc. 662, Box 79, Folder: 1907-1907, #8, Low Moor Employment Correspondence, UVAC.

Tony arrived with twenty one men last night. One got away in Jersey City, two in Washington, four at Charlottesville.

Some of the men are very good looking, but it is the worst lot I have seen, taken as a whole: Irish, German-Jews, and Italians. I got seven started in the mine the first thing this morning: the others will go in Monday. Five Italians promise to be all O.K., and as they will be apt to send for their friends after a time, we may get out even in the long run, but I don't see how Tony slipped up so. The only way it seems to me to be sure of what I am getting is to go myself. Our New York transportations for this place have never proved a success. The first lot I got last week will turn out pretty well from present indications, but they are all green and I have to take good men to run them. This *last* lot, some of them have not ever been accustomed to hard work. I have great hopes, however.⁴⁴

Relations between the immigrants and management at Kay Moor were not always harmonious. Ed D. Wickes related an incident in a letter dated May 9, 1906:

We are still having trouble with our green foreigners: they wont work when they are on Company time, and they wont work for contractors, so I gave out checks and assigned them working places; they all want the best places and seem to think we have got to take care of them at \$2.00 per day, they todo [sic] as they please. Day before yesterday I got 9 of them together and got an interpreter and tried to show them how much they could earn, either by working for contractors or by contracting for themselves, and yesterday, they went into contract. Last night a lot of them came to me saying "No coal cut." This morning I went in to see and found plenty of coal ready to load. So it goes, but they require a lot of patience. Our over-drafts are very heavy on last month's roll, on account of this transportation, and I expect we stand to lose about \$300.00 on the two lots from N.Y.⁴⁵

The 1910 census revealed that the immigrants living in the Kay Moor precinct were from England, Italy, Bulgaria, and Turkey. Most of the Italians worked as laborers in coke yards, a few were laborers in a mine, while one was a mason. However, it cannot be ascertained from the census whether these immigrants were working at the Kay Moor mine in 1910. Payrolls for Kay Moor were not found for 1910, but are available for 1915 and 1925. Such detailed matching of residents and mine employees will be needed to be done in the future if more material is found in the Low Moor records or when the 1920 census becomes available. However, it is known that many of Italian workers were single male boarders. The one Englishman served as a foreman in a mine; the Bulgarians and Turks were laborers in a coke yard. (See appendix 5 for nationalities of Kay Moor employees.)

Black Miners

When West Virginia coal mines were first opened the labor force consisted of native, white Americans who left their farms to enter the mines. Blacks were probably employed in West Virginia

44. Wickes to Wickes, April 7, 1906, LMIC, Acc. 662, Box 87, Folder: 1905-1906, #2, George T. Wickes, UVAC.

45. Wickes to Wickes, May 9, 1906, LMIC, Acc. 662, Box 87, Folder: 1906, #1, George Wickes, UVAC.

mines either as slaves or free men as early as the early nineteenth century in the Great Kanawha Valley. In the northern and midwestern mines black miners were few, and were usually hired only as strikebreakers. In the smokeless fields, however, the extensive use of black labor was an apparent distinguishing characteristic. Black labor was welcomed during the C&O construction and when the New River coalfields opened after 1873 the black populations in southern West Virginia increased dramatically. Many blacks stayed in the state after the railroad's completion to work in the mines. Almost 10,000 black miners labored in Fayette, Raleigh, Mercer, and McDowell counties in 1909, with almost half of these in McDowell County. Forty-three percent of all black miners in the United States in 1920 could be found in West Virginia.⁴⁶

Most of the black miners were emigrants into West Virginia. A 1936 study of 600 black miners revealed that only 14 percent were born in West Virginia. Virginians numbered 47.8 percent; 11.8 percent were from North Carolina; 11.2 percent from Alabama; 4.5 percent from Tennessee; 3.3 percent from Georgia; 2.5 percent from South Carolina; and the remaining 4.9 percent from other southern and northern states.⁴⁷

They came for many reasons. Often, economic conditions forced them to leave their homes. Bad farming conditions led many sharecroppers to look elsewhere for work, and they made much more money in the coal fields. The opportunity for better schooling for children and less oppression was another attraction of West Virginia, while young men were lured by the new experiences life in the coal mines offered.⁴⁸ Some problems did emerge because the blacks were so used to severe oppression that they were content with the conditions in the coal fields, and did not question their pay or question the coal operators' authority. They left behind lives of abuse in the southern states.⁴⁹

Schooling for their children was a benefit of working in the southern West Virginia coal mines. The blacks took advantage of the opportunity and sent their children to the grade schools, high schools, and even colleges. Most of the enrollees at the Bluefield State Teachers College and West Virginia State College, both black schools, in 1936 were the children of miners.⁵⁰

The blacks held both skilled and unskilled positions in the industry. The largest number of blacks were inside labor, being coal loaders, brakemen, trackmen, motormen, and machine men. Few worked outside labor, doing the surface work in preparing the coal for shipment or maintaining equipment. Even fewer were in positions of authority. The reasons for this included prejudice on the part of whites and the jealousy of other blacks. Black bosses faced white opposition, the distrust of their employers, and the anger of fellow blacks who expected special treatment. The blacks were considered to be good workers and "more easily handled."⁵¹ This was considered to be true because

46. James T. Laing, "The Negro Miner in West Virginia," *Social Forces* 14 (1936): 417; Bailey, "Judicious," p. 117; Thomas, "Coal Country," pp. 178-179. Thomas believed the history of blacks in the smokeless fields was difficult to relate, as very little primary source material produced by the blacks themselves existed. Contemporary white sources were usually coated with the white supremacist attitudes of the time period. A black newspaper began publication in 1904 at Elkhorn, in McDowell County. By 1913 the McDowell *Times* had 5,000 subscribers. *Ibid.*, pp. 182-184.

47. Laing, "Negro Miner," 417-418.

48. *Ibid.*, 418.

49. Corbin, *Life*, pp. 62, 73.

50. Laing, "Negro Miner," 420.

51. *Ibid.*, 418-419.

the blacks were not responsive to the promises of labor. Coal operators were encouraged to hire blacks to stave off labor trouble.⁵²

Blacks became the pawns in the labor struggles in several different ways. They were used against the immigrant and native whites in an effort to forestall unionism, and they were hired to replace striking miners. Their use as strikebreakers posed a difficult dilemma for the UMWA. Coal operators often used race issues as a way to undermine striking miners.⁵³

The UMWA worked very strenuously to recruit black miners because it was the union's policy to unite all miners, regardless of color or nationality. The union also tried to achieve equality through the employment of black district organizers to help recruit black miners. The labor newspapers, including the *United Mine Worker's Journal*, wrote about black miners and never referred to them as "darkies" or "niggers." The union wanted equality for the blacks because separate wage scales for whites and blacks were too difficult to negotiate in a contract. Strikes were also harder to conduct if a significant portion of the miners were excluded. Blacks were assured equality as members of the rank and file, if not as officers.⁵⁴

In spite of prejudice and the lack of any real opportunity for advancement within the mining hierarchy, there was little difference in the hours worked or the daily tonnage produced on the part of both white and black American workers. Thirty-five to forty hours was the average workweek, with two to three tons the average daily tonnage. The competition, on the other hand, came from the immigrant miners, who worked 40 to 50 hours each week and produced more tonnage per day. The discrepancy between workers occurred not between white and black Americans, but between American and immigrant workers.⁵⁵

In spite of the influence of the UMWA, miners in company towns formed a collective sense of being. Life in a company town gave the coal operators control over the miners but it also provided an environment which fostered a different kind of culture, based not on ethnicity or race, but on occupation. A social hierarchy based on race did not develop. Instead, the miners developed a class behavior which focused on their common oppressor – the coal operator. Interracial solidarity was often the result.⁵⁶

In the years after the turn of the century racial violence often occurred in the northern cities with the migration of thousands of southern blacks who soon competed for jobs. Race riots exploded in East St. Louis, Illinois; Newark; Philadelphia; Washington, D.C.; Omaha; and Chicago. Many northern labor unions refused black members. In southern West Virginia, however, major racial problems did not emerge. Part of the reason lies in the fact that southern black sharecroppers moved essentially into another rural way of life, instead of into cities.⁵⁷

52. Bailey, "Judicious," p. 129.

53. Darold T. Barnum, *The Negro in the Bituminous Coal Mining Industry* Report #14, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970), p. 19.

54. Barnum, *Negro*, p. 22; Bailey, "Judicious," p. 130.

55. Thomas, "Coal Country," p. 182.

56. Corbin, *Life*, p. 61.

57. *Ibid.*, p. 62.

Another reason for the lack of racial strife was the controlled economics of the company town which prevented competition. In northern cities blacks were in the lowest paid menial jobs, and violence often occurred when they tried to better themselves, which resulted in outright competition with whites. In the southern West Virginia coal towns, however, the controlled competition led to equal pay for equal work. Over the years whites no longer expected the blacks to receive lower wages or possess lower status. The status of both groups became more equal, accompanied by a decrease in racial tension.⁵⁸

Additionally, until 1920 there was a shortage of labor in the West Virginia coalfields despite the influx of black workers. Thus there was no competition for jobs, nor did the blacks depress the job market. Because the work was piece-work, miners were paid for the work they did, and not on their race.⁵⁹ Another factor promoting racial harmony was the close proximity within which the miners worked. They worked side by side and faced the common dangers together.

Relations between the UMWA and black miners were, in the words of several authors, "excellent example[s] of intergroup relations." Mine operators, trying to keep out the union, told black workers that in Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, few black miners were employed because of the union's presence. This was true due to the "white only" clauses in the constitutions of most labor unions from 1890-1925. But this was not true in the case of the UMWA, which was against discrimination.⁶⁰

Discrimination did exist in the union, but there were still many reasons why blacks joined. The union offered opportunities for higher wages, shorter hours and better working conditions. Additionally, the union fought the Ku Klux Klan which attacked not only blacks but the foreign-born. In 1924 UMWA members were prohibited from joining the klan.⁶¹

According to Thomas Edward Posey, writing in 1948:

One of the major contributions of the United Mine Workers to West Virginia has been in the field of race relations. The Negro miner is intensely loyal to the United Mine Workers Union. Because of his membership, he has been given a sense of importance, of belonging, of being a real human being fighting shoulder to shoulder with his White brother in a common cause. In many of the United Mine Workers locals, Negroes are presidents, secretaries, and other officials even though the majority of the membership is white. This equalitarian treatment of the Negro by the organization causes the Negro community to consider the United Mine Workers as their most valuable ally in their fight for first-class citizenship.⁶²

58. Ibid., pp. 62-63; Laing, "Negro Miner," 422.

59. Corbin, *Life*, p. 64.

60. Charles W. Simmons, John R. Rankin, and U.G. Carter, "Negro Coal Miners in West Virginia, 1875-1925," *Midwest Journal* 6 no. 1 (Spring 1954): 66.

61. Ibid., 67.

62. Posey, *Labor Movement*, p. 27.

Black migration to the coalfields involved the entire family. There were few unmarried black men in the fields. Men sometimes worked for years to bring their families north into the coalfields, and the patriarchal nuclear family was sustained because the males remained the chief breadwinners. The men had to work to keep their company housing. Women were not allowed into the mines, and therefore could contribute economically to the family only through taking in boarders or doing laundry.⁶³ Coal company policies also strengthened the family group as married men, considered to be less mobile, were preferred in hiring. During slack times workers were laid off according to their marriage status, and not according to color. Married men also tended to be good union men because they viewed the coalfields as permanent homes, and during strikes the families were there for sustenance.⁶⁴

The cohesive union spirit which eventually emerged among the West Virginia miners also included the blacks. Initially content with the relative lack of discrimination and higher wages, the blacks soon changed their minds after encountering the controlling practices of the coal operators. The social, political, and economic power held over them reminded the black miners of slavery, yet the slavery was now based on class, not color.⁶⁵

The large number of black miners between 1890 and 1930 was due to the need for laborers and the use of blacks as a buffer against unionization. During and after the Great Depression, however, these factors were not present. The numbers of blacks did not increase, but actually decreased in the 1930s and 1940s. One of the principal causes for the decrease was continuing mine mechanization.⁶⁶

The invention of mechanical loaders accounted for 20 percent of Southern Appalachian underground loading by 1940 and more than 50 percent of the loading by 1950. Mechanization in the mines resulted in the layoff of hand workers, despite seniority, while mechanization-created jobs were unaffected. Thus, a higher proportion of blacks lost their jobs. Black miners had a more difficult time finding work after being laid off than did white miners.⁶⁷

The 1910 census revealed a large percentage of blacks living in the Kay Moor district; in 1923 it was 50 percent. Most of the parents emigrated from Virginia, North Carolina, and Kentucky, while their children were born in West Virginia. Single male boarders were also mostly emigrants. (See appendix 4 for 1910 census.) Once again, it is impossible to tell from the census if the blacks who lived in the Kay Moor precinct were employed in the Kay Moor mine. It is not known by what means, both verbally and physically, the black workers arrived at Kay Moor, but some were possibly recruited.

George W. Rison, a black proprietor of a real estate and employment bureau in Danville, Virginia, sought black workers for the Low Moor Iron Company. However, surviving Low Moor

63. In 1924 West Virginia had the highest percentage of black men and the lowest percentage of black women employed in the United States. Corbin, *Life*, footnote, p. 82.

64. Ibid., p. 65-66; Laing, "Negro Miners," 420.

65. Corbin, *Life*, p. 77. See also: William H. Turner and Edward J. Cabbell, *Blacks in Appalachia* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1985).

66. Barnum, *Negro*, p. 27.

67. Ibid., p. 29.

records do not indicate whether these workers were employed at Kay Moor or in the mines at Low Moor. In March 1902 Rison promised he could supply 20 to 30 men per week.⁶⁸

In January 1919 a problem arose at Kay Moor which revealed not only the attitude of management toward black workers, but the relationship between blacks and the UMWA. Kay Moor Superintendent E.M. Cabell explained the incident to manager of mines, J.W. Monteith, in Low Moor. His letter included a reference to earlier racial problems with serious consequences which had occurred at the mine. Evidently the local chapter of the union claimed to have an agreement with mine management wherein brakemen would be promoted to motormen, and that each man would be ranked according to seniority. The union also claimed that motormen who had been promoted to any number of other positions would then lose their rights on the motors. Cabell knew nothing of such agreements:

It was reported the other day that Fritz King who runs one of the main line motors, had quit. The representatives of the Union investigated and reported that the next man entitled to this motor was Mat Claytor, a colored boy, provided of course he was capable of running the motor. According to their report this would put Alex Hayes, one of our best Gathering Motormen, back to breaking. A Committee of the Union then notified the Mine Foreman and demanded that they put Mat Claytor on the motor, or at least give him a trial and if he was capable he would be entitled to the run. When this was reported to me [sic] I told the Mine Foreman that I did not know of any such agreement and could not render any decision unless authorized to do so by you, . . . but I persuaded them to go to work and a fair and just decision would be made. The men then agreed for the time being to let Alex Hayes run the main line motor, which he did, and is now doing.

The real trouble, however, is that the Union is split half and half between the whites and blacks until it has reached almost the point of a feud. There are so many rumors, such as the Boss Motorman is trying to Jim Crow the main line and that the Company will not allow the colored men to run the main line motor. It is also reported that Geo. Lavender said he would not weigh coal hauled on the main line by colored motormen. As these feuds between the whites and colored have resulted very seriously in the past, I think it quite a delicate situation to handle and I fear it might very materially effect our Company. I have used my best influence to keep down any trouble.

It now appears that Fritz King was only sick and had not quit and he is expected to commence work again Monday morning, and for the time being I hope the trouble with the Motormen is over. But this does not get away from the fact that we may have trouble at any time between the whites and colored people but I think this is rather a question for the union to decide and I hope that the Company can keep out of it, as some of our best men, both coal loaders and gathering motormen are colored men.⁶⁹

68. Geo. W. Rison to The Low Moor Iron Co. of Virginia, March 14, 1902, LMIC, Acc. 662, Box 244, Folder: Rison George W., Correspondence and Business Card re his black Real Estate Agency and Employment bureau, UVAC. Box 34 was listed in the Low Moor collection guide as containing information concerning the George W. Rison employment agency, but at the time of the author's visit in 1986 it did not. The papers were apparently missing.

69. Cabell to Monteith, January 24, 1919, LMIC, Acc. 662, Box 17, Folder: 1918 Dec-1919 April E.M. Cabell, Low Moor, UVAC.

It is impossible to tell without further documentation just how good racial relations were in Kay Moor over the years. Segregation did exist in community facilities, and occasionally in housing. Problems apparently arose even in the mine, centering on the union and promotion potential for black employees. Yet the closeness of the townspeople, because of the nature of mining work, probably helped achieve a higher degree of interaction, coexistence, and possibly acceptance not seen in the larger urban communities of the time. Former Kay Moor residents, both black and white, attest to the good relations. (See appendix 6 for numbers of men employed at Kay Moor No. 1, appendix 7 for 1915 Kay Moor employees and appendix 8 for 1925 payroll list.)

Mine Safety

West Virginia coal mines were the most dangerous in the United States. The highest death rate in the country's coal-producing states existed in West Virginia mines between 1890-1912. The state's mine-accident death rate was five times greater than in European countries. During World War I southern West Virginia coal miners had a higher death rate than the American Expeditionary Force.⁷⁰

West Virginia's mine safety laws were rudimentary for decades because of the weak unions and the politically powerful operators. Government attitude toward safety in the industry was laissez faire at best. Victims of accidents were routinely blamed for their injuries; carelessness and inexperience being to blame. Additional hazardous conditions existed because many immigrant miners did not understand English.⁷¹

A miner in the fields for any length of time usually suffered several serious injuries. The nature of the work contributed to the high accident rate. Strict supervision was difficult or inadequate, and there was the "miner's freedom." Miners themselves took unnecessary chances in their haste to finish their work. Most mine operations forbid the deliberate igniting or flashing of accumulated gases in the mine rooms. Sometimes miners skipped the step of undercutting the coal face before blasting. This "shooting off the solid" was dangerous because it weakened the roof and created heavy accumulations of coal dust.⁷²

The principal bituminous coal mine hazard was falls of roof and coal, second was danger associated with underground transportation, and explosions were third. The mine explosions received much attention because of the numbers of men involved, but deaths of this nature were only 12 percent of the total in 1923.⁷³

70. Corbin, *Miners*, p. 10; In 1923 the U.S. Coal Commission stated that, according to insurance rates in Ohio and Pennsylvania, only 10 percent of all occupations had a higher accident rate than bituminous mining. These occupations included: steel erection, concrete working, railroad operation, junk dealing and window cleaning. Edward Eyre Hunt, F.G. Tryon, and Joseph H. Willits, eds., *What the Coal Commission Found* (Baltimore: The Williams & Wilkins Company, 1925), p. 162.

71. Rice, *West Virginia*, p. 236; Corbin, *Life*, p. 16. In 1923 the U.S. Coal Commission advised: "Inability to read and understand printed and written instructions, and lack of sufficient knowledge of English to understand even the spoken language, has been among the indirect causes of accidents; and insistence on ability at least to understand spoken English should be made a condition of employment in so dangerous an industry as coal mining; or the employees should work under the direction of a foreman who speaks their language." U.S. Senate, 68th Congress, 2d Session. *Report of the United States Coal Commission* (Doc. 195, Part I). Washington: Government Printing Office, 1925. (Serial Set 8402, pt. 1), p. 152.

72. Miller and Sharpless, *Kingdom*, pp. 108-109; Thomas, "Coal Country," p. 219.

73. Senate, *Report*, Part I, p. 149.

Slate falls caused the most accidents. Improper roof supports, roofs weakened by shooting off the solid, and geologically imperfect roofs caused tons of rock and debris to fall. The weight of the slate and coal which came crashing down would sometimes flatten a man into the ground. Survivors of roof falls often suffered crushed spines or mutilated limbs which had to be amputated. Occasionally miners would get caught in their own blasts. Unreliable fuses were used before the introduction of electric detonators. Fuses would sometimes smolder instead of igniting the powder inside the tamped hole. When the miner went to check the fuse, thinking it had gone out, hundreds of pounds of coal would be blasted into his direction. Coal dust blown into a miner's eyes could cause blindness. The near-dark conditions in mines also contributed to accidents. A miner's lamp lit only the area directly in front of him. He might not see or hear an approaching coal car and be crushed between a coal car and some timbering. Safety conditions worsened, not improved, after electricity was introduced into the mines. Electrocutions from live wires hanging from the mine roofs caused shocks or death.⁷⁴

Large losses of life occurred in explosions or mine fires. In the 1880s it was discovered that coal dust, when stirred up by constant motion during the mining process, could be highly volatile when mixed with methane gas. The problem of dangerous coal dust in dry, non-gaseous mines, which drift mines, including Kay Moor, tended to be, was ignored for many years because most mines in southern West Virginia were usually small operations which generated little coal dust.⁷⁵

The West Virginia state legislature created the office of mine inspector in 1883 and required annual reports on the condition of each mine and on the causes of all incidents. However, the mine inspector had no power to prosecute mine operators who operated unsafe mines and it was impossible for the inspector to report on every mine in West Virginia.⁷⁶

As the size of mining operations increased and mechanization was introduced the frequency of major mine disasters increased. After the May 6, 1900, explosion at the Red Ash mine in Fayette County the state legislature passed a requirement that gaseous mines have a fire boss on duty to inspect the mine for gas before every shift. Mine bosses were also required to keep watch over the mining operations. This legislation ignored the problem of dry coal dust, however, and explosions kept occurring in the New River field.⁷⁷

Mine safety laws were slow in coming, but they were passed during the Progressive Era. A mining commission appointed in 1906 was wracked with recriminations on the part of both operator and miner representatives. The commission's majority report sought stronger safety laws, but still placed blame for major disasters on the backs of 78 inexperienced miners.⁷⁸ In 1907 the state legislature did pass comprehensive laws which spelled out responsibilities for safety conditions in the mines. A state department of mines was established and the new mining code specified standards for ventilation, the watering down of mines to settle coal dust, forbade the use of steam locomotives inside mines and set age 14 as minimum age for working boys. The chief of the department of mines had the authority to close mines found violating the code. More legislation did not follow until 1915, when several safety features were passed. However, the state did nothing,

74. Thomas, "Coal Country," p. 229; Miller and Sharpless, *Kingdom*, p. 109.

75. Thomas, "Coal Country," p. 220. See also: Caudill, *Night*, pp. 118-122.

76. Thomas, "Coal Country," p. 220.

77. *Ibid.*, pp. 220-221.

78. *Ibid.*, p. 222.

either in 1907 or 1915, to curb or control the dangerous practice of solid-shooting. The state mine inspector, John Laing, took it upon himself to require the use of competent shot-firers. He permitted only approved explosives in unwatered and dusty mines, and he required examinations for mine foremen and fire bosses.⁷⁹

Many coal operators in West Virginia began to agitate for federal mine safety laws so they would not be hampered by state laws which would place them at a disadvantage of operators in other states not possessing the same legislation. Their efforts helped establish the United States Department of Mines in 1910.⁸⁰ Even so, mine inspectors, those responsible for safety in the mines, were often unqualified as they were chosen through patronage systems.⁸¹

Coal companies were usually free from prosecution. Up until 1904 there were no safety violation prosecutions in the state, and none after 1912. In 1910, 159 prosecutions out of 163 were against individual miners. Prosecutions against companies were often blocked by the coal operators, who controlled the courts. District inspectors were sometimes removed from office through political means, often before they could prosecute a mining violation case.⁸² (See appendix 9 for a sample mine inspection report of Kay Moor.)

An injured miner and his family usually suffered great hardship. Funds contributed by the community or beneficial societies did not last long; neither did the lump sum payments offered by some coal companies. Disabled miners or mining widows were usually evicted from company housing; families lived as best they could. By 1923 almost all of the bituminous states had some form of workmen's compensation insurance, with Ohio and West Virginia possessing monopolistic state insurance.⁸³

Kay Moor management did carry insurance for its miners. In 1915 General Manager John B. Guernsey complained to Superintendent C.C. Cooke about how sloppy the insurance claims were being filled out. "This matter of Insurance Claims is a serious one. Kaymoor is giving us more trouble than any other operation: some of the claims are ridiculous, and others are very suspicious. It looks as if you were signing them without due regard to the justice of the claim."⁸⁴ Cooke responded saying he and the company doctor, a Dr. Skaggs, would fill out the insurance forms for

79. Ibid., p. 223; Rice, *West Virginia*, pp. 236-237. An excellent study of the issues involved with coal mine safety and the effectiveness of safety legislation is William Graebner, *Coal-Mining Safety in the Progressive Period The Political Economy of Reform* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1976.)

80. Rice, *West Virginia*, pp. 236-237.

81. Corbin, *Life*, pp. 16-17. In 1923 the U.S. Coal Commission remarked: "Persons not directly engaged in the coal-mining industry do not realize the importance of properly conducted State inspection of mines in influencing operating methods and working conditions. The mining codes of the principal coal-mining States vary widely in severity and completeness, and this fact often influences competitive conditions in adjoining states. There is too much politics in some of the state departments. The safety of a miner does not concern politics." Senate, *Report*, (Part I), p. 150.

82. Corbin, *Life*, pp. 16-17.

83. For a detailed discussion of the West Virginia compensation law, see U.S. Senate, 68th Congress, 2d Session, *Report of the United States Coal Commission* (Doc. 195, Part III), Washington: Government Printing Office, 1925, (Serial Set 8402, pt. III). Appendix II, Hugh Maupin Wolflin, "The Effects of Compensation Laws and Differential Compensation Insurance Rates on Coal-Mine Safety Conditions," pp. 1747-1754. In the case of death, reasonable funeral expenses were to be paid, not to exceed \$150. Widows and invalid widowers received \$30.00 per month and \$5.00 per month for each child under 16 years. Orphan children received \$10.00 per month until 16 years of age. Ibid., p. 1748.

84. General Manager to C.C. Cooke, November 18, 1915, LMIC, Box 22, Folder: 1915 Kay Moor Mines, UVAC.

the claimants because "They cannot do it. Some of these fellows are ignorant and cannot fill out the claimants report on the insurance blank." Cooke remarked, "We are not dealing with those fellows individually but collectively, and collectively I mean the Unions."⁸⁵

Compensation for injury or death in the coal mines was not available through the UMWA until 1946. In that year, John L. Lewis negotiated a contract with operators which included the establishment of the Welfare and Retirement Fund. The federal government paid \$.05 into the fund for every ton of coal mined. Hospitals were soon built throughout the coalfields to care for injured miners. Pneumoconiosis was identified as a disease associated with mining in 1942, but it was not until 1970 that West Virginia passed "black lung" legislation, with benefits to victims.⁸⁶

Miners in Kay Moor No. 1 experienced their share of injuries and deaths. The early West Virginia coal mining annual reports described the accidents, provided the victim's names, and placed responsibility usually square on the miner's shoulders. Local newspapers also carried news of deaths in the mine. (See appendix 10 for a partial list of Kay Moor mining fatalities.)

Whenever a miner was killed on the job co-workers usually left the mine for the day. Kay Moor Superintendent Edward M. Cabell reported in January 1919 of an idle day at the mine due to the death of Ed Hale, the "very best Goodman Mining Machine operator," a victim of influenza. In April 1919 Cabell reported: "Some of our entrymen were off on account of the death of Mr. Mason, father of the Mason boys who are working some on the entry. He lived at Gatewood, consequently his death did not affect the Mines to a great extent as they only lay off in a body when someone dies on the job."⁸⁷

Kay Moor's management disliked the practice of closing the mine for a day on account of a death. In January 1919 Superintendent Edward M. Cabell responded to Manager J.W. Monteith's thoughts on the subject:

I note that you say we expect to pay our due respects to the dead and expect men who have family ties and in any way connected with the deceased to attend the funeral but in no way will you consider shutting the Mine down for burials. I have entered into no discussions with the Miners in regard to this, only in several cases I have persuaded them to work and stated that for financial reasons we could not afford to close down our plant unless absolutely necessary to do so. I hope we will have no more trouble from a burial of one of their number, I do not know of any way to prevent them from doing so. Practically all your miners live at the top of the hill and there is where we have most of our trouble in controlling the men.⁸⁸

85. Cooke to Guernsey, November 26, 1915, Ibid.

86. Miller and Sharpless, *Kingdom*, p. 116; Rice, *West Virginia*, p. 237; Senate, *Report*, Part I, p. 150. In 1923 the United States Coal Commission remarked: "There is no positive evidence that bituminous miners are subject to special and marked occupational diseases. In other words, if accidents could be reduced the average bituminous miner would live the normal life span." Ibid., p. 149.

87. Cabell to Monteith, January 14, 1919, LMIC, Acc. 662, Box 17, Folder: 1918 Dec - 1919 April, E.M. Cabell, Low Moor, UVAC; Cabell to Monteith, April 18, 1919, Ibid.

88. Cabell to Monteith, January 21, 1919, LMIC, Acc. 662, Box 17, Folder: 1918 Dec - 1919 April, E.M. Cabell, Low Moor, UVAC.

Superstitions arose concerning aspects of coal mining, especially focusing on predicting disasters. Fortunately Kay Moor did not experience a tragedy on the scale of near-by Monongah in McDowell County or even Red Ash Mine or Rush Run Mine within the New River Gorge.⁸⁹ While explosions remained in the forefront of West Virginia mine safety, most of the casualties were caused by other means.

The New River and Pocahontas Consolidated Coal and Coke Company introduced measures to prevent accidents after their take-over of the Kay Moor mines in 1925. Rescue and First Aid teams were formed and competed against other company teams in contests. Within a year there were three safety teams at Kay Moor No. 1 and one at Kay Moor No. 2.⁹⁰

Mining Skills

"A miner is his own boss." This homily was believed by the miners themselves and was shown through their behavior. According to Donald Miller and Richard Sharpless, "They showed it by their independence, their attitude toward authority, and their resistance to anyone who attempted to bring them under close supervision and control. They practiced a kind of 'miner's freedom' in a work environment different from that of other industrial laborers."⁹¹

The nature of work in a coal mine dictated that the miner was an isolated piece worker who rarely saw the boss more than once a day. The coal miner was free to do as he pleased and usually resented any effort to supervise or regulate his work. Contrary to the belief that mining required little more than strength and average intelligence, a miner's judgment was as important as his brawn. He decided everything, including how to undercut the face, the amount of powder to use, how to pace himself in loading the car, and other decisions. These decisions often affected his life and those of his fellow workers. Additionally, the miner's skill affected how much coal was wasted.⁹²

In the room and pillar system of mining, prevalent before World War I and in the 1920s, two-man teams of miners worked in the rooms off of a main corridor. Each man decided how long he wanted to work since he was paid for each ton he loaded. Each miner also supplied his own tools for blasting, digging, and loading. Most miners worked as contract miners, who agreed to produce a ton of coal at a set price. The skilled miners also considered other factors in accepting a mining position: quality of life in the company town, the amount of travel time from home to the mine entrance, the mine's safety record, the pattern of room assignment or who would be his assigned partner.⁹³ Men who did not like the working conditions could always pack up and leave; their skills were useful elsewhere.

When men or boys first started in the mines they were considered "greenhorns" who had to learn the trade from the more experienced miners. Careful consideration had to be given to a

89. The explosion at Monongah on December 6, 1907 is considered the worst in North America, with 361 victims. Forty-six men died at Red Ash in 1900, while twenty-four men died at Rush Run in 1905.

90. Athey, *Kaymoor*, pp. 23-24.

91. Miller and Sharpless, *Kingdom*, p. 125.

92. Corbin, *Life*, p. 38; Keith Dix, *Work Relations in the Coal Industry The Hand-Loading Era, 1880-1930* (Morgantown: West Virginia University, 1977), pp. 10-11.

93. Thomas, "Coal Country," pp. 205-206; Athey, *Kaymoor*, p. 22; Dix, *Work Relations*, pp. 4-6.

miner's partner, or "buddy." Experienced miners usually preferred to train their own sons, friends or relatives, and not immigrants fresh from Europe who understood no English. Greenhorns usually began with day labor before being placed underground.⁹⁴

Typically, a miner began work around 6:00 A.M. He would get his sharpened tools, which he provided himself, from the nearby blacksmith shop (the cost of this service was deducted from a miner's pay), and would ride or walk to his "room" with his picks, shovels, auger, tamping bar, fuses, and black powder. A small lard oil lamp attached to his hat provided light.⁹⁵

With his buddy the miner began making an undercut about 24 feet long and 6 feet deep along the bottom of the horizontal coal seam. To do this the miner had to lie on his side and use a pick. Holes were then drilled along the top of the seam. The miner placed black powder and fuses into the holes, tamped the loads with dirt, and then fired the fuses. After the blast the two miners pushed empty mine cars on rails into the room and began breaking up the coal and loading it. When they finished loading they pushed the car to a central corridor where a mule driver or a locomotive operator would pick it up and haul it to the mine mouth. In order to get credit for each coal car loaded the miner placed a brass check with his payroll number onto the car. After the car was dumped of its load the "check man" removed the brass check and gave credit to the miner.⁹⁶

The miner's job consisted of more than just picking and shoveling, however. He also had to position timber props to guard against roof collapses in the newly opened section of a room, and he extended the rails for the coal cars. After lunch the entire process would start over. The miner would end the day around 5:30 or 6:00 P.M. to make his way home.⁹⁷ A miner at Kay Moor thus possessed certain skills: knowing how to undercut the coal face, drill shotholes, set and fire explosives, prop the roof with timber, lay coal car track and how to efficiently load a coal car. The miners also learned how to handle the air- and electric-powered coal cutting and loading machines.⁹⁸

Historian Keith Dix provided a general description of how the mining process occurred, and this description fits the operation at Kay Moor:

. . . the mining process involves the following general procedure:

removal of coal from the working face, loading of the coal into cars which are pushed from the face to the room entrance, a gathering of the loaded cars by mule

94. Athey, *Kaymoor*, p. 20. Several former Kay Moor miners told of starting work in the mine at age 14. William W. Toney worked the trap doors for air circulation at age 14 while Dometrius Woodson also started at age 14. See Interview with William W. Toney by James Worsham, Ansted, West Virginia, August 9, 1984, typed transcript, pp. 74.10-84.11; Interview with Dometrius Woodson by Paul J. Nyden, Beckley, West Virginia, November 7, 1980, typed transcript, p. 20.11. A West Virginia child labor law was passed in mid-1919, stating no coal operator or factory owner could employ a child under 16 years. Coal operators were also not allowed to let children on the mining premises. *Fayette Tribune*, June 5, 1919. Nevertheless, this law was flagrantly violated.

95. Thomas, "Coal Country," pp. 206-207.

96. *Ibid.*, pp. 207, 209.

97. *Ibid.*, p. 209.

98. Kay Moor employee Dometrius Woodson performed many different tasks in the mine. He remembered, "Oh, I've done just about everything in the mine. I've loaded coal, I've helped to lay track, I've worked on the machine, I've run motor, I have broke, I've run, I worked on the jack hammer, I've done just about everything in the mine that you can do but boss. Worked on supply crew and all that." Interview with Dometrius Woodson, p. 20.11.

or locomotive, and transferring the coal to the outside. The quantity of coal mined (and the earnings of the miner) depended on many factors, such as the width of the room, thickness of the seam, presence of impurities in the coal, suitability of the roof or "top," availability and efficiency of machinery, availability of cars, and, of course, the skill and speed of the miner.⁹⁹

Before World War I miners celebrated several holidays – New Year's Day, Fourth of July, Thanksgiving, and Christmas. Other days were taken unofficially, including May Day and Labor Day. Ethnic and religious holidays were usually observed by specific groups of miners.

The coal miner took pride in his work – once a miner, always a miner. Historian David Alan Corbin wrote: "In an industrial nation dependent upon the energy resource he produced, the coal miner knew he was essential to the nation and that he was necessary for the common good."¹⁰⁰ The skills and mobility possessed by the highly-individualistic miners reflected the pride of craftsmen.¹⁰¹

Wages

Prior to 1900 miners were paid according to different types of production: per bushel, per day, per ton run-of-mine (unscreened), or per ton screened. Pay based on screened coal was a source of contention because screen meshes could be easily changed. After 1900 wage agreements and legislation eliminated the use of screens. By 1920 run-of-mine per ton was the basis upon which most wages were paid.¹⁰² By January 1919 at Kay Moor pick and machine miners were paid by the ton or "yardage rate." (For listings of the 1902 and 1919 pay scales, see appendices 11 and 12.)

There was considerable division of labor within a coal mining operation. Work inside the mine was classified into 22 categories, including track layers and slate loaders. Work outside the mine included 17 types of "daymen," while the coke oven work required 9 types of workers.¹⁰³ However, the wage system was structured on only two bases: miners and laborers. Underground miners were paid by the ton of coal or yardage removed. Laborers, whether inside or outside the mine, were paid a daily rate.¹⁰⁴

99. Dix, *Work Relations*, p. 6.

100. Corbin, *Life*, pp. 39-40.

101. Athey, *Kaymoor*, p. 21. This "freedom" was threatened by union attempts to set hours. For a discussion of the meaning of "miner's freedom" and how unionization and mechanization would affect it, see Carter Goodrich, *The Miner's Freedom* (New York: Arno Press & The New York Times, 1977.)

102. Charles Phillips Anson, "A History of the Labor Movement in West Virginia" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1940), note, p. 89.

103. Athey, *Kaymoor*, p. 21.

104. Ibid. For further information on miners' duties as well as those of the fire boss, electrician, blacksmith, motorman, spragger, engineer, tippie men, car trimmers, slate dumpers, pumpmen, pipemen and bratticemen, see Hunt, Tryon, Willits, *What the Coal Commission Found*, pp. 56-60. There were approximately 30 crafts employed in coal mining. Ibid., p. 60.

Many deductions were taken from a miner's pay before he even received his wages. The "check-off" system included deductions for rent, cost of home heating coal, blacksmithing charges, burial fund, hospital and doctor charges, and insurance.¹⁰⁵

World War I

America's entry into World War I affected the Kay Moor mines in several ways. In 1918 the mines produced 160,000 tons of coal and manufactured 75,000 tons of coke. This production was about 10 percent less than usual because of war conditions and the loss of workers to the armed forces. The Kay Moor mines sent 35 men into the army and navy. An additional reason for the production slump was the onset of disease; the renowned 1918-1919 influenza epidemic.¹⁰⁶

During a draft call in June 1917, 75 men between the ages of 21 and 31 enlisted from the Kay Moor district – 33 white, 33 black, and 9 aliens.¹⁰⁷ Further draft calls for black and white soldiers took more from Kay Moor in June 1918.¹⁰⁸

Low Moor managers were determined not to forget about their men in uniform. On at least one Christmas, Manager of Mines J.W. Monteith obtained the names of all Low Moor workers who were in the service and sent them Christmas packages. One recruit, Herbert Pennington, gave thanks from Camp Greene in Charlotte, North Carolina: "Kind sirs. I wish to thank you for the box you sent me for Xmas it was real nice and the Cake was fine."¹⁰⁹

J.W. Monteith registered for military service in September 1918 in Covington. He asked the registrar how to claim deferred classification for Low Moor employees on industrial grounds. Affidavits on all claims would have to be made and signed by Frank Lyman in New York. The registrar thought this procedure would carry more weight with the "Board." In explaining this to Low Moor General Manager F. U. Humbert, Monteith added:

105. Conley, *History*, p. 85.

106. *Fayette Tribune*, February 20, 1919.

107. *Ibid.*, June 7, 1917. For a listing of all Kay Moor men registered for the draft, see *Fayette Tribune*, July 19, 1917.

108. *Ibid.*, June 6, 1918. This article stated that black soldiers reported to training camp at Camp Sherman in Ohio, while the white soldiers attended Camp Lee in Virginia. However, Low Moor correspondence stated that the black soldiers were in a "Colored Service Battalion" at Camp Lee while the white soldiers were scattered in different camps. Cabell to Monteith, December 12, 1917, LMIC, Acc. 662, Box 224, Folder: 1918 Material on L.M. employees in WW I Military Service, #3, UVAC.

109. Cabell to Monteith, December 12, 1917, LMIC, Acc. 662, Box 224, Folder: 1918 Material on L.M. employees in World War I Military Service, #3, UVAC; Pennington to The Lowmoor Iron Co of Va., December 20, 1917, *Ibid.* The list of Kay Moor employees in the service in 1917 and their location included: E.F. Brown on the U.S.S. *Adams*; Herbert Pennington at Camp Greene; D.B. McDaniels at Camp Ross at Great Lakes, Illinois; H.A. Cottrell on leave at Kay Moor; W.J. McGraw at Camp Shelby in Hattiesburg, Mississippi; G.T. McGraw at Camp Lee, Virginia; Joe Accepezzatto at Camp Lee; Sam Peraldo, also at Camp Shelby; B.B. Legg at Camp Lee; J.W. Pennington on a receiving ship in Guantanamo Bay; Ballard Pennington on U.S.S. *Castine*; and Preston Calloway, William Robinson, Jack Steward and John Lawson, all in the Colored Service Battalion at Camp Lee. Cabell to Monteith, December 12, 1917, LMIC, Acc. 662, Box 224, Folder: 1918 Material on L.M. employees in World War I Military Service, #3, UVAC; Cabell to Monteith, December 21, 1917, *Ibid.*

He [the registrar] also stated that this plan was followed out in the last draft by the President of the N & W Railroad, and in practically every case where the President signed, the man was put in a deferred class.

I am passing this information on to you, thinking perhaps you would like to have these copies made so Mr. Lyman could sign them while he is down this week."¹¹⁰

It is not known whether J.W. Monteith took advantage of the apparently available deferment after he registered for the service, or if the copies Frank Lyman supposedly signed were for another employee.

Labor

The history of industrial conflict in West Virginia coal mining continued to support a negative labor image in the state in the late twentieth century. In 1920 the industry employed 102,950 miners and 28.2 percent of the state's total labor force. For decades violent wars were fought, with the operators being the winners until 1933 when the West Virginia coalfields were finally organized. The fundamental contradiction fueling these wars was simple: the miners' need for a union was based on the desire for economic survival and humane treatment, while the coal operators fought against the union because its presence meant higher costs, resulting in the loss of a competitive edge over coal producers in other states.¹¹¹

The United Mine Workers of America was organized in 1890 as an affiliate of the American Federation of Labor. Within eight years it had obtained union recognition with a standard wage and dues check-off basis with coal companies in Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and western Pennsylvania. These companies organized as the "Central Competitive Field" in the belief that the new coalfields in West Virginia, Tennessee, and Kentucky would be unionized. Wages and coal prices would then be stable throughout the industry. Labor costs averaged 70 percent of the cost of a ton of coal at this time; thus, coal operators who could keep their mines union free possessed a substantial advantage. It was for this reason that West Virginia coal operators subsequently banded together to keep their state free of the UMWA. Temporary inroads were made in 1902, 1906, and during the World War I, but in general, the union failed to make gains. Correspondingly, West Virginia's share of the national coal output grew from 10 percent in 1900 to 26.2 percent in 1930.¹¹²

110. Monteith to Humbert, September 10, 1918, LMIC, Acc. 662, Box 106, Folder: 1916 Aug - 1920 Jan, J.W. Monteith, Manager of Mines, UVAC.

111. Keith Dix, *An Analysis of West Virginia Work Stoppages* (Morgantown: West Virginia University, 1971), pp. 13-14.

112. Dix, *Analysis*, p. 14; Charles H. Ambler and Festus P. Summers, *West Virginia The Mountain State* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1958), pp. 446-447.

West Virginia coal mines stayed largely unorganized through more than 20 years by effort by the UMWA. The union failed to make any progress among probably the most exploited and oppressed coal workers in the United States.¹¹³

Harry M. Caudill remarked:

Recruiters for the United Mine Workers of America and the International Workers of the World began to seek members in the coalfield before 1917, and continued their efforts for six or seven years. Their arguments were logical and persuasive, but they were premature. The miners were riding the crest of full employment and high wages. They thought of themselves as prosperous, and most of them simply ignored the organizers' promises of even better days to come under union leadership. A good many thousand laborers joined the unions, but they did so more in quest of social fellowship than out of conviction that they were enlisting in a just cause.¹¹⁴

The people of the southern West Virginia coalfields in the 1890s were of nonunion and nonmining backgrounds – the native mountaineers and southern blacks and European immigrants. They were existence-oriented.¹¹⁵ They seemed to have cared or planned little for making the coalfields a permanent, decent place to live. The native miners were farmers – many of them kept their farms and worked them during slack runs or strikes. These farmers showed little interest in the union. The blacks saw little need for the union, for they had escaped the South for an improved economic life, and were content with the coal mining conditions, where money seemed easy and discrimination was minimal.¹¹⁶

These people were difficult to unionize, and generally accepted the company's view and stayed away from the union. The southern and eastern European immigrant miners did not have the political and economic experience or solidarity held by the British miners before them who had founded union activity. Prejudice and racism divided the state's miners – there was no sense of mutual responsibility.¹¹⁷

The UMWA organizers themselves did not always offer inspiration, for in some instances they sold out to the companies.¹¹⁸ Yet most UMWA members remained loyal and worked for the

113. According to David Alan Corbin, the study of why West Virginia did not organize has been overlooked. He stated: "The failure to study why workers do not organize leaves a void in American labor historiography. A knowledge of why some workers do not unionize is as crucial to the study of labor as a knowledge of why others join unions and radical labor parties. An examination of the southern West Virginia mining force between 1890 and 1912 reveals that the miners remained outside the UMWA, not out of apathy or cowardice, but because the issues and goals of the miners' union did not represent their wants and needs. Furthermore, an exploration of the miners' indifference to the UMWA during these years is a first step in understanding the development of the labor movement in southern West Virginia and the later evolution of its working-class culture." Corbin, *Life*, p. 26.

114. Caudill, *Night*, p. 133.

115. See Jack E. Weller, *Yesterday's People*, for a discussion of existence-orientation.

116. Corbin, *Life*, p. 27.

117. *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

118. As an example: Thomas L. Lewis, vice-president, then president, of the national UMWA, later became secretary of the New River District Operators Association, to which the Low Moor management belonged. Athey, *Kaymoor*, p. 29.

cause in southern West Virginia. Since its founding, however, the UMWA's two major issues were higher wages and shorter hours. These issues were advocated in southern West Virginia, but were not issues of concern to the coal miners.¹¹⁹

However, "It was this overall presence, power, and supervision of the company that really angered the miners and made other issues more important than wage rates and wage increases," wrote David Alan Corbin.¹²⁰ Wage increases were not a key issue in any major strikes in southern West Virginia. Miners' demands were, in order of importance: 1. recognition of the union; 2. abolition of the mine-guard system; 3. reform in the docking system; 4. a checkweighman representing, and paid by, the miners; 5. trade with any store they pleased; 6. cash wages; and finally, 7. an increase in pay. These demands struck at the core of the company town system and that basic changes in the structure of life and work was needed.¹²¹

The southern West Virginia miners failed to participate in the UMWA strikes and their refusal to join the miners' union reveals their individualism and the emergence of a working class whose needs and goals were widely different from the UMWA and its policies. Unable to persuade West Virginia miners from joining a nationwide coal strike in 1894, the UMWA then tried, unsuccessfully, to hold a national boycott against West Virginia coal, including trying to persuade the U.S. Navy from using it.¹²²

In 1901 the UMWA held a major organizing drive in southern West Virginia. The union spent thousands of dollars and sent organizers into the state. But the miners were unresponsive. They knew the consequences: as fast as organization occurred the companies would dismiss miners and evict them from their homes. Organizers themselves were threatened, beaten, and jailed. Efforts to prosecute the coal companies for the injustices failed, as the courts and local law officers were control led by the coal operators.¹²³

These failures to organize may be the reason UMWA president John Mitchell opposed having West Virginia enter the 1902 Pennsylvania anthracite strike. However, delegates to the 1902 UMWA convention crossed Mitchell and favored a sympathetic strike. They feared West Virginia coal would be sent east, an action which would break the anthracite strike and allow the West Virginia operators to enter the anthracite markets. They ordered the West Virginia miners to stop working. The anthracite coal strike of 1902 was a turning point because public opinion for the first time appeared to support the union's side in a major labor disagreement. Equally significant, federal intervention, in the form of an Anthracite Strike Commission, agreed with the UMWA's position on several items in dispute. However, whatever victory was achieved in the Pennsylvania fields, the allied coal strike in the unorganized bituminous West Virginia fields was a failure, despite the fact

119. Corbin, *Life*, p. 30.

120. Ibid., p. 32.

121. Ibid., p. 33. For a discussion of both union policy and its objectives throughout the years of unionization attempts in the southern West Virginia coal fields, see Baratz, *The Union and the Coal Industry*.

122. Corbin, *Life*, p. 46.

123. The operators used six major tools in their fight against the union: 1. injunctions; 2. martial law; 3. suzerainty over county government; 4. elaborate espionage and spy system; 5. coercion and intimidation of workers by the use of mine guards; and 6. blacklisting all miners who favored the union. The injunctions, martial law and espionage violated no laws, but were subversive of the public welfare. The use of company-paid sheriffs, or mine guards, was in violation of the law, and resulted in wholesale killing. H.B. Lee, as quoted in Dix, *Analysis*, p. 15. Lee was a West Virginia attorney general.

that 10 percent of all miners involved with the strike were West Virginia miners (20,000 of estimated 200,000). The strike began in early June and despite the UMWA's priority work in Pennsylvania, lasted until late November or December. Even though the West Virginia miners held on as long as the Pennsylvania miners did, no outside help came their way from the union, and the organizing efforts were crushed. The UMWA in the state was ill-prepared and the strike was soon considered to be a mistake.¹²⁴

An industry newspaper, the *Black Diamond*, remarked when the strike started in June:

It is about as risky to predict subsequent developments as to forecast an election. The job might be easier had the United Mine Workers maintained a good organization here for some length of time, for then one could get something definite to figure on. The most of the strength they possess is of recent growth, due to persistent missionary work, which is being kept up night and day. "Mother" Jones has been speaking in the mining villages along the Norfolk & Western railroad for two months, with considerable success.¹²⁵

Miners in the New River field responded to the strike call. Every mine in the New River district was idle, as well as most of the Kanawha mines.¹²⁶ When the strike was first called the *Black Diamond* reported on conditions in the southern West Virginia fields and also shed light on the reactions of immigrant and black miners to the strike:

The strike has been peaceably conducted and is regarded as a season for feasting and merry-making by the Hungarian miners, whose decision to join the strikers was unlooked for. They are drinking and carousing and think every day a holiday.

124. Corbin, *Life*, pp. 46-48; Sheldon H. Harris, "Letters from West Virginia: Management's Version of the 1902 Coal Strike," *Labor History* 10 (Spring 1969): 228-230. This article provides an excellent inside look at management's viewpoints and control of the state judiciary and police. Primary source letters used in the article are from William Nelson Page at Ansted, West Virginia, to his boss, Abram S. Hewitt in New York.

125. "Wheeling, W. Va. June 4, 1902," *Black Diamond* 28, no. 23 (June 7, 1902): 812. Mary Harris Jones was one of the most forceful and dynamic union organizers in American labor history. Through her efforts in 1902 the Central Kanawha mines were organized; the only union success in West Virginia. In her autobiography she described her activities in the New River field: "At the close of the anthracite strike in October, 1902, I went into the unorganized sections of West Virginia with John H. Walker of Illinois. Up and down along both sides of the New River we held meetings and organized - Smithersfield, Long Acre, Canilton, Boomer. The work was not easy or safe and I was lucky to have so fearless a co-worker. Men who joined the union were blacklisted throughout the entire section. Their families were thrown out on the highways. Men were shot. They were beaten. Numbers disappeared and no trace of them found. Store keepers were ordered not to sell to union men or their families. Meetings had to be held in the woods at night, in abandoned mines, in barns." She also held a meeting in Mount Hope, went into Laurel Creek and Thayer, and visited the camp at Caperton Mountain. Mary Harris Jones, *Autobiography of Mother Jones* (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Company, 1925; reprint ed., New York: Arno & The New York Times, 1969), pp. 63-65. In 1912 Mother Jones was back in West Virginia, this time delivering a speech at Glen Jean in an effort to organize Loup Creek. *Fayette Sun*, August 6, 1912. For more information on the colorful, yet controversial Mother Jones and her activities in West Virginia, consult her autobiography and Dale Fetherling, *Mother Jones The Miners Angel* (Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1974). Priscella Long's *Mother Jones, Woman Organizer and Her Relations with Miners; Wives, Working Women, and the Suffrage Movement* (Boston: South End Press, 1976) deals specifically with Mother Jones' attitudes towards women.

126. Harris, *Letters*, 235.

After their money gives out they will be hard to control and they are generally sensible enough to know they only get their money by work and not idleness. The negroes are similarly celebrating, so there are several things going to show that the men first of all want a rest after working for years without a break, and they are taking this chance to secure advantages in wages, hour and weighing regulations. The strike leaders want first and last to organize West Virginia and force the operators to recognize the United Mine Workers and sign a yearly scale. The result depends on the length of the struggle and it does not seem the men care to stay out long. Arms are being supplied to the operators in case importations of men are necessary.¹²⁷

The response was violent – miners were discharged, evicted from their homes, or blacklisted. Operators obtained court injunctions against UMWA officials, organizers, and striking miners. Men disappeared and were never heard from again.¹²⁸

Many miners remained at work, and the industry was not seriously crippled. By July many men in the Pocahontas field had returned to work, while miners in the Kanawha field were generally still out. In the New River region the situation was at a "standstill" and it was evident that New River would be the "battlefield in the present struggle."¹²⁹ The coal operators conceded nothing, and only in Kanawha County was a short-lived contract secured.¹³⁰ According to David Alan Corbin, "Despite their oppression and exploitation, the miners had no desire to join the union that the UMWA offered. Between 1897 and 1910 the UMWA had spent nearly a million dollars on organizing southern West Virginia, sent in scores of organizers, and conducted various types of boycotts; . . . Yet more miners remained outside of the union, and those who did belong to the UMWA were 'grudgingly paying their dues' and only 'occasionally attending a meeting.'"¹³¹

The 1902 strike in West Virginia affected the operations at Kay Moor in several ways. The mines at both Kay Moor and nearby Brown (Nuttalburg) were locked up. The Low Moor managers supported the lead of Justus Collins, of Collins Collieries at Glen Jean, West Virginia, and William Nelson Page of the Gauley Mountain Coal Company at Ansted, West Virginia. They adopted a militant resistance posture and requested a court injunction against the strikers, which was granted. The atmosphere for violence was further heightened with the hiring of Baldwin-Felts Detective Agency "guards." These men were hired to protect mine property and to conduct espionage to

127. "Wheeling, W. Va. June 11, 1902," *Black Diamond* (June 14, 1902): 850. The *Black Diamond* predicted the strike's outcome: "There is no reason . . . to change earlier opinions that the strike will fail to be general and therefore be a losing venture for the coal diggers, although there is no mistaking the fact that a fight is in prospect." "Wheeling, W. Va. June 18, 1902," *Black Diamond* 28, no. 25 (June 21, 1902): 886.

128. Corbin, *Life*, p. 48.

129. "Strike Notes," *Black Diamond* 29, no. 1 (July 5, 1902): 23.

130. Corbin, *Life*, p. 48.

131. *Ibid.*, p. 50.

identify agitators or union men. Kay Moor's management also applied for a court order to evict strikers from company housing.¹³²

The Kay Moor management's decision to hire detective guards was in line with events occurring in the rest of the state during the strike. Many other coal owners responded to the unionization attempts by hiring mine guards to protect themselves. Even though the state's miners had generally not responded to the UMWA activities, the operators saw the UMWA as not only threatening the owners' controls over the workers, but as disrupting business through the use of boycotts. The coal operators decided to fight "force with force" and brought in Baldwin-Felts detectives. By 1910 these men could be found in almost every company town in southern West Virginia. Their goal was to protect the operators, but they did so by violent means.¹³³

National union organizers were harassed by Baldwin-Felts guards from the time they boarded trains for West Virginia. By 1912 the state was not considered safe for an organizer. Not only did the guards interfere with unionization efforts, but they became involved with the everyday affairs in the company town. They drove out of town anyone suspected of being too independent, prohibited the assembly of more than three miners at any one time, and maimed, beat, and murdered union miners. The detectives were nationally known for their brutality, and they were hated.¹³⁴ In July 1914 miners at Kay Moor No. 2 quit work because the company hired one Howard Wilson. According to a local newspaper, "He is objectionable to the miners because he has been employed as a guard at Loop creek mines and is charged with being a member of the Baldwin force of detectives. About 50 miners quit."¹³⁵

David Alan Corbin argued that the very effectiveness of the Baldwin-Felts guards' brutality encouraged class hostility among the coal miners and made them see the need for collective security and collective action. The miners also began to question the political system which tolerated the guards and provided them with authority. Without any access to outside UMWA organizers, the coal miners now started uprisings on their own. The union spirit which evolved in southern West Virginia thus reflected the character and values of the miners themselves, and not the international union.¹³⁶

132. Fayette *Journal*, June 12, 1902; Athey, *Kaymoor*, p. 25. A brief history of the Baldwin-Felts agency can be found in Richard M. Hadsell and William E. Coffey, "From Law and Order to Class Warfare: Baldwin-Felts Detectives in the Southern West Virginia Coal Fields," *West Virginia History* XL, no. 3 (Spring 1979): 268-286. The Baldwin-Felts detectives played an important, publicized role in the history of the southern West Virginia coal industry. The agency's employees served as a stabilizing influence in the absence of adequate public law enforcement, but they also were responsible for brutal repression which incited violent conflicts in the coal fields. William G. Baldwin and Thomas L. Felts began their detective agency in the early 1890s. Their general office was located in Roanoke, Virginia, but a second office, headed by Felts, was established in Bluefield, West Virginia. Field offices were also located in Thurmond, West Virginia, in Richmond, Virginia, and in Denver, Colorado. Several railroads began contracting with the agency to protect theft from freight cars. Baldwin and Felts then extended their services to the coal industry, whose mines the railroads served. At first the detectives served as visible police protection, but coal operators soon used them to not only prevent disorderly conduct and law violations, but to "collect rents, guard the payroll, prevent 'undesirables' from entering their camps. Undesirables included a wide range of the unsavory such as known criminals, professional gamblers, prostitutes, moonshiners, slackers, and active union sympathizers." *Ibid.*, p. 269. Justus Collins was the first to use the Baldwin-Felts guards to break a UMWA sponsored miner's strike in 1902. The agency's subsequent history involves numerous atrocities, investigations and the eventual break-up of the agency in the 1930s.

133. Corbin, *Life*, p. 50.

134. *Ibid.*, pp 50-51.

135. Fayette *Tribune*, July 16, 1914.

136. Corbin, *Life*, p. 52.

Labor problems at Kay Moor continued into the next year, 1903. A strike broke out in the New River fields in May.¹³⁷ This strike was considered to be a continuation of the previous year's conflict, and confined to a UMWA attempt to gain strength in New River. Production stood at two-thirds of normal in the field at this time. The *Black Diamond* remarked: "It has been a bitter and long fight on both sides and extremely costly to both."¹³⁸ By July the labor activity was being characterized as "a strike on paper at least, if not in actual reality."¹³⁹

Ed D. Wickes believed the "trouble" at the mine was over in April 1903, even though he admitted in a letter to General Manager E.C. Means that "we would be obliged to watch carefully the men we took on so as to guard against our place being organized." Wickes also overheard that some kind of meetings were being held on May 15.¹⁴⁰

A strike call for the New River and Loup Creek districts went out from the union district president Duncan Kennedy and national president John Mitchell for May 18, 1903.¹⁴¹ An immediate effect at Kay Moor was not noticed. On May 20 Ed Wickes wrote, "We have noticed no change in our force which could be charged to the Strike Order." The last Baldwin man left and Wickes asked E.C. Means for an "armed man" from Low Moor to serve as a night watchman.¹⁴²

Kay Moor management also recruited labor from Tennessee and Kentucky, following a policy of hiring more labor while keeping low the number of union men. Ed Wickes sent a "2000 mile ticket" to a man in Kentucky who probably would bring four or five men with him. Men also came in from other mines.¹⁴³

Kay Moor's managers kept open the lines of communication with the UMWA. Ed Wickes not only met with the UMWA's vice-president, Thomas L. Lewis, but with Duncan Kennedy, president of the UMWA Loup Creek and New River District. Wickes hoped to obtain union men for work in the mine without recognizing the union itself. He wrote E.C. Means:

I believe we can protect *ourselves* by putting ourselves in such a position with the Union that they will let us alone and furnish us a few good men, but *we* should still continue to get non union men when we found good miners of this class and see that the Union don't meddle with them Today the Union is fighting Kay Moor harder than ever before. If we can enforce the rule of non interference on the part of Union men with non union and make Lewis understand that we intend to live

137. "General Review of the Markets," *Black Diamond* 30, no. 21 (May 23, 1903): 933.

138. "The West Virginia Mining Field," *Black Diamond* 30, no. 22 (May 30, 1903): 983; "The West Virginia Mining Field," *Black Diamond* 30, no. 23 (June 6, 1903): 1031.

139. "General Review of the Markets," *Black Diamond* 31, no. 1 (July 3, 1903): 17.

140. Wickes to Means, April 19, 1903, LMIC, Acc. 662, Box 28, Folder: 1903 Jan - May, E.C. Means, Low Moor, UVAC; Wickes to Means, May 9, 1903, Ibid.

141. "Miners Wanted," circular, May 13, 1903, LMIC, Acc. 662, Box 28, Folder: 1903 Misc, Low Moor, UVAC.

142. Wickes to Means, May 20, 1903, LMIC, Acc. 662, Box 28, Folder: 1903 Jan - May, E.C. Means, Low Moor, UVAC.

143. Wickes to Means, May 21, 1903, Ibid.

up to this rule absolutely even to the extent of verbal persuasion we wont have trouble and the Union wont hurt us.¹⁴⁴

Disagreements did occur between Kay Moor's management and other New River coal operators over their negotiations with the UMWA about acquiring labor. Ed Wickes understood that the operators would "not talk to any of the Union men any more. They will look on our recognition of the Union in anything but a friendly light."¹⁴⁵

The strike continued as the summer progressed. In mid-June Wickes reported to Means: "The Union have a lot of new agitators here now."¹⁴⁶ On June 16 two "agitators" were arrested on Kay Moor property by a Baldwin detective who found them before Kay Moor's hired constable did. In speaking with them away from the officers, Ed Wickes told them Kay Moor management had "done enough for them in the matter of concessions." Wickes also told them he had orders to run them off the property and that he could not prevent their arrest. Wickes was adamant about the union men not interfering with the non-union men at the mine.¹⁴⁷

The 1903 strike ended in July. Even though the strike was in response to a general West Virginia call, the New River mines were the only ones which closed. Only 300 mines were affected, and production was not significantly disrupted. The strike cost both sides an estimated \$500,000 in addition to money lost in wages and business. The operators won a complete victory and did not recognize the union. The *Black Diamond* commented on the strike's conditions and the feelings of relief which followed its end:

Rioting and bloodshed, with fully a dozen deaths recorded, injunctions, various sorts of legal contests, the presence for awhile of the state militia, and private company detectives armed to the teeth and doing guard duty, and a host of other things entered into the stubborn thirteen months' struggle. Since last fall it has been a losing game with the miners, and they steadily drifted to other fields for employment or went back to their old jobs.

A general feeling of satisfaction followed the announcement that the strike was at an end, not because of its magnitude, for it ceased to be important in that respect a long time ago, but because of the unsettled conditions it produced. There was always a feeling of anxiety that something was going to happen there that would mean a few deaths, for desperate men were involved.¹⁴⁸

Despite Low Moor management's talks with the union, it closed ranks with other area operators when it joined the New River Operators Association in 1906. This organization had two

144. Wickes to Means, June 1, 1903, LMIC, Acc. 662, Box 28, Folder: 1903 June - Aug 11, E.C. Means, Low Moor, UVAC.

145. Ibid.

146. Wickes to Means, June 16, 1903, Ibid.

147. Ibid.

148. "The West Virginia Mining Field," *Black Diamond* 31, no. 5 (August 1, 1903): 211.

goals: to prevent the UMWA's entrance into the New River field, and to increase the supply of C&O coal railroad cars to the mines.¹⁴⁹

Trouble arose again in 1906 with the rumors of more strikes. In March miners wanting to avoid a strike situation left the mine. Low Moor managers encouraged loyal company men to keep at work and to help in getting "agitators" out of the community. Baldwin-Felts detectives in Kay Moor kept agitators out and management hoped to avoid trouble. The mines were very short of men in April 1906 because many miners left to tend to their farms. As miners returned to the mine they seemed to want to work and not go on strike. Ed Wickes hoped that Kay Moor's production would continue to improve over the previous year if the union could be kept down and the men prevented from leaving for other fields.¹⁵⁰

Men continued to return to work; by October new houses were built to accommodate them. Edward M. Cabell reported: "We are getting in men daily and all of our desirable and some of the undesirable houses are filled. We finished one of the new houses and a party is moving in to-day, and we will finish the other two as soon as we can get the lumber."¹⁵¹

Although union organizers had spent \$1 million in West Virginia by 1911, the state was described as "A dagger in the heart of the United Mine Workers of America." West Virginia non-union coal was reaching docks at Lake Michigan at \$1.70 and \$1.80 f.o.b. and the state's output was increasing. The Central Competitive Field operators and miners believed the West Virginia competition prohibitive, and vowed to unionize West Virginia to wipe out cheap coal.¹⁵²

The West Virginia coal operators on Paint Creek, Kanawha County, responded with a vengeance, refusing to renew their contracts with the union. The miners walked out of the mines on April 1, 1912, and were soon joined by miners at Cabin Creek. The worst mine war in West Virginia history followed, lasting until April 1913.¹⁵³ The violence of this struggle did not reach Kay Moor because Low Moor management kept informed of every UMWA move and thwarted every

149. "Meeting Minutes of New River Operators," January 26, 1906, LMIC, Acc. 662, Box 87, Folder: 1905-1906, #2, George T. Wickes, UVAC.

150. George T. Wickes to Means, March 10, 1906, LMIC, Acc. 662, Box 87, Folder: 1906, #2, George T. Wickes, UVAC; Wickes to Lyman, April 21, 1906, LMIC, Acc. 662, Box 87, Folder: 1905-1906, #2, George T. Wickes, UVAC; Wickes to Lyman, April 29, 1906, Ibid.; Ed. D. Wickes to Geo. T. Wickes, May 9, 1906, LMIC, Acc. 662, Box 87, Folder: 1906, #1, George T. Wickes, UVAC.

151. Cabell to E.C. Means, October 26, 1906, LMIC, Acc. 662, Box 243, Folder: Low Moor Iron Co. Correspondence, #8, UVAC. For a different viewpoint of the 1906 situation see L.C. Anderson's letter to the editor of *The Outlook*. An excerpt: "The coal production of West Virginia has increased from five million tons (in round numbers) in 1890, to thirty-eight million tons in 1905. This remarkable increase is due, not to any 'exploitation of labor,' but to the natural conditions so favorable to mining, and to the superior quality of the coal, which insures it a ready market wherever introduced. The United Mine Workers of America have never been able to control to any great extent in West Virginia, for the reason that the miners do not feel the need of the organization, but are able and content to get along without it. So a strike of the Mine Workers does not seriously affect the production of West Virginia coal." L.C. Anderson, "Mine Labor Conditions in West Virginia," *The Outlook* 82, no. 16 (1906): 862.

152. Ambler and Summers, *West Virginia*, p. 447.

153. Ibid., p. 448. For a brief history of this fight and its ramifications, see pp. 224-227 of Rice, *West Virginia*. The Paint Creek disturbances included the killing of miners by mine guards riding on the "Bull Moose Special," an armored car which steamed through miners' settlements. Mother Jones was also involved in this conflict. For more information on the 1912-1913 conflict, see: Edwin V. Gartin, "The West Virginia Mine War of 1912-1913: The Progressive Response," *North Dakota Quarterly* 41 (Autumn 1973): 13-27.

unionization attempt.¹⁵⁴ No further major labor disturbances occurred at Kay Moor between this time and the start of World War I.

The war effort precipitated more demand for coal and coke. For the UMWA, the timing of high demand and a shortage of labor worked to their benefit. Efforts to organize West Virginia became more effective, even if these gains were short-lived. In April 1915 the New River Operators Association agreed to a union contract with the UMWA's District No. 29. The *United Mine Workers' Journal* remarked on the signing:

The organized miners of the New River district of West Virginia have ratified the proposed agreement which was referred to them. Under this agreement it is up to the miners themselves to establish a hundred per cent organization; this without one day's strike, and consider that little over a year ago any man who suggested that organization might be advantageous to the miners risked his life, and was certain to be hounded out of the district.¹⁵⁵

Major increases occurred in union strength during the war years. A change in the union structure helped in the successful drive for members. In 1916 the entire state was organized under district 17. This action promoted internal harmony and consolidated organizing strength. According to Frank Keeney, president of district 17, membership in the UMWA rose from 7,000 to 17,000 between January 1, 1917, and June 4, 1918.¹⁵⁶ UMWA organization frequently changed, however, and by 1919, district 29 was reestablished and represented the New River and Winding Gulf fields. District 17 represented the rest of the state.

Kay Moor's managers delayed joining into a union contract by shutting down the mines at Kay Moor for repairs. The mine machinery and coke ovens needed repairs, and both mines closed in April 1915. Two company stores were closed and the remaining two were kept open with only one man in charge. The total labor cost at Kay Moor No. 1 was expected to be \$220 per month for three positions to be kept: monitor runner, stable man, and power house man, plus the

154. Athey, *Kaymoor*, p. 27.

155. *United Mine Workers' Journal* XXV, no. 48 (April 8, 1915): 5, photocopy, no author, no title. One W.O. Smith wrote of the changes occurring in the New River field as a result of the UMWA contracts. The writer's description offers an insight into the promise of the union: "Two years ago you could not go into the New River field or into the Winding Gulf with an assurance that you would not be assaulted or possibly murdered by a Baldwin thug; today there are no guards in the New River field. Two years ago the miners were not allowed to place a check weighman on the tippie anywhere in the New River field; under the new agreement every local union in District 29 can elect a check weighman. Two years ago the miners of the New River field were compelled to trade in company stores. The new agreement provides that they may trade where they please. Two years ago the miners were not permitted to hold meetings on the company's property. The new agreement provides that they may meet on the company's property. Two years ago the company could dock a miner 250, 500, 1,000, 1,500 pounds, or even a whole car; under the new agreement from 250 to 500 pounds can be docked. Two years ago there was a closed shop in the New River field and the closed shop was crowded with non-union miners; not a union miner was allowed to enter the shop. Under the new agreement an open shop is established and every miner in the New River field, if he has the courage to do so, can join the United Mine Workers of America, and the agreement provides that he shall not be discriminated against for so doing. While the agreement also provides that the miner shall not be discriminated against for not belonging to a union it leaves the matter absolutely with the individual, which must ever be the case. We can have no effective organization in the New River field or anywhere until the individual members do their duty, until the individual members become sufficiently interested in their own welfare to take the initiative in the work of organization. Under the proposed agreement in the New River field the miners of District 29 can have a 100 per cent organization if they want it, . . ." W.O. Smith. "New River Contract," *United Mine Workers' Journal* XXV, no. 48 (April 8, 1915): 7.

156. Anson, "History of the Labor Movement," pp. 123-124.

superintendent's salary of \$250. All of the miners were allowed company housing with free rent if they stayed, and were encouraged to work in other mines during the shut down. The shut down was also viewed as an opportunity to get rid of "certain undesirables." Expectations were that the mines would reopen in August.¹⁵⁷ Evidently the coke ovens stayed closed longer than expected, for a local newspaper reported in October: "The Kaymoor ovens, which have been idle for more than a year, are being repaired and will be fired up within a few weeks. The product will go to the Lowmoor furnaces [sic]."¹⁵⁸

On May 30, 1916, Low Moor managers signed a contract with the UMWA's District No. 29, Local No. 2839. The 1915 wage scale was agreed to, as well as a voluntary checkoff system wherein Low Moor deducted union dues for the union men. During the war years both Kay Moor coal and Low Moor iron were in high demand. In November 1917 the UMWA and New River Operators Association added a clause to their contract stating no strikes, stoppages, or lockouts would occur for the duration of the contract.¹⁵⁹

In December 1918 a strike occurred at New River Company and Brown Coal Company mines close to Kay Moor. The Low Moor management consulted with Thomas L. Lewis, secretary of the operators association, in an effort to keep Kay Moor out of the strike. Lewis told the operators to appeal to the U.S. Fuel Administration for a reprieve from the higher wage demands, and his strategy proved to be correct. A strike at Kay Moor No. 1 was averted in March 1919, when Low Moor management followed the U.S. Fuel Administration's decision that the UMWA's demands for higher wages broke the "Washington Wage Agreement" approved by the government. But this action delayed a strike only for a few months.¹⁶⁰

On November 1, 1919, the UMWA, now under John L. Lewis' leadership, called a nationwide strike.¹⁶¹ Kay Moor's management was not sure how its miners would react to the strike call, but it seemed the miners had no grievance with the company and thus had no just cause to strike. A wage agreement had just been made on September 1, 1919, and any violation of that

157. Acting Manager to B.B. Lawrence and Harold T. White, April 6, 1915, LMIC, Acc. 662, Box 184, Kay Moor #1, #5, UVAC.

158. Fayette *Tribune*, October 28, 1915.

159. Athey, *Kaymoor*, p. 57. A strike is defined as "a temporary stoppage of work by a group of employees to express a grievance or enforce a demand." A lockout is defined as "a temporary withholding of work by an employer (or group of employers) to enforce terms of employment upon a group of employees." Since 1922 the Bureau of Labor Statistics has not distinguished between strikes and lockouts in its statistics, and both types are classified as "work stoppages." Dix, *Analysis*, p. 5.

160. Monteith to Humbert, December 10, 1918, LMIC, Acc. 662, Box 106, Folder: 1916 Aug-1920 Jan, J.W. Monteith, Manager of Mines, UVAC; Athey, *Kaymoor*, p. 29. A strike did occur at Kay Moor No. 2 for two weeks in April 1919. Work was halted over demands for a checkoff and dissatisfaction over the dismissal of two carpenters. The union did not support the strike and the men returned to work without concessions. Fayette *Tribune*, April 24, 1919.

161. The *Black Diamond* raved: "John L. Lewis, the acting president of the United Mine Workers of America, has openly defied the President of the United States. He has defied Congress. He has defied the people[.] He has defied the Government itself and openly boasted that neither law or army can force him to change his mind, or ask the men to remain in the mines, pending negotiations. Lewis has called a strike, which had neither reason nor defense. He has permitted the selfish ambition of an avowed candidacy to overshadow and disregard the cries of a suffering and distressed people. Lewis is not a leader. He has proven himself unsafe for his own people." "The Defiance of Mr. Lewis," *Black Diamond* 63, no. 18 (November 1, 1919): 414. For further information on John L. Lewis, see: Cecil Carnes, *John L. Lewis Leader of Labor* (New York: Robert Speller Publishing Corporation, 1936); McAlister Coleman, *Men and Coal* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1943; reprint ed., New York: Arno & The New York Times, 1969; and Saul Alinsky, *John L. Lewis* (New York: Vintage Books, 1970).

agreement would mean that union men could not be relied upon to fulfill agreements. F.U. Humbert, general manager in Low Moor, believed that company policy called for providing employees with a "square deal" and he wanted to deal with the men fairly, whether individually or collectively. He added, however, that company "faith in the union employees must necessarily be shattered if the present agreement is violated."¹⁶²

E.M. Cabell informed Humbert that the employees, indeed, had no grievances with the company, "save the general dissatisfaction over the new agreement which went into effect September 1st," but "Kay Moor No. 1 is intensely union and I do not believe any of the men will work unless the strike order is recalled."¹⁶³ Cabell then detailed the union's position, which bears repeating in full because it describes the union's past and present regard for the Low Moor Iron Company:

George W. Lavender, the spokesman of the miners claims that in calling a strike into effect midnight, October 31st, that the miners are not violating the agreement. The way he construes Section 62 of the agreement between the New River coal operators and the United Mine Workers of America, District 29, that this agreement was killed when the operators and miners of the competitive fields adjourned without negotiating an agreement. He also claims that as far as his Local is concerned, that they will try to keep good faith with the Low Moor Iron Company, that since the signing of this agreement September 1st and the dissatisfaction and unrest which was created at the mines of the Low Moor Iron Company they [sic] kept at work with almost a record work from one day to a month and a half on account of the dissatisfaction. . . .

He also said that Kay Moor Mine No. 1 had the best record for operation of any mine in the United States. On account of labor trouble this mine had only been idle two days and the cause of the mine being idle then was entirely the fault of the Company, that the Superintendent had made an agreement outside of the contract and although they were in the right and the Company in the wrong, they went back to work. He then said that he hoped there still be some way by which an agreement could be reached in order that they could continue at work, for the miners stood ready at times to negotiate for an honorable settlement just to both sides, but said the operators of the central competitive fields had refused to do so.

Mr. Lavender spoke very nicely of the Low Moor Iron Company and its officials and of how pleasant their relations had been with them.¹⁶⁴

Kay Moor miners participated in the strike.¹⁶⁵ F.U. Humbert and E.M. Cabell discussed their options, and agreed that if an agreement was not soon in coming, that they would favor declaring an open shop provided other operators do likewise, and if federal protection was provided. Cabell

162. General Manager to Cabell, October 27, 1919, LMIC, Acc. 662, Box 10A, Folder: 1919, Kay Moor, Low Moor, UVAC.

163. Cabell to Humbert, October 30, 1919, Ibid.

164. Ibid.

165. Approximately 466 mines, employing around 40,000 miners, were shut down during the strike. In the New River fields, 130 mines closed, affecting 12,000 men. "Pocahontas Mines Operate; Some Union Mines Resume; Army Cowes 'Red' Element," *Black Diamond* 63, no. 19 (November 8, 1919): 426.

was not in favor of running an open shop using only hired private guards for protection. According to Cabell, "This has been tried at Kay Moor in the past and in my opinion, was very unsatisfactory."¹⁶⁶

During this strike the UMWA planned a special assault on nonunion fields in Logan and Mingo counties, located south and west of Fayette County. Operators there hired deputies and mine guards, with the subsequent consequences of atrocities against miners and their families. Five thousand miners gathered to "march on Logan" to get Don Chapin, the notorious sheriff of Logan County, and were dissuaded, not by the threat of facing federal troops and charges of treason, but by Frank Keeney, president of district 17 of the UMWA. He assured the crowd that the reports of brutality by deputy sheriffs were exaggerated.¹⁶⁷

By late November 1919 miners of district 29 of the New River field began returning to work. Fully 80 percent of the miners returned, with production running about 80 percent.¹⁶⁸ The strike was settled in December 1919 with a 14 percent average wage increase granted the miners. This was short of the UMWA's demand for a 60 percent increase. The *Black Diamond* recorded miners' reaction:

They were highly displeased on the one hand at the action of Dr. [Harry A.] Garfield in limiting the increase to fourteen per cent and they were equally displeased at the failure of their leaders to secure a sixty per cent advance in wages. What made them madder than anything else was the failure of Lewis and his brother officials to grasp the chance to secure a thirty-one per cent increase.¹⁶⁹

The next major labor conflict occurred with the unionization efforts in Logan and Mingo counties in 1920-1921. It was during this unionization attempt that seven Baldwin-Felts agents, including two Felts brothers, Albert and Lee, were shot down in the "Matewan Massacre," in Matewan, West Virginia. A reoccurrence of terror followed: between July 1920 and July 1921 there were 125 acts of violence, with a death toll of more than 100 people. Another march on Logan County was planned, started, then called off. After the killing of several miners in the "Sharples Massacre," however, 5,000 men began marching again and fought 1,200 to 1,300 state police, deputy sheriffs and armed guards at the "Battle of Blair Mountain" for four days. Only federal intervention with troops could end the battle.¹⁷⁰

The New River Operators Association kept open communication with its member operators about the strike events as they occurred. Secretary Thomas L. Lewis issued bulletins describing

166. Cabell to Humbert, November 3, 1919, LMIC, Acc. 662, Box 10A, Folder: 1919, Kay Moor, Low Moor, UVAC.

167. Rice, *West Virginia*, pp. 228-229. McAlister Coleman stated Keeney was the head of the West Virginia district of the UMWA with a stronghold in Fairmont, West Virginia. Keeney headed 40,000 organized miners. Coleman, *Men and Coal*, p. 199.

168. "Check Off Rule Drives Men Out in W. Virginia," *Black Diamond* 63, no. 21 (November 22, 1919): 481.

169. "Miners Angered by 14% Increase," *Black Diamond* 63, no. 23 (December 6, 1919): 526. Dr. Harry A. Garfield was head of the U.S. Fuel Administration, and the eldest son of President James A. Garfield.

170. Rice, *West Virginia*, pp. 231-232. See also: Ambler and Summers, *West Virginia*, pp. 454-460.

events in the Logan County struggle.¹⁷¹ The New River operators asserted it was impossible to operate the mines and continue to pay the prevailing wages because of the postwar economic depression. Low Moor managers were urged by the New River Operators Association to offer work to their miners if they signed a petition to return to work at the rates paid previous to September 1, 1919. The mines were then locked out until the miners submitted to the cuts. Nearly 80 mines in the New River field were idle.¹⁷²

The aftermath of the miners' defeat in Logan and Mingo counties included the sharp drop in UMWA membership in district 17. By April 1922 the UMWA lost most of the New River members signed during World War I, and the local UMWA chapter, no. 2839, of district 29 was disbanded.¹⁷³ No negotiations between the operators and miners of the New River field concerning a new wage scale took place, indicative of the ineffectiveness of the UMWA's district 29. New River operators did not have to negotiate with the union because individual agreements were being made with the miners, and because so few miners remained in the union. Before this time a conference had always been held before the expiration of a contract. The last contract made was in September 1919; the one shortly broken by the November 1919 strike. Miners at 102 mines out of the 122 in the New River field took the initiative in accepting a reduction in pay and withdrew from the union. According to the *Black Diamond*, the miners appeared to be satisfied with the arrangements.¹⁷⁴

The UMWA failed to negotiate agreements with both the bituminous and anthracite coal operators to take the place of agreements in the Central Competitive Field which had expired on March 31, 1922. Union workers went on strike on April 1, 1922; 610,000 of 795,000 men complied with the strike call. Terrible conditions existed in the coalfields during this strike. In June 1922 the West Virginia Miners Relief Committee was formed and visited throughout the state to assess conditions. The committee focused primarily upon Fayette and Raleigh counties. Many of the 119 mines in the field were working as the operators had reduced wages and were operating nonunion. The commission estimated that between 2,500 and 3,000 families in the field were in need, with 12,000 to 15,000 people in these families. Continued unemployment or slack time aggravated the distress. For the past year and a half the bituminous coal market had been depressed, with mines lying idle for months. The New River and Kanawha fields suffered severely from this depression. The most needy were families evicted from company houses during the strike.¹⁷⁵

Many of the coal operators responded by opening their mines on the 1917 scale of wages and reemploying their men individually without union contract. The men returned to work in large numbers because of privation. At Kay Moor, 87 men returned to work during the week of May 11,

171. "Bulletin," New River Coal Operators Association, September 8, 1921, LMIC, Acc. 662, Box 106A, Folder: 1921 Jan - 1922 Jan, New River - Coal Operators Assoc., UVAC.

172. T.L. Lewis to Operating Coal Companies and Mine Managers, November 30, 1921, Ibid.; "Bulletin, Idle Coal Mines - New River District Cause of Idleness Explained," [December 12, 1921], LMIC, Acc. 662, Box 106A, Folder, 1921 Jan - 1922 Jan, New River Coal Operators Association, UVAC.

173. Rice, *West Virginia*, p. 233; Athey, *Kaymoor*, p. 29.

174. "New River Non-Union," *Black Diamond* 68, no. 13 (April 1, 1922): 314.

175. M.B. Hammond, "The Coal Commission Reports and the Coal Situation," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 38 (August 1924): 543-544; "Commission Finds Extreme Destitution Among Miners of New River Coal Fields," *United Mine Workers' Journal* XXXIII, no. 14 (July 15, 1922): 8-9.

1922.¹⁷⁶ Under 1917 wage scale, day laborers in and about the mines received \$4.10 and \$4.68 a day. According to the West Virginia Miners Relief Commission:

Unionism in parts of West Virginia where it has existed for years, notably in the New River field, is being driven into underground channels. Locals of the Union, made up of the unemployed, are meeting secretly and holding their charters under cover. The impression made upon the commission is that many of these men, clinging to what they regard as their fundamental rights, will work clandestinely for a reinstatement of collective bargaining. This bodes ill for industrial peace and is very likely to place the New River field in the same status as Mingo county and those other regions in West Virginia in which the union has been aggressively fought.¹⁷⁷

During the summer of 1922 agreements were reached in both the bituminous and anthracite fields. The bituminous agreement called for a conference of operators and miners to negotiate a new wage scale. It also called for a joint committee of inquiry, the expenses of which were half paid by the operators and half by the UMWA.¹⁷⁸

Thus was established the United States Coal Commission, created by act of Congress approved September 22, 1922. This commission was to secure information concerning all problems in connection with the coal industry. Six commissioners were appointed by President Warren Harding to pursue the work.¹⁷⁹ The coal commission's work provided a detailed look at conditions in coal fields across the nation. It analyzed economic questions of coal production as well as scrutinized living conditions. Most importantly, the commission made recommendations for solving problems in the highly-troubled industry.¹⁸⁰

The *Fayette Tribune* reported the coal commission's findings:

Comparing the controversy in the coal situation to that over slavery just prior to the Civil war, the United States coal commission declared in a report submitted to President [Calvin] Coolidge that the national interest required establishment of a fixed code for settlement of this and other industrial reports.

176. *Fayette Tribune*, May 11, 1922.

177. "Commission Finds Destitution," 9. The commission, named by Dr. Stein S. Wise, rabbi of the Free Synagogue, New York, consisted of: Father R.A. McGowan, National Catholic Welfare Council, Washington; Dr. Sidney E. Goldstein, associate rabbi of the Free Synagogue, New York; and Winthrop D. Lane, journalist and author. *Ibid.*

178. Hammond, "Coal Commission," 546-547.

179. A seventh commissioner was appointed, but when he could not be excused from his federal judgeship duties he resigned and his position was not filled. None of the six appointees were miners or coal operators, and only two had some knowledge of the coal industry. The appointees were: John Hays Hammond, a mining engineer; George Otis Smith, director of the U.S. Geological Survey; Edward T. Devine, a writer and teacher of social economy; former U.S. vice-president Thomas R. Marshall; Clark Howell, editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*; and Charles P. Nell, a former U.S. commissioner of labor. *Ibid.*, 548-549.

180. U.S. Coal Commission investigators examined coal towns in West Virginia, providing detailed descriptions of living conditions. For the commission investigator's description of Kay Moor in 1922-1923, see chapter III.

Regardless of the inherent rights possessed by both sides, the commission held the necessity of coal to the general public makes it incumbent upon both operators and workers to make some personal sacrifices in the interest of the commonwealth.

The condition resembles the conflict in independence concerning human rights and the then clearly constitutional right of human slavery, the report said. The great mass of those arrayed upon either side were unwilling to compromise or adjust. It was permitted to go on until the agony of a fraternal war solved the problem. It is to be hoped that we have learned wisdom by experience.

If industrial peace is to be hoped for, the commission said, then some method must be found to guarantee, as near as fallible human judgment may, equally exact justice to capital, to labor and to the public. There must be one yardstick adopted by which all controverted questions are to be measured. Public interest demands that certain fixed principles shall be recognized by both capital and labor as this yardstick.

. . .

The commission does not find, notwithstanding many unfortunate occurrences, unlawful acts and unwise statements that it is or has been the ultimate object of the United Mine Workers of America to unionize all the mines by force if necessary. Upon the other hand, it does not find regardless of unfortunate statements and unlawful conduct, that it is the fixed purpose of non union operators to destroy the United Mine workers.

The commission chooses rather to give those who are from the moral standpoint, charged with violation of the law, the benefit of the doubt as to criminal intent.¹⁸¹

Almost seemingly in response to the U.S. Coal Commission's report, the Logan and Mingo battles in West Virginia were followed by strikes in 1924-1929 after the coal companies' rejection of negotiated labor agreements in the northern fields.¹⁸² The coal depression in the 1920s stiffened competition between the northern and southern coal producers. The UMWA and northern coal operators negotiated the Jacksonville Agreement of 1924 which held operators to a fixed wage scale. Southern operators, however, could lower wages, thereby acquiring a larger share of even the depressed market. Once again, the renegade southern operators managed to undersell their northern competitors in the unionized fields. After the Jacksonville Agreement took effect, most of the nonunion operators reduced wages to the 1919 level, and then to prewar levels. By the end of 1925 almost all mines in southern West Virginia, eastern Tennessee, and southwest Virginia were nonunion. Production was at an all-time high.¹⁸³

Thus, the collapse of the UMWA in West Virginia after 1923 was the result of many factors. Historian Thomas Edward Posey determined:

181. Fayette *Tribune*, September 12, 1923. See also: Hammond, "Coal Commission," for an analysis of the commission's recommendations.

182. Dix, *Analysis*, p. 16.

183. Eller, *Miners*, pp. 156-157.

The competition of the non-union southern mines upon the natural market of the organized northern fields, the unwillingness of the miners' unions to accept wage reductions in the organized areas, the decline in the demand for coal occasioned by better coal utilization, and the competition of other fuels, the depression which began in 1929, and the unemployment caused by this combination of circumstances reduced the proportion of the coal mined under union contract from under 70 per cent in 1922 to approximately 20 per cent in 1932.¹⁸⁴

The Kay Moor mines were sold in 1925. Very little information is known concerning labor relations at Kay Moor under the new ownership because of lack of access to any surviving papers of the Berwind Land Company. It is known that in January 1927 the New River and Pocahontas mines at Kay Moor, Minden, and Layland abandoned an increased pay scale that had gone into effect on November 1, 1926. According to a local newspaper, "The action was not unexpected by employees who were prepared for the cut and accepted the situation philosophically. These miners have a record of continuous operation and attract the highest class of labor."¹⁸⁵

Unionization of the southern West Virginia mines finally occurred after the passage of the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) in 1933. This act was designed to help stabilize industry during the Great Depression, and it offered an eight-hour work day and minimum wage scales as a way for industry to employ large numbers of workers. Section 17(a), also called the "magna carta of labor," guaranteed employees the right of collective bargaining and outlawed yellow-dog contracts. Coal operators who were so against the union agreed to accept collective bargaining because it might help the industry, then deteriorating badly during the depression. The UMWA jumped on the opportunity to organize practically all of the country's coal mines. Within just a few months all West Virginia was organized and the traditional anti-union defenses were broken.¹⁸⁶

The following description by McAlister Coleman bore witness to the intensive, history-making unionization drive:

That spring [1933], [John L.] Lewis put himself at the head of an organizing campaign which union men still refer to with awed admiration. Assembling the largest force of organizers the United Mine Workers had ever put into the field, some hundred professionals and volunteers, he set aside for their use the last cent of the International Treasury and bade them go forth . . . Through territory where, not long before, federal troops and government had been deployed against the marching unionists, into the Rockefeller domains of Consolidation and the Mellon-held stronghold of Western Pennsylvania drove the organizers calling out "The President wants you to join. Your government says 'Join the United Mine Workers.'"

The instantaneous mass response to the organizers' appeals on the part of men who had never seen the inside of a union hall stunned the non-union operators and must have come as a surprise to Lewis himself. His emissaries were deluged with

184. Posey, *Labor Movement*, p. 204.

185. *Fayette Tribune*, January 12, 1927.

186. Rice, *West Virginia*, p. 234; Dix, *Analysis*, pp. 22-23. A yellow-dog contract is one wherein a worker disavows membership in and agrees not to join a union during his or her employment.

applications for membership. They gave the obligation to jammed mass meetings in such supposedly anti-union bastions as Mingo County, West Virginia, and the Connellsville coke regions in Pennsylvania. When hard-working organizers met and compared notes they exclaimed exultantly: "The old union is coming back, by God."¹⁸⁷

The NIRA was passed on June 16 and almost immediately afterward, organization efforts were underway in Fayette County. On Sunday, June 18, 1933, 500 miners paraded through the streets of Oak Hill, West Virginia. An organizational meeting was held at Kay Moor the next day, Monday, June 19. More than 200 men reportedly joined the union. Meetings were also held that week at Minden, Oak Hill, Gatewood, and other places in the county.¹⁸⁸

The new federal legislation allowed John L. Lewis to gain new authority and stature, and in 1933 he negotiated the first of several industry-wide contracts called the Appalachian Agreements, which effectively eliminated unfavorable wage differentials for the West Virginia miners. Coal operators objected, but subsequent legislation, the Wagner Labor Relations Act of 1935 and the Guffey Coal acts of 1935 and 1936, supported the miners' gains.¹⁸⁹

In February 1937 operators of the New River field voiced their approval of the Guffey-Vinson coal control bill. The bill had as its main provision the fixing of coal prices in the bituminous fields. It made no reference to wages. Prices were to be fixed by the federal government. The original Guffey bill was enacted over the opposition of many operators in the last session of Congress, and was later declared unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court. The operators voiced the opinion that if coal control legislation were needed, the Guffey-Vinson bill was preferred to any other legislation.¹⁹⁰

All of these union negotiations occurred during the Great Depression in an effort to bring some stability to the industry. Economic conditions were so bad in 1938 that Kay Moor laid off 300 men in April.¹⁹¹ The miners won a "union shop" in the New River field in 1939, with the exception of the McKell mines at Kilsyth, Tamroy, and Oswald. Unionization brought discipline into the coal mines, with the coming of uniform hourly wages, daily working hours, and a limited number of paid holidays.¹⁹²

Following the NIRA of 1933 and the Wagner Labor Relations Act of 1935, labor relations were peaceful in West Virginia until World War II. In 1943 John L. Lewis presented wage demands to the coal operators, resulting in the union striking in the middle of the war to secure their

187. Coleman, *Men and Coal*, pp. 148-149.

188. *Fayette Journal*, June 23, 1933.

189. Rice, *West Virginia*, p. 234. For the Text of the 1934 Appalachian Agreement, see "Stoppages Mark Adoption of Shorter Day; Smokeless Agreement Signed," *Coal Age* 39, no. 5, (May 1934): 199-205. For the text of the 1943 Appalachian Agreement, see Coleman, *Men and Coal*, pp. 312-335. These agreements covered not only wages, but vacations, hours, union checkoff, set 17 as the minimum age for working in the mines, and grievance committee setup.

190. *Fayette Democrat*, February 3, 1937; *Fayette Journal*, February 4, 1937.

191. *Fayette Tribune*, April 15, 1938.

192. Athey, *Kaymoor*, p. 30.

demands. Bypassing the War Labor Board, which had been created to settle strikes, Lewis pulled out his men on May 1. The result was national anger. According to Thomas Edward Posey:

This exhibition of power by labor aroused the fear and animosity of conservative, individualistic farmers, soldiers, merchants, white collar workers, and capitalists to new heights. Even some liberals and communists joined them in vitriolic denunciations of Lewis. Instead of being the Samson of labor he became the betrayer of labor. Some law abiding citizens claimed that he ought to be lynched. Some soldiers insisted that he be shot as a traitor and damned his "coal black soul." Congress prepared and passed stringent anti-labor legislation, but Lewis and his miners never wavered. Three times he called them out on strike in 1943, and three times they came out 100 per cent strong.¹⁹³

To understand why the miners followed Lewis with "unquestioned allegiance," is to understand the traditional miner's independence and the miners' belief in the union and union policy. To the miner, the union "gives him a sense of dignity, security, freedom, and equality with the operators. As a matter of fact, especially in West Virginia, a strong union not only protects his economic rights, but also his civil liberties."¹⁹⁴ During the war years the miners won their demands in their fight with President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

John L. Lewis first proposed his "participating royalty" plan in 1945 even though it did not become a negotiating issue until 1946. He asked that coal producers pay \$.10 for each ton of coal mined to the UMWA to provide for medical, hospitalization, insurance, and rehabilitation protection.¹⁹⁵ At the 1946 Wage Conference, Lewis delivered his famous speech wherein he indicted the coal industry for "over a period of 14 years, through mismanagement, cupidity, stupidity, and wanton neglect, made dead 28,000 mine workers; and for the same reason, violently mangled, crushed and shattered the bodies of 1,400,000 workers."¹⁹⁶

After a month of negotiation the conference was stalemated; Lewis refused to yield, the operators refused to concede. A strike followed, wherein President Harry S Truman seized the mines on May 21, 1946. A contract was finally signed on May 29 by the secretary of the interior and John L. Lewis. This contract contained the famous Welfare and Retirement Fund clause.¹⁹⁷

Further data concerning the post-1925 history of Kay Moor No. 1 has not been obtained due to lack of access to any surviving Kay Moor papers owned by the Berwind Land Company. Low Moor Iron Company records reveal that Kay Moor No. 1 was opened to supply coal and coke for the iron company's blast furnaces at Low Moor, Virginia. The mine was sold in 1925 in an attempt to stave off financial collapse, an attempt which failed as the Virginia iron industry faltered.

193. Posey, *Labor Movement*, p. 216.

194. Ibid.

195. Ibid., p. 223.

196. Ibid., p. 224.

197. Ambler and Summers, *West Virginia*, p. 464.

The Kay Moor mine was representative of others in the southern West Virginia smokeless fields in terms of its operation and labor. Even though compressed-air coal cutters were introduced almost as soon as the mine opened, Kay Moor basically remained a pick and hand-loading operation. Kay Moor miners were composed of native West Virginians, workers attracted from coalfields in neighboring states, southern and eastern European immigrant labor, and migrant southern Blacks. Race relations were generally good, and certainly better than in northern cities and in southern sharecropping fields.

Kay Moor No. 1 remained non-union despite efforts of the UMWA until 1916. Even so, the union was short-lived, not to survive in southern West Virginia until after 1933. The miners at Kay Moor No. 1 supported national strike efforts, while Low Moor management joined the New River Operators Association in an effort to stop union activity. Only New Deal legislation and chaotic conditions in the coal industry during the Great Depression could insure the success of unionization.

The pride, independence and skill of the coal miner was legendary. Celebrated in song and story, the coal miner lived daily in the shadow of death from a careless move or a weak roof. Yet, as independent as an individual miner might have been, limits of life and work were dictated by controls inherent with living in a company town. The phenomenon of company towns accompanied the rapid growth of the coal industry in southern West Virginia.

Kay Moor No. 1 was supported by such a town where miners and their families lived their lives under the watchful eye of Low Moor Iron Company and New River and Pocahontas Consolidated Coal Company management. Kay Moor Top and Bottom housed generations of West Virginia mining families, from 1901 until 1962.

CHAPTER THREE: THE TOWN OF KAY MOOR

West Virginia changed dramatically with the coming of the railroad and the coal industry. Within just a few decades the mountains were filled with people and communities, while the din of mining activities and the smoke of coke ovens filled the air. Mining infrastructure, including tippie, headhouse, conveyor, coke ovens, gob piles, coal cars, stores, railroad lines and housing clogged hollows and hillsides. According to Ronald D. Eller, "The mountains were changed forever."¹ Just as important as the railroad and coal industry in bringing change, in terms of the effect on human experience and environmental impact, was the phenomenon known as the company town.

Coal Towns

The company towns were symbols of the new industry arriving in West Virginia. The town was the dominant institution in the miners' lives; where the miners worked and lived and became involved with social activities. It was also where the dominant value system belonged to the coal operators and owners. The mining towns also reflected the changes in land ownership which had occurred in West Virginia.²

Company-owned towns accompanied industrialization in other sections of the United States, but their influence was not as pervasive as it was in southern West Virginia. Ronald D. Eller wrote: "Casting its shadow over the lives of almost every mountain family, it [the company town] directly or indirectly defined the nature of community life in a large part of the region during a critical period of cultural change."³ West Virginia coal towns were even accused of being "unbelievably feudalistic."⁴ In the 1920s four-fifths (78.8 percent) of mine workers in southern West Virginia lived in company towns. This compared with 64.4 percent of miners in eastern Kentucky and southwest Virginia; 50.7 percent in Pennsylvania, 24.3 percent in Ohio, and only 8.5 percent in Indiana and Illinois. Five hundred company towns existed in the southern Appalachian coalfields. Independent incorporated towns numbered only 100.⁵

There were several reasons why company towns were so prevalent in southern West Virginia. The region was opened so quickly that towns were built almost overnight. Incoming miners could not move into already established communities as they could in other, more-settled states. Additionally, miners had to live near the mines because good roads were lacking, and large groups of laborers could not commute to the mine daily. The company towns were the solution to the housing shortage. An additional benefit for the operators was the degree of control offered by such tight living space.⁶

1. Eller, *Miners*, p. 162.

2. Ibid., p. 162. For an analysis of social and physical conditions in another southern West Virginia town, the coal camp of Wad, see: Thomas J. Morris, "The Coal Camp A Pattern of Limited Community Life" (M.A. Thesis, West Virginia University, 1950).

3. Eller, *Miners*, p. 162.

4. Helen G. Norton, "Feudalism in West Virginia," *The Nation* 133, no. 3449 (August 12, 1931): 154-155.

5. Eller, *Miners*, pp. 162-163.

6. Ibid., p. 163.

Housing matters were rarely issues in labor-management relations, except that higher wages usually meant better living conditions. However, the coal industry was an exception. The prevalent belief was that the coal companies had major responsibility for their miners' living conditions. The industry did not choose to be involved with housing and welfare issues, but geography almost dictated it. A coal company had to provide housing if it wanted to attract and keep miners.⁷

Another general characteristic of coal towns was their life-span. Coal resources were limited, and after the mine was exhausted the coal towns were usually deserted. The average life of a coal town was 20 to 25 years.⁸ The Sewell seam at Kay Moor was particularly rich and large for it to have been mined for 62 years.

Much controversy surrounded the coal company town. It was often the center of the endless argument over the degree of control mine operators could possess over their workforce, not only at the mines, but in every aspect of the mining families' lives. The image of the cold-hearted coal operator who threw poor, defenseless miners' families out of their homes during the night is still a strong one in many American memories.⁹

Company towns, reasons for their existence, and socio-economic rationales for the way miners lived and thought have all been studied. The 1923 U.S. Coal Commission offered a thoughtful explanation of the evolution of the company towns and the status of the miners and their families who lived in them:

There were serious labor troubles in 1912-13, after which there was a period of quiet until the extraordinary demand for coal during the World War. At the same time the union made elaborate preparations to unionize the unorganized fields. The topography of the country, the sparseness of the population, the isolation of the valleys one from the other, the general poverty of the counties, lack of level ground upon which to build towns, and the fact that mining machinery and equipment were usually on leased ground are all important factors in the situation. The operator had to establish his business where the coal was and bring his labor to it. He had to construct houses for his employees and furnish with necessary appurtenances, such as water supply, and establish stores where they might purchase food and clothing. He arranged for medical attendance and hospital service, provided for schools and schoolhouses, employed teachers, or at least paid part of their wages, and endowed

7. Robert F. Munn, "The Development of Model Towns in the Bituminous Coal Fields," *West Virginia History* XL, no. 3 (Spring 1979): 243-244. Munn discussed the growth of "model towns," wherein living conditions were improved in an effort to attract a "better class of miners." This class would work harder, be sober and stable, and resist the union. All aspects of the miners' environment would be planned and controlled by the "benevolent and prudent employer." After 1920 interest in model towns disappeared because of economic depression, an abundance of labor, the near collapse of the UMWA, and less belief in the view that company benevolence insured labor peace. Most of the model towns survived physically until the Great Depression. Expensive social welfare activities, such as efforts to provide education and improve morals, disappeared while inexpensive programs such as promoting gardens and efficient first aid teams continued. *Ibid.*,: 245, 248, 251-253. There is evidence of some of these programs at Kay Moor, regardless if planned by management in the interest of providing a "model town." Examples are the costs for Kay Moor's schools and minister, borne by the Low Moor Iron Company, documented by the U.S. Coal Commission investigator in 1923.

8. Thomas, "Coal Country," p. 279.

9. For instance consider the words of West Virginia coal operator W.P. Tams Jr.: "The company town and the company store have long been favorite target of critics of the coal industry. Many appear to have believed that both were imposed on helpless miners by rapacious operators. However, such a view reveals a complete misunderstanding of the situation." W.P. Tams Jr., *The Smokeless Coal Fields of West Virginia* (Morgantown: West Virginia University Library, 1963), p. 51.

churches and community buildings. Thus it appears that each mine or group of mines became a social center, with no privately owned property except the mine, and no public places or public highway except the bed of the creek which flowed between the mountain walls. These groups of villages dot the mountain sides down the river valleys and need only castles, drawbridges, and donjon-keeps to reproduce to the physical eye a view of feudal days. There were no public corporations in many places to provide for the public welfare or to maintain law and order, so the mine owner had one of his employees deputized by the sheriff, and thus came into existence the much discussed "mine guard." As the employees were the only ones who were furnished homes and their occupancy was contingent upon their employment, the courts of that State have decided that the relation of master and servant, and when the employment ceased the mine owner came into possession of the house.

Thus the position of the miners in company-owned houses is anomalous. They are not tenants and have no more rights than a domestic servant who occupies a room in the household of the employer. The documents which pass for leases often give the company complete control over the social life of the families who live in the houses owned by the company. . . .

Under the existing laws the miners have a legal right to sign and the companies have a right to require them to sign such leases as a condition of obtaining employment. That they are ill-advised, obnoxious, and inconsistent with the spirit of free local communities hardly requires argument. Self-respecting American citizens will find a way to put an end to them. In the case of a helpless, submerged working population, the legislatures of the several States might well consider making such "leases" illegal, like any other contract which is contrary to the public interest. Self-respecting American miners, who have on other occasions shown themselves by no means contemptible defenders of their own interests, may prefer to take the remedy into their own hands and by insisting on reasonable leases, on the incorporation of their villages, and otherwise, win for themselves those elementary civil liberties which must always be won and held by free peoples for themselves rather than thrust upon them by external benevolence.

Operators rarely if ever resided at the mines; managers and superintendents were the possessors of all the authority, both public and private.¹⁰

Another viewpoint was offered by the Women's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor in 1925. In the eyes of the women who married not only miners, but the entire company town system, life in a coal "camp" offered no stability or sense of belonging:

Apart from, though a consequence of, the uncertainty of leasehold on the home there is a rootless quality about life in a company-control led town. It is a coal-mining "camp." A woman may have lived and labored there a month or a lifetime; her babies may have been born there; her boys may have grown into manhood, may have mined through the years of maturity, and gone to graves dug close by the scenes of their labors; but still it is a mining "camp." What's in the name is in the

10. Senate, *Report*, Part I, pp. 169-170. For other general descriptions of the nature of coal company towns, see Conley, *History*, pp. 73-80; Eller, *Miners*, pp. 182-198.

grain of the wife's thought as it is in the thought of her family and of the public. It is the ever present sense of temporariness, a place not in which to live, but in which to camp – for a month, a year, or perhaps a lifetime. . . . Not the best, nor the average, nor the worst mining community, if owned and controlled by the operating company, can be anything but a camp, and on no camp will descend that spirit of "to have and to hold" that is at once the breath of life and the stimulator and regulator of healthful community growth.

Especially do the womenfolk of the mine worker's family reflect this camp of "mining-patch" complex:

"It's no place for girls to live in – no place to bring up a family. We've been here 20 years and more; seen managers come and managers go – some good and some bad. But after 20 years we have nothing that we can call our own."

This is the utterance of one woman, but its import is that of all the others commenting clearly or confusedly, with calmness or with impassioned vehemence, on mining life in the company-owned camp.¹¹

In spite of the general bad reputation company towns possess in current thought and discussion of coal mining, the community at Kay Moor generally seems to have been an acceptable place to live, in terms of physical layout, sanitation, and upkeep of housing. Kay Moor was one of the average camps, not the best, but certainly not the worst.

As far as social control is concerned, it is true that during the years of unionization efforts, Low Moor Iron Company management, and probably New River and Pocahontas management, attempted to control the activities of their employees at the mines. However, the U.S. Coal Commission's investigator gave the community relatively high ratings, at least one local newspaper article in 1919 discussed the good conditions in the Kay Moor camp, and oral interviews of residents living in Kay Moor in the 1930s and 1940s are all positive in their recollections.¹² Even though the newspaper article may have been just publicity, and the oral interviewees may have remembered only the good of their lives at Kay Moor, it is hard to dispute the findings of the U.S. Coal Commission for an unbiased view of the physical living conditions, if not the emotional and social conditions, at Kay Moor in 1923.

An article appeared in the *Fayette Tribune*, written by Reverend A.M. Dial of Huntington, West Virginia, who visited Kay Moor in 1919. Reverend Dial stated that the miners, even at

11. U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, *Home Environment and Employment Opportunities of Women in Coal-Mine Workers' Families*, Bulletin of the Women's Bureau, No. 45 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1925), p. 29.

12. For a sample interview, read the remarks of Virgil Burgess concerning Kay Moor. He remembered, "Kaymoor was a mixture. They had white, black, some foreign and all, but there was no particular area where they [the coal company] were drawing from. People that lived down there liked it. They had the store and had the office and the Post Office, and a school. And the ones that got down there liked to socialize among themselves. They liked living down there." Interview with Virgil Burgess, p. 47.11, NERI.

"rugged" Kay Moor, possessed all the creature comforts and conveniences and that the people were "good people" who got along with management.¹³ (See text of the article in the footnote.)

The coal commission investigator at Kay Moor, G.H. Van Wagner, wrote in his notes about Kay Moor residents, "Tenants well satisfied. No complaint." Van Wagner gave the Kay Moor location a 96 out of 100 rating. The location had open, level to hilly country which offered normal and well drained building sites. Van Wagner commented: "Drainage very good. Small part of camp at bottom of mountain partly on hillside but drainage is excellent." The location also had sufficient to generous space for all the necessary buildings. Kay Moor was not an isolated coal camp: there was a good railroad and a concrete highway which provided interaction with surrounding communities.¹⁴ (See illustrations 5-8 for views of Kay Moor Bottom and the New Camp.)

Van Wagner gave Kay Moor a camp rating of 81.22 out of a possible 100 points. This rating was based upon quality of housing, water supply and distribution, sewage and waste disposal, camp upkeep, food and merchandise supply, medical and health provision, educational provision, and recreational provision.¹⁵ Each one of these topics will be addressed in consideration of the coal commission rating. This commission's findings will be used in discussions of Kay Moor's physical setting and accommodations.

The U.S. Coal Commission's rating system was based upon several factors. Kay Moor's 96 point rating for location included scrutiny of the site, available space, and "facilities for intercourse with other communities," meaning accessibility of cities or towns not owned by a coal company.¹⁶ Kay Moor received the following ratings on each factor which influenced the desirability of the community as a suitable place to live: water – 90.5; sewage – 73.0; housing – 77.1; upkeep –

13. Reverend Dial's viewpoint reveals his feelings concerning the union in his description of Kay Moor miners' relationship with Low Moor management: "Kay Moor is a mining town two miles above Fayette Station on New River, and is the property of the Low Moor Iron Company of Virginia, E.M. Cabell is the superintendent. The town is built on the rocky hillside on the west side of the river and one is astonished to see the conveniences the company has provided at great cost. One would not think that such conveniences could be provided in such a rugged place but they are there and I have enjoyed them. . . . The homes where I visited and where I was hospitably entertained had all the necessities and many of the luxuries of life. And the people; I went there to preach, and first met Mr. Cabell, at his office and incidentally Mr. Cabell said: "We have good people here Mr. Dial," but when I saw the splendid audiences and discerned the culture and refinement manifest by the women and the manly deportment in evidence among the men I thought Mr. Cabell had made a ver [sic] conservative statement when he said, "We have good people here." I have preached all over this city [Huntington] and I don't think I ever preached to a more dignified audience than was assembled in that little theatre that night at Kay Moor. Why is this? You know this is not the case in all the mining towns. I have been thinking and drawn the contrast between Kay Moor and some other mining camps that I have visited and it is great. It certainly is not because of any natural advantages possessed [sic] by Kay Moor for its natural advantages are inferior to many other mining towns. . . . But to go back to Kay Moor, I don't think they will pay any better wages there than elsewhere but the men are not only living well but are laying up money, and they seem to love their homes and I did not hear an unkind word by the workmen about their employers, or vice versa. There seemed to be such a splendid fraternal feeling existing between the men of the company. It seemed that their interests were mutual. Mr. Cabell seems to love the men and the men to love him. Each has the others interest at heart. *Fayette Tribune*, December 18, 1919.

14. RG-68, United States Coal Commission (U.S.C.C.), Records of the Division of Investigation of Labor Facts, Living Conditions Section, Completed Mining Community "A" Schedules, (Form LC-12), with Camp Ratings 1922-23. (Logan District, W.Va. – New River District W.VA.). Entry 62, Box 31, National Archives, Suitland, Maryland (NA – Suitland).

15. Ibid.

16. Senate, *Report*, Part III, Marie L. Obenauer, Appendix I Table Summarizing Data on Living Conditions and Supplemental Tables on Composition of the Bituminous Coal-Mining Population, p. 1481.

63.0; education – 78.2; recreation – 95.0. The coal commission investigator believed that Kay Moor had a remaining probable life of 70 years.¹⁷

Kay Moor Demographics

The 1910 U.S. census of the Kaymoor Precinct, Fayetteville District provided for each resident their house number, name, relation, sex, race, age, place of birth, profession, industry in which they work, and much more data. (See appendix 4 for 1910 census.) More than 600 people were listed as living in the precinct – whites and blacks, with a handful of immigrants. Most of the heads of households were born in other states with some, if not all, of their children born in West Virginia. They emigrated mainly from nearby areas – Kentucky, Virginia, North Carolina – with Ohio, Pennsylvania, Maryland, South Carolina, and Michigan being represented. Most of the boarders seemed to be living in twos, threes, or fours with host families although there were a few large boarding houses.

Almost all of the men were affiliated with the mining industry in some capacity, be it in the mine itself or in a support position. There were miners and laborers in the mines as well as laborers in the coke yards. Other men were electricians, carpenters, sawyers, clerks, store managers, machinists, engineers, drivers, motormen, salesmen, bookkeepers, and masons. Women worked only as servants, teachers, or keepers of boarding houses. The inhabitants were relatively young; the adults being in their 20s, 30s, and 40s. Very few were in their 50s, and only two, both women, were 60 years of age.¹⁸

Only generalizations can be made about the census data. It is not possible to tell exactly where these people lived despite the house numbers because no 1910 map has been found for correlation. Low Moor housing or rent records for 1910 were not found. It is not possible to tell if the miners and laborers even worked at Kay Moor; they may have commuted to nearby mines. Lists of Kay Moor employees are available for 1915 and 1925, but not 1910 in order to match names. Thus, the census data must be used with care; it can provide only general data about inhabitants of the Kay Moor vicinity in 1910.

West Virginia state gazetteers through the years provided different figures for Kay Moor's population. Kay Moor did not appear in the 1900 gazetteer; by 1902 the town was described only as "A station on the Greenbrier & New River branch of the C&O Ry., in Fayette county, 12 miles from Thurmond."¹⁹ In 1904 the population was given as 1,500, and it reportedly stayed at this level until 1914. The 1916 gazetteer, however, dropped the population to 200; it rose to 300 in 1918. The last gazetteer available, the 1923 edition, gave the population as 300.²⁰ The given population of

17. Ibid., p. 1489. Each factor carried weight in the final rating. These were: housing – 19; water – 25; sewage – 19; community layout and general upkeep – 8; food and merchandise supply – 10; medical and health – 6; and religion and recreation – 5. These factors carried different weights because coal operators did not have total control over such things as location; the camp had to be located where the coal seams were deposited. Ibid., p. 1482.

18. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910, Population, West Virginia (Kaymoor Precinct, Fayetteville District).

19. 1902 *West Virginia Gazetteer*, p. 397. Abbreviated citations are provided here for simplicity.

20. 1904 *West Virginia Gazetteer*, p. 416; 1906 *West Virginia Gazetteer*, p. 497; 1908 *West Virginia Gazetteer*, p. 404; 1914 *West Virginia Gazetteer*, p. 382; 1916 *West Virginia Gazetteer*, pp. 391-392; 1918 *West Virginia Gazetteer*, p. 415; 1923 *West Virginia Gazetteer*, p. 546.

1,500 is probably wrong; there is no known reason why the population would have dropped to 200 between 1916 and 1918.

Two hundred and ten men were employed at Kay Moor No. 1 in 1923. Of these, 140 lived in Kay Moor while 70 lived outside the camp in the nearby towns of Fayetteville, Gatewood, and Braggville. Almost all of the miners were Americans, half of them black, and only three Italians. Women in Kay Moor numbered 130. There were 140 children under the age of seven, 100 children aged 7-15, and 50 children aged 16-20.²¹

Evolution and Layout of Kay Moor

Once the coal operators secured their lease or purchased the land, as in the case of the Low Moor Iron Company, construction of a company town began. A haulage was built to move people and machines up and down the steep hillside. Built first was the tipple, administrative offices, and other necessary buildings for the start of business. Miners' housing soon followed. The mining structures and railroad tracks usually consumed all available land on the narrow valley floor, resulting in the squeezing in of miners' housing along the creeks or mountainside.²² The development of Kay Moor followed this general scenario.

Kay Moor's settlement was an adaptation to the environment. As stated, the layout of the mines and towns in New River Gorge was dictated by geography, with mine workings and housing being placed as close as possible to the drift mouth wherever flat space existed. A road or railroad imposed a linear pattern to the settlement, which, in Kay Moor's case, was affected by the narrow valley and the river front. Cultural influences also affected the settlement pattern, such as social needs, and the distance to work. Kay Moor is typical of other New River Gorge settlements as it was a linear village, was ephemeral and was a coal camp. The gorge forced settlement in a linear pattern and when the mine closed the town died. Kay Moor was blessed with a larger area of flat land, thus, four rows of houses existed in the camp at the bottom of the gorge, forming a rudimentary grid pattern.²³

Kay Moor consisted of two sections of settlement: one at the top of the gorge, Kay Moor Top, while the older settlement was at the bottom of the gorge, Kay Moor Bottom. Fifty houses were built in 1901, 45 in 1902, 17 in 1905, and 19 in 1918. The 1918 construction was a second settlement built at the top of the gorge called "New Camp" or "New Town."

No data was found concerning the initial housing construction in 1901, but a little is known of work in 1903. Kay Moor engineer Ed D. Wickes, wrote to General Manager E.C. Means about the lumber bill at the end of May. "The 1000 ft of 1/4 round is correct for twenty new houses and

21. RG-68, U.S.C.C., Records of the Division of Investigation of Labor Facts, Living Conditions Section, Completed Mining Community "4" Schedules, Entry 62, Box 31, NA – Suitland.

22. Eller, *Miners*, pp. 163-164; Thomas, "Coal Country," p. 280.

23. R.T. Hill, "Line Villages in Southern West Virginia: Examples in the New River Gorge," *Proceedings New River Symposium* Pipestem, West Virginia, April 11-13, 1985; pp. 121-124. For more information on coal mining and settlement morphologies, see: Mack H. Gillenwater, "Cultural and Historical Geography of Mining Settlements in the Pocahontas Coal Field of Southern West Virginia, 1880 to 1930" (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Tennessee, 1972), pp. 47-61. Gillenwater also presented an article on the subject of New River demographics at a New River Symposium. See: Mack H. Gillenwater, "A Geographical Analysis of the Demographic Changes in the New River Basin, 1900-1980," pp. 203-217, in *Proceedings New River Symposium*, Blacksburg, Virginia, April 14-16, 1983.

two additions to old houses. Each small house takes 400 lin.ft., not counting the corner at the floor and walls. I got this at 25 cts per 100 lin. ft. We have lumber ordered for 14 small houses and 2 larger ones, or we can make 4 small houses instead of the two larger ones."²⁴

These houses were assigned to miners as they started work at Kay Moor, and during periods of labor shortage the houses would stand empty. In May 1906 George T. Wickes, manager of the mines, and Ed D. Wickes wrote to Low Moor treasurer Frank Lyman, about the housing situation: "We have vacant houses as follows:

No. 1 – 12 houses below, and 5 on the hill,
No. 1 – 6 shanties,
No. 2 – 12 houses.

These, I hope to fill this month."²⁵ Lumber kept arriving in June for new houses and men were moving into the houses on the hill while five vacant ones remained below. Three new houses were almost finished and one shanty below was finished except for its chimney. Ed D. Wickes remarked: "We are being disappointed in getting families. Some of the new men are going to *send* for their families, this means of course that they wanted to see the place before sending for their wives and lends some uncertainty to the situation."²⁶ In November 1906 plans were made to build shanties "on a level with No. 1 mine," and to complete the one unfinished new house at Kay Moor Bottom.²⁷

The years of harsh winters and summer rains took their toll on the Kay Moor housing and the Low Moor Iron Company did not always keep up maintenance on the structures. In June 1918 several Kay Moor miners who belonged to the UMWA complained about needed repairs. They asked Low Moor owner Frank Lyman to investigate the conditions at both Kay Moor Top and Bottom as some of the houses were "almost falling down on our heads. . . ." Repeated applications to the superintendent brought no response. The new houses being built on the hill top had no water closets while the old houses were "not fit to live in most evry [sic] house leaks [sic] and the workmens Bed clothing are spoiled evry [sic] naid [sic]."²⁸

Evidently Frank Lyman agreed with the complaints for the houses were repaired within the year. Kay Moor Superintendent Edward M. Cabell wrote a series of reports to the manager of mines, J.W. Monteith, at Low Moor, detailing the work. The Bare Construction Company was evidently hired either to attend to some of the repairs alongside the company's carpenters and

24. Ed D. Wickes to E.C. Means, May 29, 1903, LMIC, Acc. 662, Box 28, Folder: 1903 Jan-May., E.C. Means Low Moor, UVAC. The U.S. coal commission provided the dates of construction, but Low Moor correspondence reveals other construction dates, specifically 1906.

25. Wickes and Wickes to Lyman, May 3, 1906, LMIC, Acc. 662, Box 87, Folder: 1906 From George T. Wickes, #1, Low Moor Iron Co., UVAC.

26. Wickes to E.C. Means, June 3, 1903, LMIC, Acc. 662, Box 28, Folder: 1903 June-Aug 11, E.C. Means, Low Moor, UVAC.

27. E.M. Cabell to Means, November 8, 1906, LMIC, Acc. 662, Box 243, Folder: Low Moor Iron Co. Correspondence, #8, UVAC.

28. Geo. H. Lipscomb, secretary, Kaymoor Local Union No. 2839, to Lyman, June 26, 1918, LMIC, Acc. 662, Box 10A, Folder: 1918 Kay Moor Low Moor, UVAC.

painters, or to construct all new houses. Near the end of January 1919 the company's painters were working on the 24 houses "on top the hill." The company's carpenters were repairing houses, while the Bare Construction Company had "practically completed the 24 houses on the hill. They should finish up within the next week."²⁹ The construction company completed their contract by February 14, 1919, and the carpentry force was busy repairing houses. The painters and carpenters kept at their work from February to May.³⁰

By October E.M. Cabell was able to report: "Practically all the leaky houses on the hill have been painted with the roof paint and I hope that they will not leak now. Some of this paint was used on the houses at the bottom and it seems to have stopped the leaks perfectly. It has not rained since those on the hill were painted."³¹ (See appendix 13 for a Kay Moor rent journal 1919-1920.)

In 1919 Low Moor management announced that during the year 20 new houses had been built, while 24 others were rebuilt and painted.³² The U.S. Coal Commission investigator also mentioned the "New Camp," but stated it consisted of 19 new bungalows, instead of 24. He added that Fayette County was in the process of building a concrete highway which was to run through the property adjacent to the new settlement.³³ (See Historical Base Map 1 for a layout of Kay Moor in 1923.) The written historical record is thus ambiguous about the numbers of houses built at the New Camp. The historical base maps also disagree on the number of houses at Kay Moor Top. It is evident, however, that at least 19 houses were built, probably by the Bare Construction Company in 1918-1919. Repairs of other housing was done by Low Moor employees.

After the purchase of Kay Moor by the New River and Pocahontas Consolidated Coal and Coke Company, the new owners reportedly were to make "extensive improvements and greatly increase the output of the two mines." One hundred houses were to be built on top of the gorge at Kay Moor Top.³⁴

More than a year later a new town was laid off on top of the hill at Kay Moor. The *Fayette Tribune* reported not only on the opening of the lots, but on the new opportunity being provided Kay Moor miners:

The lots are to be placed on sale to home builders and employees are to be given assistance and encouragement in efforts to own their own homes. The location of

29. Cabell to Monteith, January 21, 1919, LMIC, Acc. 662, Box 17, Folder: 1918 Dec – 1919 April, E.M. Cabell, Low Moor, UVAC; Cabell to Monteith, January 30, 1919, Ibid.

30. Cabell to Monteith, February 13, 1919, LMIC, Acc. 662, Box 17, Folder: 1918 Dec – 1919 April, UVAC; Cabell to Monteith, February 19, 1919, Ibid; Cabell to Monteith, March 12, 1919, Ibid; Cabell to Monteith, March 19, 1919, Ibid; Cabell to Monteith, May 1, 1919, LMIC, Acc. 662, Box 17, Folder: 1919 May – July, UVAC; Cabell to Monteith, May 15, 1919, Ibid; Cabell to Monteith, May 7, 1919, Ibid. The carpenters not only repaired houses, but added extra features: house #15 received a new room or pantry addition, and a wash room was added to house #13.

31. Cabell to Monteith, October 3, 1919, LMIC, Acc. 662, Box 17, Folder: 1919 Aug-Oct, E.M. Cabell to Monteith, Low Moor, UVAC.

32. *Fayette Tribune*, February 29, 1919.

33. RG-68, U.S.C.C., Records of the Division of Investigation of Labor Facts, Living Conditions Section, Completed Mining Community "A" Schedules, Entry 62, Box 31, NA – Suitland.

34. *Fayette Tribune*, February 25, 1925; *Fayette Journal*, February 27, 1925.

the lots is ideal, being directly on the paved road and within two miles of Fayetteville.

Sale of the lots is to be handled by the Fayette Land & Development Co., a recent incorporation organized within the N. R.&P. Co. , to take over real estate operations.

. . .

About 10 acres at the Kay Moor site have been plotted in generous sized lots. No price has been set on lots as yet and employees will be given first choice when the sale opens. There will be no auction sale or attempt to push sales.

This is the first time a coal company in this section has ever offered employees an opportunity to buy company lands.³⁵

Nothing more of this development is known, since New River and Pocahontas records are not available. Evidence of 100 more houses at Kay Moor Top has not been found. (See Historical Base Maps 2 and 3 for insurance maps of Kay Moor Top and Bottom in 1925.)

Company Housing

How to provide attractive, sanitary housing for workers was a matter of concern to many coal operators and government agencies alike. In 1916 the Bureau of Mines, in cooperation with the Bureau of Public Health, addressed the issue by offering guidelines on the planning of mining towns and the construction of miners' houses. The bureau's study focused on the town site and the advantages and disadvantages of establishing a town near the coal mine. Advice was offered on every topic, including layout of street, dimensions of house lots, types of houses and their orientation, windows, doors, fencing, interior and exterior finish, framework, circulation of air, gardens, domestic yard animals, and waste disposal. This treatise bears the mark of the Progressive Era in its remarks concerning the need for quality housing: "Ugly, insanitary, uncomfortable shacks should not be built even if, because of their cheapness, there is a demand for them from tenants. The obligation of the industry to society as a whole as well as to the tenant ought to forbid this. A cheerful, strong, healthy, virile race will not rise out of the filth and squalor of cheap hovels."³⁶

Part of the reason why attention was focused on mining housing during World War I was the need for companies to keep employees. One author, addressing coal operators in his article, insisted that employee housing was not an expense, but a direct benefit, capable of earning a 10 to 15 percent yield annually.³⁷

In company housing West Virginia coalfields were remarkably fair. In northern cities the southern blacks were relegated to substandard housing with high rents. This did not occur in very many coal company towns. Overcrowding did not become a problem because the companies

35. Fayette, *Tribune*, March 24, 1926.

36. U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Mines, *Houses for Mining Towns*, by Joseph H. White, Bulletin 87 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1916), p. 6. An interesting analysis of Kay Moor and other New River Gorge Towns could be made using the 1923 U.S. Coal Commission descriptions of coal towns in comparison with this 1916 ideal model town.

37. A.F. Huebner, "Houses for Mine Villages," *Coal Age* 12 (October 27, 1917): 717-720. This article contains sample floor plans and a recommendation of the "readicut" system of construction.

regulated the number of workers needed in the mines and the availability of housing. Most of the towns were integrated, and even in those that were not, distance dictated the interaction between the races. Blacks never lived too far "up the hollow" from the whites. Social barriers were often dropped as children of different races and ethnicity played together while their parents communicated socially.³⁸

At Kay Moor, according to former resident Domitrius Woodson, at one time there was segregated housing, but the company got away from it by moving in whites and blacks as the houses became available. "A white move into the Black section. . . . Then we played up and down the road together – Black and white. Go to each other's house and eat, and carry on like that. There wasn't no hard time down in there at all."³⁹ Woodson believed that relations between blacks and whites at Kay Moor were generally good. His explanation for the reason why:

Well, they were just down there, and there wasn't nothing else to do [except] for the colored and Blacks [meaning blacks and whites] to get together, and play and carry on together. That's all there was. You're down in that hole; you couldn't get out. you got certain hours you had to get out on the train, you got certain hours you had to go up on the haulage. So we just stayed down in there and played and carried on together.⁴⁰

According to historian David Alan Corbin integration worked well in a company town. Standardized housing insured equality as all the houses were built in relatively the same manner or style. Blacks and whites suffered equally from substandard housing or the insecurity of living in houses not their own. No home ownership also meant the same lack of upkeep in the repair of the property. Both black and white sections of segregated towns suffered from the poor maintenance. There was also no difference in the quality of public services received by the black and white households.⁴¹

Historian Jack French Jr., developed a different opinion of segregation in the coal camps after studying a town in southern West Virginia in 1953. He concluded that racial segregation existed everywhere in the community except in the mine. In his study, blacks and whites lived in their own neighborhoods, sat with their own race group in union meetings, and attended separate institutions, with the exception of the company store.⁴² This was partially true at Kay Moor. Separate facilities did exist for the two races, including the churches and schools. The status of segregated housing appeared to change throughout the years. Former Kay Moor residents, both black and white, did not recall, or chose not to recall, any racial problems. Further oral history interviews could provide more information on both the blatant and subtle nuances of race in daily life at Kay Moor, at least in the 1930s, 1940s, and early 1950s.

38. Corbin, *Life*, p. 66.

39. Interview with Domitrius Woodson, p. 20.17-20.18, NERI.

40. Ibid., pp. 20.28-20.29.

41. Corbin, *Life*, p. 66.

42. Jack French Jr., "Segregation Patterns in a Coal Camp," (M.A. Thesis, West Virginia University, 1953), pp. 64-65.

In 1923 the total population of men, women, and children living in the company houses, excluding the company officials, was 560. All of these residents were in family tenements. There were no bachelor boarding houses or shanties in 1923, although bachelor boarding houses were not unknown in Kay Moor's history. As early as 1903 one Dr. Coleman and a Mrs. Chevallie were boarding Kay Moor miners. In June, Ed D. Wickes complained about the insufficient boarding space: "All of our boarding house [sic] are full. From 10 to 14 men are being accommodated in one or two of the four room houses and one of the smaller room places."⁴³ According to former resident Dometrius Woodson there was also a boarding house in the 1930s or 1940s. He remembered a boarding house for single men and for married men who came in to work for the week and return to their homes for the weekend.⁴⁴

Apparently, miners living in company housing at Kay Moor did not sign leases, at least in 1923 under Low Moor Iron Company management. Miners and their families were allowed to remain in their houses if the mines shut down because of no work and during strikes. Families could also remain in the houses in case of accident, illness, or death. If a strike were declared water and lights were still supplied to the houses. Rents were not charged during the mine's down periods or during strikes.⁴⁵

There was no telephone communication except on company lines in Kay Moor in 1923. Individual homes did not have telephones.⁴⁶

The coal commission investigator, C.H. Van Wagner, had a few comments about housing at Kay Moor. Access to the houses was easy, and drainage very good, but he added, "machinery is rather close to a few houses." He believed the houses generally were placed so each family could get air, light, privacy, and space for yards and gardens. Van Wagner added, "there is not so much room at bottom of mountain."⁴⁷

In 1923 a total of 131 houses stood in Kay Moor; 18 were on the public road, 48 were located on the company road, and 65 were not located on a road. Fifty of these houses were built in 1901, 45 more in 1902, 17 in 1906, and 19 in 1918. There was land for sale adjacent to Kay Moor, near Garten, where miners could build homes. Outside houses were available for rent in Fayetteville, Gatewood, and Garten.⁴⁸

Russell Mathew, a Kay Moor Top former resident, described the maintenance of the houses at Kay Moor Top and the location of "New Town":

43. Wickes to Means, June 3, 1903, LMIC, Acc. 662, Box 28, Folder: 1903 June-Aug 11, E.C. Means, Low Moor, UVAC; Wickes to Means, May 20, 1903, LMIC, Acc. 662, Ibid.; Raven to Means, September 7, 1903, LMIC, Acc. 662, Box 68A, Folder July-Sept. 1903, #1, Kay Moor Low Moor, UVAC.

44. Interview with Dometrius Woodson, pp. 20.35-20.36, NERI.

45. RG-68, U.S.C.C., Records of the Division of Investigation of Labor Facts, Living Conditions Section, Completed Mining Community "A" Schedules, Entry 62, Box 31, NA-Suitland. No leases for Kay Moor housing were found in the Low Moor Iron Company records. For sample leases prevalent in West Virginia and other coal mining regions, see Senate, *Report*, Part III, Appendix III, "Copies of Leases Covering Occupancy of Mine-Workers' Houses and of Schedules Used in Collection of Field Data," pp. 1579-1602.

46. RG-68, U.S.C.C., Records of the Division of Investigation of Labor Facts, Living Conditions Section, Completed Mining Community "A" Schedules, Entry 62, Box 31, NA - Suitland.

47. Ibid.

48. Ibid.

Well, Kaymoor Top, so far as building, it did not change in that particular manner [over the years]. They just maintained those houses. There was a lot of maintenance there, but there was not any new buildings. . . . Of course, the camp that I mentioned . . . the "New Town," can remember some of those houses when they built them. But the rest of the camps there was just more or less some maintenance work to be done on the houses. . . . New Town was located . . . the location was in behind this particular area of what you call Gatewood. Just at the top of the mountain before you turn down into Kaymoor. Instead of going down you go in behind this old store building that recently burned [store #11] and that was known as New Town. Sometimes it was called New Camp, which is one and the same.⁴⁹

Former Kay Moor Top resident Virgil Burgess remembered that in 1937 when he moved into the community, it consisted of "probably thirty" houses, while at the bottom of the hill there were "roughly 85 to 90 homes."⁵⁰

Coal Town Architecture

All of the houses built at Kay Moor before 1923 were single family dwellings. Each house – whether built in 1901, 1902, 1905, or 1918 – had four rooms, fireplaces or stoves, single floors, and made of wood with a ground floor size of 34 ft. x 34 ft. Kay Moor received a 21.7 rating out of a possible 25 for the good construction of its houses. The outside finish of the houses were board and batten, the exceptions being 17 of the 1902 houses and all of the 1918, these houses being covered with weather-board. The inside finish of most of the houses was wood sheath, with the 1918 houses being plastered lathe. Rents for the houses varied: all of the 1901 houses rented at \$5.00; all of the 1902 houses rented at \$8.00 per month; the 1905 houses rented at \$5.00 per month; and all of the 1918 houses rented at \$8.00 monthly. Electricity was available in all 50 of the 1901 houses, but only in 28 of the 1902 houses. Only 25 of the 1901 houses had inside running water. All of the houses, regardless of construction date, had roofs of composition paper, rock post foundations, privy and a coal shed, but no cellars. Van Wagner remarked, "Everything in excellent repair."⁵¹

The Kay Moor houses were all bungalows in 1923. This style of architecture had four rooms. The roof of the attached porch followed the line of the gable roof. A chimney in the center of the house opened into all four rooms. Bungalows were inexpensive, easy to build, and allowed more exterior modifications.⁵²

49. Interview with Russell Matthew by William E. Cox, Oak Hill, West Virginia, August 10, 1981, typed transcript, p. 36.6. Copy available at NERI.

50. Interview with Virgil Burgess, p. 47.12, NERI.

51. RG-68, U.S.C.C., Records of the Division of Investigation of Labor Facts, Living Conditions Section, Completed Mining Community "A" Schedules, Entry 62, Box 31, NA-Suitland. Coal sheds or houses were usually rectangular in shape, 6 ft. x 4 ft. x 4 ft., and held one ton of coal. They were usually built of brick or a strong wood, such as oak. Gillenwater, *Cultural*, p. 99. When the community at Kay Moor No. 2 was built in 1903 a mining engineer wrote to the superintendent about the house foundations and revealed how the houses at Kay Moor Top were built: "I think your suggestion regarding the foundation for houses is wrong. I believe it would be better to put in rock pedestals, the same as we are now doing in the new houses at No. 1." Mining Engineer to Hubert Raven, August 14, 1903, LMIC, Acc. 662, Box 68A, Folder: July-Sept 1903, #1, Kay Moor, Low Moor, UVAC.

52. Gillenwater, *Cultural*, p. 75.

Russell Mathew moved to Kay Moor in 1918. He remembered the houses:

They were all painted the same color. They were white and green to start with. Then they finally painted them white and black. And they were all four rooms, except two. In other words, those two were four room houses but they were built at a later date and they were a little more sophisticated or were built in a little different fashion, which made them look better. But they were all four room houses. I think the two just had pantries, so-called pantries, different from the others. . . . The houses on the inside, some of them were papered. They had just plain wall paper. And some of them, nothing but the ceiling was painted . . . the ceiling was painted. That's the way the inside of the houses generally looked.⁵³

Nothing is known of construction which may have been undertaken by the New River and Pocahontas Consolidated Coal Company.

Transportation

The isolation and monopolistic tendencies of the coal companies did not foster a well-developed transportation system in the coalfields. Railroads linked the mines with the coal markets and provided a means for travel between coal towns, but local transportation usually remained poor.⁵⁴ Kay Moor was unique in that it was linked with the coal markets and coal towns via the C&O, but travel from Kay Moor Top to Kay Moor Bottom offered an unforgettable experience – a ride on the mountain haulage which carried machinery, miners and their families, or climbing a very steep flight of stairs. (See illustrations 9-14 for views of the railroad in Kay Moor and of the mountain haulage.)

Transportation in Kay Moor in 1923 consisted of the train to Fayette and a taxi out of the gorge. The trains ran out of town two or three times daily, and the taxis were able to meet the trains. The train ride cost \$.12 one way and a taxi ride was \$.50 per person. A public road ran through the town, but this road and other company roads were dirt and unpassable in the winter.⁵⁵ There was no railroad depot at Kay Moor Bottom, only a flag stop.

Soon after Kay Moor was purchased by the New River and Pocahontas Consolidated Coal and Coke Company, the new owners announced plans to grade and hard surface a new road connecting Kay Moor No. 1 camp with the Fayetteville-Coal Run paved road. The new road was to be about a mile long, and would connect the "store, tipple and village on top of the hill."⁵⁶

Bids were received and opened by the county engineer who supervised the construction. Three contractors bid on the job, with Janutolo & Co., of Fayetteville, providing the lowest bid at \$20,413. New River and Pocahontas also planned to build several new houses along the road, paved

53. Interview with Russell Mathew, pp. 36.4-36.5, NERI.

54. Thomas, "Coal Country," p. 286.

55. RG-68, U.S.C.C., Records of the Division of Investigation of Labor Facts, Living Conditions Section, Completed Mining Community "A" Schedules, Entry 62, Box 31, NA – Suitland.

56. Fayette *Tribune*, August 12, 1925.

with bituminous macadam, which would be the main street of the mining village and provide direct hard surface access to Fayetteville. At the time this contract was awarded, the Janutolo Company was completing a half mile of paved road connecting the camp at Kay Moor No. 2 with the Fayetteville-Fayette paved road at a cost of \$6,000.⁵⁷

Former Kay Moor engineer Virgil Burgess remarked on travel by Kay Moor residents in the 1930s and 1940s:

If they lived at the bottom of the hill, there was what we called a "local" used to run all the time up and down the river. And all of those coal camps, if you lived along the river at the bottom of the hill, you did most of your traveling by local train. It run every day and they could go to Thurmond or you could go to Charleston. And that's the way most of them down there, if they wanted to go anyplace, did that. Otherwise, you would have to depend on the truck coming to the top of the hill and go from there into Fayetteville. . . . If you lived at the bottom of the hill, to do shopping, major shopping, . . . [you would go to Thurmond or Charleston, rather than Fayetteville.] Because, it was almost as hard at that time to get from the top of the hill into Fayetteville as it was to take a local and go to Charleston.⁵⁸

Former Kay Moor resident Dometrius Woodson offered another remembrance of transportation in the 1920s and 1930s:

You went in and out on the train. You had one that would go out, you come in once a day, come in twice a day, one run about eleven and one run about five. And then you come down on the haulage, over the haulage, and it held 18 people. A rope let it down and a rope pulled it back. And then after 12 o'clock [midnight], it quit running, you walked down the steps. Or else go to Fayette Station and walk up the railroad tracks. That's the onliest way you had to get in there. . . . [The steps were] wooden steps just like you put on a house. But they had them going down the hill, . . . going over the cliff. You walked on them, you walked down, they had them halfway down the mountain to the mine. Then you just get on the railroad track and walk down the hill from there. . . . And if we got ready to go to a show, we had to go up on the haulage and walk to Fayetteville – three miles – or ride a cab if you had money to ride a cab. Or you could walk if you had time, or thumb. And then if you a bicycle, you'd take your bicycle up there and go. Then ride back down Fayette Mountain, up the railroad tracks back home.⁵⁹

People who were fortunate enough to own automobiles could keep them at Kay Moor Top in garages owned by the coal company. Mine workers in the 1930s lived in communities surrounding Kay Moor and drove their own cars and trucks into the site, before riding the haulage to the mine. These workers lived in Garten, Beckley, Gatewood, Cunard, Brooklyn, Ames, and

57. Ibid.

58. Interview with Virgil Burgess, p. 47.14, NERI.

59. Interview with Dometrius Woodson, pp. 20.4-20.7, NERI.

Edmond Mountain.⁶⁰ The relative isolation of the coal towns, including Kay Moor, was undoubtedly altered by road paving and the coming of the automobile. No longer were the mine workers compelled by geography to live in the company towns.

Low Moor management announced in September 1915 that electric lights were to be installed on all the streets and roads about the camp.⁶¹ Despite this announcement, the coal commission found no streetlights in Kay Moor during its investigation in 1923.

Sanitation

In 1923 the coal commission investigator gave Kay Moor's water system a high rating. He noted: "Environment good." Kay Moor's water was largely supplied by a mountain stream, a source which was not protected. This water was pumped into a tank. Residents paid nothing for the water service. Only 25 houses had inside water; the rest of the inhabitants were supplied with drinking water from nine hydrants, eight drilled wells, four springs, and river water. This amounted to 21 supply points for 106 houses. None of these sources were protected, but investigator Van Wagner remarked, "no protection but environment is very good." Some of the drilled wells were stopped up by children stuffing paper and trash into the pipes. River water was used in the summer. This water was analyzed by the state, and the coal commission investigator noted, "Dr's say water is purified within 300 ft because of its fast flow. Pumped to tanks."⁶²

Nellie Eades, who lived at Kay Moor Top from 1939 to 1955, remembered carrying water in buckets from the pump for her household duties. She recalled two pumps being located at Kay Moor Top; one being 70 feet from her house. Mrs. Eades also collected soft rainwater to use for washing clothes. She would heat the wash water in a tub on a stove and use it in an electric wringer washing machine.⁶³

Kay Moor's sewage system in 1923 consisted of surface privies for all 131 houses. They were not fly proof, had no covers or screens, but possessed "No offensive odors." Van Wagner added, "Well taken care of." The privies were cleaned twice a year. Each family had its own privy, which was located anywhere from 20 to 100 feet from the house.⁶⁴

Garbage was collected in part of the camp, but most was thrown out to the animals. Waste water was thrown out onto adjacent ground or disposed of through 25 piped drains. Receptacles were not provided for trash, but Van Wagner did not see any rubbish laying around the camp. He noted, "No disorder." Trash was collected at least twice a year, in the spring and fall.⁶⁵

60. Ibid., p. 20.8.

61. *Fayette Tribune*, September 9, 1915.

62. RG-68, U.S.C.C., Records of the Division of Investigation of Labor Facts, Living Conditions Section, Completed Mining Community "A" Schedules, Entry 62, Box 31, NA – Suitland.

63. Interview with Mrs. William (Nellie) Eades, conducted by Lou Athey, Ansted, West Virginia, July 27, 1985, typed transcript, pp. 93.9-93.4. Copy available at NERI.

64. RG-68, U.S.C.C., Records of the Division of Investigation of Labor Facts, Living Conditions Section, Completed Mining Community "A" Schedules, Entry 62, Box 31, NA – Suitland.

65. Ibid.

Generally speaking, Kay Moor was a neat and well-kept community, especially in Kay Moor Top. The appearance of Kay Moor Bottom was not as good.⁶⁶

Lighting

In 1923 Kay Moor had no streetlights. Electricity was supplied to 78 houses at a cost of \$2.00 per month average, or \$.50 per lamp, paid to the company. Electrical appliances, most commonly irons, were permitted at no extra charge. Other lights used were oil and carbide lamps.⁶⁷

Fences

In 1923 good fences were around each house, and were generally well kept. The exception was in Kay Moor Bottom.⁶⁸

Sidewalks

There were no sidewalks in Kay Moor in 1923. There was a hard path, but no man-made walks from house to house except in a few cases. Former Kay Moor resident Virgil Burgess remembered "there was never any roads between houses. Houses were just set on hit and miss areas and a path from house to house."⁶⁹

Fuel

Coal was supplied to the employees in 1923 at a cost of \$2.00 per ton plus delivery charge. Residents of Kay Moor Bottom paid \$.75 delivery charge, while Kay Moor Top residents paid \$.50. Residents could also get their coal at the tippie. The supply of New River lump coal was unlimited for use in the grates and stoves in the houses. The cost of coal to the employees was kept on record on the payroll.⁷⁰

Kay Moor resident Celia Chambers recalled heating her home with coal:

. . . we had some good coal in Kaymoor bottom. Good nice big lumps. You could put a big lump on the grate and it will last all night long. . . . Just one [lump]. A big one like that, or in your heater or whatever. My husband use to put two in

66. Ibid.

67. Ibid.

68. Ibid.

69. Ibid; Interview with Virgil Burgess, p. 47.11, NERI.

70. RG-68, U.S.C.C., Records of the Division of Investigation of Labor Facts, Living Conditions Section, Completed Mining Community "A" Schedules, Entry 62, Box 31, NA – Suitland.

there and cut it down and it would last all the way up into the day before I would have to put any more in there. The house would be so warm and comfortable.⁷¹

Medical Care

Doctor care at Kay Moor was supplied under contract. If the contract physician's care was not satisfactory his services would be terminated. There were no company doctors or nurses at Kay Moor in 1923, but independent medical services were available two miles away. Services cost \$1.00 for single men and \$1.75 for married men. The nearest dentist was two miles away in Fayetteville, while the nearest hospital was Montgomery Hospital, eight miles away, in Oak Hill. This hospital could only be reached by railroad.

There was first aid equipment at the mine, but there was no trained first aid crew. Additionally, there was no washhouse or facilities for shower baths.⁷²

Police

In 1923 the Kay Moor mine property and settlements were policed by the civil authorities.⁷³ Most of the disturbances and physical attacks which occurred in company towns were caused by drinking, gambling, politics, race, or petty quarrels, and Kay Moor was no exception.⁷⁴

Company Store

Almost every mining company in the New River field had a company store which carried a wide range of merchandise. The company store provided a ready and available source for all the miner's basic needs; in return, the miner expected the prices to be fair. The store often served as a credit agency, which served the miner well when the mine was idle or a strike was called. The miner could still purchase needed items even though he had no money with which to pay. However, the system and methods of payment were abused, leaving a stigma which is still debated.⁷⁵

The company store met a real need of the employer by attracting and keeping a supply of labor for the mine. Together with company housing, the store provided some stability for the workforce. The stores also functioned as legitimate sources of company revenue, and in some cases,

71. Interview with Mrs. Celia Chambers by Jim Worsham, Minden, West Virginia, April 6, 1984, typed transcript, pp. 23-24. Copy available at NERI.

72. RG-68, U.S.C.C., Records of the Division of Investigation of Labor Facts, Living Conditions Section, Completed Mining Community "A" Schedules, Entry 62, Box 31, NA - Suitland.

73. Ibid.

74. Thomas, "Coal Country," p. 294. For sample newspaper articles concerning violence, especially murders, at Kay Moor see the following: *Fayette Journal*, March 3, 1904; Ibid., October 4, 1906; *Fayette Sun*, August 10, 1911; *Fayette Tribune*, January 27, 1910. In May 1920 C.E. Smith, store manager at Kay Moor No. 1, was shot and killed. *Fayette Tribune*, May 27, 1920; Ibid., March 31, 1921; Ibid., May 19, 1921; Ibid., February 28, 1934; Ibid., July 25, 1934; Ibid., September 5, 1934; Ibid., December 20, 1934; Ibid., September 12, 1935; Ibid., September 19, 1935; Ibid., March 12, 1936; Ibid., April 16, 1936; Ibid., March 3, 1939.

75. Ole S. Johnson, *The Industrial Store Its History, Operations and Economic Significance* (Atlanta: University of Georgia, 1952), p. 5.

helped the parent company stay solvent in times of economic stress. In 1952 the coal industry was served by 67.7 percent of all company, or industrial, stores.⁷⁶

It was traditional for decades in both union and nonunion coalfields for deductions to be made from the wages of miners. Blacksmithing charges, costs of powder and fuses, and personal charges like rent, coal bills, and doctor fees were taken from wages at payday. In union coal fields contracts spelled out most of these deductions, but in nonunion areas these deductions often were sources of controversy. The practice of advance payment by scrip and of payroll deductions for company store items between paydays was especially debated.⁷⁷ The scrip system was used to protect the company store's retailing monopoly. Miners were paid in cash, but between paydays, they could draw credit by using metallic tokens called scrip at the company store. Since the miners were paid every other week, known as "on the half," an advance on wages already earned could be drawn from the payroll office prior to payday. In order to turn the scrip into money or material goods, the miner had to spend it at the company store, usually at inflated prices, or spend it at an independent store at a discount, usually about 20 percent.⁷⁸

At Kay Moor, for example, in May 1903, 398 employees were paid \$14,213.30 in wages, with the average wage amounting to \$35.71. Cash paid was \$9,487.70 with a scrip issue of \$4,498.20. The percent of scrip to wages was 30 and 9/10, while at the company store the percent of cash sales to cash paid was 02 percent.⁷⁹

The discounting of scrip served to pauperize the workers. The U.S. Coal Commission commented on the social side effects of the company store and scrip system:

While the company store is a necessary institution in new regions, its continuance for too long a period has a bad effect on the very people served. The practice of issuing scrip for store purchasing as fast as money is earned is a great convenience to the miner when earnings are irregular, but it relieves the miner's wife of all responsibility for planning the household budget. As the dinner hour approaches, the children run down to the store to get a dollar's worth of scrip with which to buy the evening meal. When sales slips are not used, the mother has no way of reckoning what each article cost, or whether the clerk made the correct deduction. She makes no careful examination of foods in market or of prices. If she had to pay cash she would have a much keener sense of the value of the money and of commodities. Undoubtedly a sudden change from the pay-roll-deduction system to earning-in-full system would result, at first, in extravagant expenditure of earnings and non-payment of bills. But miners and their wives are adults. They should be

76. Ibid., p. 6. Other industries served by industrial stores included lumber, steel, textiles, and mining other than coal.

77. Ibid., p. 57.

78. Thomas, "Coal Country," pp. 284-285. Further information on scrip issued by the Low Moor Iron Company may be obtained from Gordon Dodrill, *20,000 Coal Company Stores in the United States, Mexico and Canada* (n.p.: Duquesne Lithographing Company, 1971).

79. E.M. Cabell, "'Statement' Kay Moor, May 1903," June 9, 1903, LMIC, Acc. 662, Box 68A, Folder: Nov-Dec 1903, #3, Kay Moor, Low Moor, UVAC.

given the responsibility of adults as soon as the growth of the community develops or attracts competent, independent merchants to their district.⁸⁰

Whether or not company stores robbed miners of their earnings is debatable. Prices of goods varied depending on the location of the store. More isolated stores could charge all that the traffic would bear, while prices were more competitive if independent businesses were nearby. Coal operator W.P. Tams Jr. provided his view of the company store:

Much misunderstanding has been circulated – often deliberately – about the operation of the company store. The true situation was quite different. As a convenience to the miner and his family, credit was extended by issuing orders on the store in the form of scrip. It should be stressed that at least in "my" area no one was required to ask for scrip. All employees could make their purchases in cash if they so desired. Indeed, many miners, especially the foreign born, never drew scrip. The profits made by the company stores varied widely. Some companies took advantage of a near-monopoly, and charged all the traffic would bear. However, others – including those controlled by the writer – operated on a profit margin considerably below that general among "private" stores in the area. In short, the company stores deserved only a fraction of the abuse hurled against them. However, it was a cheap and easy trick for union organizers or for competing and envious merchants to brand the company store as a "robber." Human nature being what it is, men who were careless in money matters and who let themselves get into debt eased their consciences by joining in the name calling.⁸¹

The U.S. Coal Commission made a detailed study of 99 stores, 57 company and 42 independent, in the New River field in 1922 to compare prices and services. The coal commission considered 54 foods which equalled 96 percent of the total quantity of food purchased by 5,865 New River families. It was discovered that company stores asked higher prices on 33 foods; prices were equal on 10 foods; and prices were lower on 11 foods. When the food prices were weighed by a factor for the importance of the food in local purchasing, the coal commission discovered that miners' families paid 4.2 percent more for food than did families which only shopped at independent stores.⁸²

The differences in prices was not attributable to superior quality of merchandise in company stores. The coal commission believed it due to the need for making a profit for the company. Two additional factors might have been the cost of keeping a credit system, and delivery costs.⁸³

Compared with urban workers, miners and their families in the New River field spent more for food and clothing and miscellaneous items in 1922 than did city dwellers of the \$1,200 to \$1,800 income range. New River miners spent less for rent, fuel, and household furniture and

80. Senate, *Report*, Part III, p. 1463.

81. Tams, *Smokeless*, p. 52.

82. Senate, *Report*, Part III, Appendix II, Bertha M. Nienburg, "Retail Prices and the Cost of Living in Bituminous Coal Regions," pp. 1517-1519.

83. Johnson, *Store*, pp. 59-60.

furnishings. However, despite the exception of clothing, the standard of living in the coalfields was usually below that of the "skilled mechanic of the city."⁸⁴ (See appendix 14 for comparative living of standards with New River.)

The monopolistic nature of the company store resulted in the miners being denied the right to spend their earnings as they wished. Miners were probably never coerced outright into dealing only in company stores, but other moral and economic pressures probably existed. The moral compulsion was the argument that the employer who furnished a job should receive the patronage of the laborer at the employer's store. Geographic isolation added to compulsory trading.⁸⁵

The company stores at Kay Moor possessed some of these general characteristics of the system as a whole. There were two company stores at Kay Moor in 1923. Named stores no. 9 and no. 11, they were located at the bottom and top of the gorge. The stores served only employees of the Low Moor Iron Company and their families. No independent stores were located immediately outside Kay Moor, but they were within a half hour reach in Thurmond and Fayetteville. Several mail order houses served Kay Moor, including, Sears, Roebuck and Company; Montgomery Ward Company; National Suit & Cloak Company; and the Kanawha Cash Grocery Company. Several basic food items were grown or produced by the miners and their families, including beef, pork, poultry, butter, eggs, milk, and vegetables.⁸⁶ (See appendices 15 and 16 for sample wares and their prices in the company stores in 1906 and 1923.)

Store no. 9 was located at the bottom of the gorge. Its managers in 1922 were B.S. Legg and H.N. Sanford, and the store served 75 families. All of the store's trade was with miners at Kay Moor. The store accepted payments of scrip and cash, but gave no credit or discounts for cash sales. The scrip system operated through deductions every two weeks from the payroll. During periods of unemployment or strikes the store carried all old employees. Monthly total sales slips were available to customers for the years 1920 to 1922. Kay Moor store no. 9 charged delivery costs of \$.50 per hundred pounds to the customer. Sales for the year 1922 totaled \$43,601.75.⁸⁷

Store no. 11 was located at the top of the gorge and managed by B.B. Legg in 1922. It, too, served 75 mining families. The store carried the same credit system as its companion, and carried all employees through times of strikes or unemployment. In addition to the \$.50 delivery charge per 100 pounds, store no. 11 charged \$1.25 per month extra for transportation from the Kay Moor train station to the mountain (or gorge) top. Sales in 1922 totaled \$49,334.56.⁸⁸

In 1907 Manager of Mines George T. Wickes sought an employee to run a "commissary" at one of the mines. It is not known if the commissary was at Kay Moor; nevertheless, Wickes'

84. Senate, *Report*, Part III, Appendix II, p. 1525.

85. Johnson, *Store*, pp. 136-137.

86. RG-68, U.S.C.C., Records of the Division of Investigation of Labor Facts, Cost of Living and Retail Price Section, Completed "Store Schedules" and Field Notes, 1923, Entry 86, Box 50, Envelope: 66c (1) Low Moor Iron Co. (Store #9) Kaymoor, NA - Suitland.

87. Ibid., Sales for individual items were: food - \$23,539.15; clothing and dry goods - \$77,500; house furniture and furnishings - \$2,600; mining supplies and hardware - \$3,625; tobacco, candy and drinks - \$2,600; and miscellaneous - \$3,737.60. Ibid.

88. RG-68, U.S.C.C., Records of the Division of Investigation of Labor Facts, Cost of Living and Retail Price Section, Completed "Store Schedules" and Field Notes, 1923, Entry 86, Box 50, Envelope: 73c Low Moor Iron Co., Kaymoor, NA-Suitland. Sales of individual items were: food - \$21,815.16; clothing and dry goods - \$77,500; drugs and toilet articles \$3,000; house furniture and furnishings - \$3,900; and miscellaneous - \$5,444.40. Ibid.

response to one job applicant revealed his attitude toward some of his mining employees. This attitude, coming from the manager, probably filtered into daily transactions with the miners in the company stores:

I want a man who has a great deal of patience and yet can be firm when he finds any advantage is being taken of him. A great deal of patience is necessary, as of course some of the persons with whom you have to deal are more or less ignorant, and their attitude changes completely when made to understand a thing which at first sight seems to them entirely different from what it is.⁸⁹

Kay Moor store no. 9 was robbed in July 1909. The stolen goods, worth several hundred dollars, were discovered in an old shanty near Pennbrook, West Virginia. A plan was devised by several Low Moor Iron Company men, Pennbrook residents and the constable to hide around the shanty and await the thieves' return for the booty. However, the thieves "came sooner than was expected and the constable became excited and fired." The thieves escaped.⁹⁰

Another theft occurred in September 1926. The safe in the store at Kay Moor was broken open and its contents searched. Employees who slept in the building did not hear the thieves. Only a small amount of money was lost as the store manager, Mr. Legg, had cleaned out most of the cash the previous night.⁹¹

Construction began on a new store at Kay Moor Top in July 1927 by New River and Pocahontas Stores Company. The contract was let to Mankin Lumber Company, for a brick structure costing about \$35,000. The store was to be "located on the hardroad at the top of the hill."⁹² The three-story building was finished in March 1928. Its cost exceeded \$40,000 and it was built on the same plan as the Minden and Berwind stores. The old store was to be abandoned.⁹³

The stores were the scene of various social activities during the Great Depression. The local Garten garden club held a canning exhibit at the Kay Moor store in September 1937. Prizes in four categories (balanced meal, fruits and vegetables, jellies, and pickles) were awarded, and the show was repeated at the Kay Moor no. 2 store.⁹⁴

89. Wickes to Herbert Barksdale, May 8, 1907, LMIC, Acc. 662, Box 79, Folder: 1906-1907, #8, Low Moor Employment Correspondence, UVAC.

90. *Fayette Tribune*, July 29, 1909.

91. *Ibid.*, September 8, 1926.

92. *Ibid.*, July 20, 1927.

93. *Ibid.*, March 14, 1928. For maps of all three store locations see Map Book 4, pp. 23-25, located in County Clerk office, Fayette County Courthouse, Fayetteville, West Virginia.

94. *Fayette Tribune*, September 17, 1937. The mine at Kay Moor No. 2 was closed in 1926; this evidence implies the company store there remained open.

Schools

West Virginia's 1919 compulsory school attendance law required children between the ages of 7 and 14, 16 if not employed, to be in school the entire school term. Exceptions were made in cases of extreme poverty, physical or mental inability to attend, or if the child lived two miles or more from the school. The minimum school term in 1919 was 120 days; by 1923 it was 160 days.⁹⁵

In 1872 the state of West Virginia added a provision to its constitution which called for a segregated school system. However, in the 1890s the dominant coal companies sought progressive education in an effort to reduce mining accidents, to increase productivity, and to stabilize the workforce. Teachers' salaries were based on their qualifications, not color; thus black teachers could earn as much as their white counterparts. The education of blacks was considered as important as that of whites. Additional support came from the coal companies, which poured aid into the school systems. Teachers were sometimes paid bonuses to stay in the field, and highly qualified black teachers were attracted to practice their vocation in the southern West Virginia fields.⁹⁶

The facilities were thus supposed to be separate, but equal. Education levels in West Virginia remained low when compared to northern industrial states, yet the schools provided the opportunity for blacks to be provided their own history and culture, and to be able to read texts by black writers. An additional bonus of black schools was the availability of education for illiterate adults.⁹⁷

The 1923 U.S. Coal Commission report provided a few details of Kay Moor's schools. Kay Moor had a total of four schools, all owned by the coal company and located on company land. Two were at Kay Moor Bottom and two at Kay Moor Top; two of the schools were designated for white students and two schools for black students. The white schools had one teacher and 26 students and two teachers and 75 students, respectively. The black schools had one teacher and 34 students and one teacher and 22 students, respectively.⁹⁸ The two schools at Kay Moor Bottom were in good condition, but the two schools at Kay Moor Top were "very poor, colored school especially." None of the schools had enough seats or equipment.⁹⁹

Low Moor Iron Company did not control the appointment of the teachers; this service was provided by the county superintendent. Housing for teachers was provided. Tuition for the schools was free and books were paid for. Hydrants 50 feet away provided water for all the schools while stoves provided heat. The white schools had eight grades but the black schools only had six. No transportation was available in 1923 and the nearest high school was two miles away in Fayetteville.

95. U.S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, *The Welfare of Children in Bituminous Coal Mining Communities in West Virginia*, by Nettie McGill, Children's Bureau Publication No. 117 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1923), p. 18. This report was written about children's school, work, and living conditions in Raleigh County, West Virginia.

96. Corbin, *Life*, pp. 70-71.

97. *Ibid.*, pp. 72-73.

98. Four of the five school teachers in 1923 were Vivian Duncan, Senorita Pierce, Mrs. A.H. King and Opal Crouse. In 1917 Catherine Hanna taught the Kay Moor white students while Alex Henderson taught black students. *Fayette Tribune*, September 6, 1917.

99. RG-68, U.S.C.C., Records of the Division of Investigation of Labor Facts, Living Conditions Section, Completed Mining Community "A" Schedules, Entry 62, Box 31, NA-Suitland.

Support for the schools was provided by Low Moor Iron Company. There was no free library or reading room available.¹⁰⁰

The Kay Moor schools offered free evening classes. The Mining Extension Department of the State University, Morgantown, West Virginia, organized a mining class at Kay Moor in 1922 and 1923. The following subjects were offered: mine gases, timbering and haulage, and hoisting. Each subject was divided into lessons running from 6 to 12 weeks. Mining arithmetic was offered throughout the year. The class was held on Thursday nights, and was open to all men interested. No tuition was charged and text books were furnished for free. An enrollment fee of \$5.00 was returned at the end of the term to each man with 80 percent attendance.¹⁰¹

Dates provided for the life-span of these schools are conflicting. According to a local newspaper, a new school was established at South [?] Kay Moor on January 18, 1906. A term was immediately established with a Miss Deal as teacher.¹⁰² A secondary source was inconsistent in its statements concerning the opening of Kay Moor schools. It stated the Kay Moor Top school was built in 1909 and closed in 1913. Students then went to Wolf Creek School, Fayetteville District. A new Kay Moor Top school was built in 1915 and closed in 1928. Yet the same text stated that Kay Moor Top white school closed in 1953 while Kay Moor Bottom white school closed in 1928. The Kay Moor Top black school closed in 1928 while the Kay Moor Bottom black school closed in 1953.¹⁰³

In October 1926 C.P. Garten started a school bus line to accommodate the children and employees of New River and Pocahontas. The board of education made an appropriation to transport the grade school children, but high schoolers paid their own way. The bus ran between the Kay Moor mine and the towns of Gatewood, Coal Run, and Fayetteville. The *Fayette Tribune* remarked: "The bus is a great convenience for miners living at No. 2 camp and working at No. 1, and the undertaking is receiving encouragement from the mine management as it insures regular supply of labor at an operation where work never ceases."¹⁰⁴

Churches and Cemetery

In the early years of the Kay Moor settlement, itinerant ministers arrived to offer religious services. The journal of Baptist minister S.J. Thomas revealed statistics of his visits to the coal camp. In 1908 the minister preached at Kay Moor 12 times in visits ranging from January to September. The next year he preached on nine occasions from January to September, keeping track of the Bible verse he used for each sermon. On May 1, 1909, Reverend Thomas married a couple at Kay Moor, charging a \$6.00 fee. The reverend also conducted baptism and funeral services.¹⁰⁵

100. Ibid.

101. *Fayette Tribune*, October 31, 1923.

102. Ibid., January 18, 1906.

103. John Cavalier, *Panorama of Fayette County* (Parsons, West Virginia: McClain Printing Company, 1985), pp. 47, 52-53, 58.

104. *Fayette Tribune*, October 6, 1926.

105. S.J. Thomas, "Journal," photocopy, pp. 211, 273, 289, 290-291 File: Religion New River, NERI history files.

Before churches were built at Kay Moor, services were held in the schools every Sunday. In 1923 the Low Moor Iron Company paid the resident pastor \$25.00 per month.¹⁰⁶

Cornerstone ceremonies for the Kaymoor Community Church at Garten were held in June 1938. Ground was broken for the building in March, with slow but steady work on the excavation for a full sized basement, concrete block walls and subfloor of the auditorium almost complete. Much of the labor was contributed by volunteers. The church's Reverend W.C. Neef announced that Herschel H. Rose, grand master of Masons in the state, would conduct masonic ceremonies at the cornerstone laying.¹⁰⁷ A dedication service for this church was held on Sunday, November 24, 1940. Messages were delivered by a guest minister and the church's pastor, Reverend James F. Frame.¹⁰⁸

Guest ministers were invited to preach in the new community church during two weeks of special services beginning January 15, 1939. Ministers from area Baptist, Methodist, Holiness, and Episcopal churches participated.¹⁰⁹

Other churches at Kay Moor Top included a Pentecostal Revival Holiness church for whites, and two black Baptist churches, Wolf Creek Baptist and Missionary Baptist.¹¹⁰

There was no cemetery at Kay Moor. The nearest one was in Fayetteville.¹¹¹

Post Office

In most company towns, the post office was located in the company store with the store clerk functioning as postmaster. According to David Alan Corbin, "These company officials scrutinized the miners' mail for union and radical literature."¹¹² It is not known if miners' mail was examined at Kay Moor, but at least in 1923 the postmaster was a company employee and the post office was located in a company store. The first post office opened at Kay Moor on February 5, 1902, with the first postmaster being Low Moor's own Edward M. Cabell. The post office operated until May 15, 1953, when mail was transferred to the Fayette station, and in March 1954 to Garten. (See appendix 17 for list of postmasters.) This closing followed the transfer of the inhabitants of Kay Moor Bottom out of the camp in 1952.¹¹³

106. RG-68, U.S.C.C., Records of the Division of Investigation of Labor Facts, Living Conditions Section, Completed Mining Community "A" Schedules, Entry 62, Box 31, NA – Suitland.

107. *Fayette Tribune*, June 6, 1938.

108. *Ibid.*, November 22, 1940.

109. *Ibid.*, January 13, 1939.

110. Athey, *Kaymoor*, p. 37.

111. Interview with Mrs. William (Nellie) Eades, p. 93.18, NERI.

112. Corbin, *Life*, p. 32.

113. RG-68, U.S.C.C., Records of the Division of Investigation of Labor Facts, Living Conditions Section, Completed Mining Community "A" Schedules, Entry 62, Box 31, NA – Suitland; RG-28, Records of the Post Office Department, Record of Appointment of Postmasters, 1832 – September 30, 1971, Microcopy 841, Roll 138 West Virginia, Barbour-Greenbrier Counties, vol. 99, ca. 1904-1930, NA; *Ibid.*, vol. 77 ca. 1930 – September 30, 1971, NA.

Bank

There was no bank at Kay Moor. In 1923 the nearest savings bank and postal savings office were two miles away in Fayetteville.¹¹⁴

Recreational and Social Activities

Low Moor management announced in September 1915 that a "picture show would be maintained by the company for the entertainment of all employees."¹¹⁵ The Low Moor company theatres at Kay Moor and Low Moor received films from the General Film Co., of Washington, D.C.¹¹⁶

Not only were films shown at the theatre at Kay Moor, but live entertainment was brought in as well. (For sample newspaper announcement, see appendix 18.) In 1920 Harold Frazer, a manager of the Continental Lyceum Bureau, wrote Low Moor management of his happiness with performances at Kay Moor. He appreciated the "kind treatment" his company had received and remarked that "the men of your camp acted fine with the girls. Some of the roughnecks we encounter just make life miserable for the girls and insult them continually." Frazer added comments which are an indication of Low Moor management's control, Kay Moor miners' sophistication, and the theatre facilities:

The order at the theater was excellent – no loud talking or acting up. Mr. Cabell, I noticed you standing up front and that was enough. I don't imagine anyone would start anything when a man your size was watching them and you were right on the job, waiting for any disturbance.

Tell your people they are a "live" audience. They "got" jokes and stuff that fall flat in most places and the applause was very noticeable, being enough to stimulate us to good work. . . .

Move your theater down near the track and arrange it so a fair-sized company can perform, with adequate stage and dressing rooms. You are on the main line, with a good theater you may be able to get good attractions if they have room and if you can make it worth while financially – advertise in the "Billboard" when you are ready that "Kay Moor wants Musical Comedy" etc.¹¹⁷

114. RG-68, U.S.C.C., Records of the Division of Investigation of Labor Facts, Living Conditions Section, Completed Mining Community "A" Schedules, Entry 62, Box 31, NA – Suitland.

115. *Fayette Tribune*, September 9, 1915.

116. Cabell to Hibbert, November 27, 1915, LMIC, Acc. 662, Box 22, Folder: 1915 Kay Moor Mines, UVAC. In 1917 the theatre was showing Paramount, Universal, and Pathe films. *Fayette Tribune*, May 3, 1917. The films were shown on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays. Ibid. September 6, 1917.

117. Harold Frazer, Representative Mgr. Continental Lyceum Bureau to Messrs. Cabell, Davis & Cottrell, March 1, 1920, Low Moor Iron Company Records, Acc. 662, Folder: 1920 Jan-March Kay Moor Low Moor, UVAC. Continental Lyceum was located in Louisville, Kentucky.

The theatre was still in operation in 1923 at the time of the coal commission investigation. The theatre was then using films distributed through Fox Film Corporation, Washington, D.C. The films were usually on a circuit and were shown at the Amuzu Theatre at Low Moor, Virginia, before coming to Kay Moor. There were a few problems: sometimes films arrived late, did not arrive at all, or were in poor condition.¹¹⁸

Other recreational facilities at Kay Moor included a company owned ball field, baseball team, pool hall, and tennis court. Public meetings were held in the theatre or school; there was no public hall. Organized Sunday school activities occurred, but Kay Moor had no boy scouts, girl scouts, or playground. There was also no dance hall, bowling alley, basketball team, American Legion, and obviously, no union hall.¹¹⁹

Former Kay Moor employee Virgil Burgess remembered playing baseball on the town team:

Kaymoor was noted for its baseball, quite a bit. And at the top of the hill, we had two baseball fields up there and on weekends, in the summer time especially, baseball was a great thing. [They played in the Fayette County League.] . . . They played Kingston and different places around, Scarbro, Glen Jean. They played . . . must have been a league of some sort because that was one of the major things back in the late Twenties and early Thirties was baseball.¹²⁰

Dometrius Woodson, a Kay Moor resident, reminisced that the coal towns usually had black teams and white teams; there was no integration. Sometimes men would be hired to work in the mine because they were good ball players. Between 400 and 600 people would attend the weekend games, whites and blacks together, sometimes to see the black teams play the white teams.¹²¹

Other recreational activities focused on the river. Kay Moor Top resident Nellie Eades remembered riding the haulage down the mountain to camp all night. She and her husband would fish for catfish from the riverbank, and camp out under a rock or other natural shelter. Children probably did not swim in the river at Kay Moor because of the dangerous shoals.¹²² Resident Dometrius Woodson fished for bass, bluegill, crappie, carp and turtles, in addition to catfish and channel cats.¹²³

Of course, socializing among residents was another popular pastime. Dometrius Woodson remembered adults playing marble games alongside the children, who played, fished, and swam together. He commented on other activities: "We'd go from house to house and play cards, and

118. Fox Film Corporation to J. Hibbard, October 12, 1923, LMIC, Acc. 662, Box 204, Folder: Business Letters, #1, UVAC; Fox Film Corporation to J. Hibbard, December 9, 1923, Ibid.; J.A. Hibbard to Fox Film Corporation, June 25, 1924, Ibid.; J.A. Hibbard to Fox Film Corporation, January 14, 1924, Ibid.

119. RG-68, U.S.C.C., Records of the Division of Investigation of Labor Facts, Living Conditions Section, Completed Mining Community "A" Schedules, Entry 62, Box 31, NA – Suitland.

120. Interview with Virgil Burgess, p. 47.14, NERI.

121. Interview with Dometrius Woodson, pp. 20.19-20.20, NERI.

122. Interview with Mrs. William (Nellie) Eades, pp. 93.8-93.10, NERI.

123. Interview with Dometrius Woodson, pp. 20.26-20.27, NERI.

drank whiskey, and stuff like that. And most everybody made him some home brew or some whiskey. And a man down there named Lee Jones and Irving Jones, one used to play the guitar and one played the piano. Dancing, each house, this house this week, next house next week. We used to have a good time down in there."¹²⁴ Social activities for Kay Moor residents were reported in the local *Fayette Tribune*. Vacations, visits with relatives, and business trips were all duly noted, a practice characteristic of small town life.¹²⁵

It is obvious that available recreational activities in Kay Moor were limited. Residents were able to ride the train to other communities, or in later years, drive their own automobiles to available social events in nearby towns, yet, within Kay Moor itself, community resources were few. This is especially true concerning resources for women. Kay Moor had no library, reading room, public park, or girls' club; places and activities which could have provided recreation and personal improvement for women.

Gardens and Hunting

Coal miners drew upon the traditions and habits acquired in their earlier, pre-industrial days and used them in a meaningful, pragmatic way – especially agricultural talents. The job of caring for the family garden fell upon the miner's sons not yet old enough to work in the mines and the wife and daughters. Many of the native miners had been subsistence miners and hunters while the southern black migrants had been sharecroppers. Many of the European immigrants, from non-industrial countries, had probably been farmers also.¹²⁶

Gardens meant food for many families, and indeed, many of the poorly paid miners ate very well and actually ate better, with their fresh vegetables, than did city workers. This ability to raise food affected the UMWA's union organizing – the miners were relatively comfortable, hunger and suffering did not exist, and the union's promise of higher wages held no interest for the miners.¹²⁷

Yet, knowledge of the value of nutritious food had to be learned. Many foods were potentially available from the company stores and home-grown gardens, if purchased or grown. The U.S. Coal Commission remarked on problems concerning nutrition it observed in the West Virginia mining towns:

Undoubtedly the heavy consumption of cereal foods is a heritage from mountaineer forefathers. Baking-powder biscuits, potatoes, corn bread, and navy beans with pork of one kind or another were the principal foods on the backwoods farms. Although contact with the world beyond the mountains has extended the diet of miners' families, such families will probably not consume their full share of proteins, vegetables, and fruits until the public school teaches New River women the value of milk, how to prepare beef and lamb cuts to advantage, and the uses of various vegetables and fruits. Only thus will a demand be created for a variety of foods and

124. Ibid., p. 20.6.

125. For sample articles, see *Fayette Tribune*, April 19, 1917; Ibid. June 30, 1921.

126. Corbin, *Life*, p. 33.

127. Ibid., p. 34.

the need of more money for food be felt acutely in New River mining communities.¹²⁸

The availability of land for gardens was extremely important in coal towns because of the nutritional benefit crops could yield. At Kay Moor in 1923 land was available for gardens and poultry, and pasture for cows. No rent was charged for the use of these lands.¹²⁹

Rosa Pashion, a resident at Kay Moor since 1920, remembered helping to raise tomatoes, beans, potatoes, and other "routine" crops in her garden. Keeping the garden was a family activity with her husband and children. She also remembered residents of Kay Moor raising chickens, cows, and pigs. Lots around the houses were large enough to take care of the animals, which had room to roam.¹³⁰ Celia Chambers, a resident of Kay Moor Bottom for 31 years, raised beans, corn and cucumbers in her garden, while her husband grew pumpkins. Mrs. Chambers also had chickens, so many "you couldn't hardly walk in the yard."¹³¹ Kay Moor engineer Virgil Burgess remembered residents having milk cows and chickens. He cited Celia Chambers' husband, S. Esses Chambers, as being a specialist in raising hogs.¹³²

Kay Moor residents sometimes supplemented their diets by hunting game in the gorge. Dometrius Woodson hunted quail, rabbits, squirrel, raccoons, and deer.¹³³

Alcohol

Part of life in a southern West Virginia company town was the making and consumption of alcohol. The miners did drink, at any suggestion or occasion. They often made their own. "Homebrew" was made with ten pounds of meal, ten pounds of sugar, three cakes of yeast, water and flavoring, sometimes peaches. Different ethnic groups made their own favorites. Company officials were concerned about the drinking, and promoted prohibition because they believed liquor lowered workers' moral standards, increased accidents, and decreased production. This was a clash of cultural values between upper-class and working-class cultures. The selling of alcohol was also a supplement to the miners' income. The brew could be made for \$.50 a gallon and sold for \$14.00 or \$15.00.¹³⁴

Early in Kay Moor's history a miner's drinking habits were considered as a factor in his possible employment. Ed D. Wickes reported to General Manager E.C. Means on the drinking in Kay Moor: "McBrayer don't drink and Raven does nightly little, Wills has shown no signs of it.

128. Senate, *Report*, Part III, Appendix II, p. 1524.

129. RG-68, U.S.C.C. Records of the Division of Investigation of Labor Facts, Living Conditions Section, Completed Mining Community "A" Schedules, Entry 62, Box 31, NA-Suitland.

130. Interview with Mrs. Rosa Pashion by Ken Sullivan, Kaymoor, West Virginia, August 17, 1985, typed transcript, pp. 91.24-91.26. Copy available at NERI.

131. Interview with Mrs. Celia Chambers, p. 12, NERI.

132. Interview with Virgil Burgess, p. 47.16, NERI.

133. Interview with Dometrius Woodson, p. 20.27, NERI.

134. Corbin, *Life*, pp. 35-37.

The men *all* drink. The last pay day night two men went to Fayette, got drunk and commenced shooting things up. We will be able to get rid of these as soon as we get our men from Tennessee and Kentucky. I have warned the camp through the watchmen that better order must be preserved."¹³⁵

There were no saloons at either Kay Moor Top or Bottom.¹³⁶ However, while several former Kay Moor residents denied knowledge of moonshine making,¹³⁷ at least one, Dometrius Woodson, openly spoke of making a home brew. "Yea, I've made a whole lot of whiskey in my lifetime. They caught my daddy making it right on the stove in the house, and put him in jail. And he stayed in jail at Fayetteville for one year."¹³⁸

Mobility

By the mid-1920s most miners no longer found it necessary to live within walking distance of the mine. The paving of roads and increased numbers of automobiles made commutes possible. Even life in the best of the company towns was disliked as most miners chose to live in their own choice of housing. According to a coal town critic, "The best of men dread the eye which follows them night and day."¹³⁹ For this reason more and more miners began preferring uncontrolled areas where they could find freedom.

Labor stability was a major problem in the coal mines and town. Mobility was a form of individual protest; a miner was free to go wherever and whenever he wanted, however, the geographic mobility was generally from company town to company town. Companies sometimes offered bonuses and individual contracts to highly skilled workers. The miners moved for reasons of economic improvement or because of discrimination.¹⁴⁰

Operators, faced with constant shortages, made efforts to attract a more secure labor force, based on permanent families. The schools, churches, clubs and theatres not only attracted miners but served to keep them in the towns. Even limiting the amount of alcohol dispensed in the saloon became a way of controlling the miners' behavior.¹⁴¹

Despite these inducements, mobility among miners remained high. Between 1900 and 1930 only 26 percent of mining families in southern West Virginia lived in the same town for five years

135. Wickes to Means, May 25, 1903, LMIC, Acc. 662, Box 28, Folder: 1903 Jan-May, E.C. Means, Low Moor, UVAC; Wickes to Means, May 22, 1903, Ibid. Wickes also told Means about an employee's drug habit: "He drank anywhere from two to eight ounces of laudanum every day. . . ." Wickes to Means, May 26, 1903, Ibid.

136. Interview with Mrs. William (Nellie) Eades, p. 93.18, NERI.

137. See Interview with Virgil Burgess, p. 47.14, NERI.

138. Interview with Dometrius Woodson, p. 20.21, NERI. For a discussion on how to control the alcohol consumption in the coal camps, see Charles R. Towson, "Replacing the Saloon in Mining Communities," *Coal Age* 8, no. 7 (August 14, 1915): 264-266.

139. Munn, "Development," 253.

140. Corbin, *Life*, pp. 41-42.

141. Eller, *Miners*, p. 193.

or more. After 1913 immigrants and blacks began leaving the mountains for better opportunities in the East and Midwest.¹⁴²

It is difficult to ascertain if turnover levels were high at Kay Moor. It cannot be determined from the 1900 census how many residents lived in Kay Moor since the town was not identified in a separate precinct from Fayetteville district. The 1910 census is available, but the 1920 census is not yet open for research. Therefore, comparison of Kay Moor inhabitants over a 10-year period will have to wait.

Other Employment Opportunities

The coal industry drew hundreds of thousands of workers away from "normal community life" to live in isolated company towns. Male heads of households usually had the assistance of their wives and grown children in earning a living. Work performed by women at home during the colonial period was followed by work in the factory during industrialization. One-third of mine-working men had help of their wives or children, but good employment opportunities for these family members were usually difficult to find.¹⁴³

In 1925 there were about almost a half million "wives and daughters" 15 years and over who were members of coal mining families in both the bituminous and anthracite fields.¹⁴⁴ Eighteen percent of the wives were employed, with their main occupation being taking in boarders and lodgers. Available day work outside the home consisted of laundry and cleaning, but this was a secondary opportunity. West Virginia had the highest proportion of wives employed, a little more than one-fifth of the women. Based on race and national origin, more than one-fourth of the black American, Italian, Russian, Hungarian, and Yugoslavian wives worked, but only an eighth of the white American, and German wives were employed.¹⁴⁵

Women in bituminous coal towns possessed little opportunity for employment, either to support themselves or aid in supporting a family. Three-fourths of bituminous coal miners lived in rural areas where employment opportunities for women were limited, while less than a third of the anthracite miners lived in rural areas. Anthracite wives thus had more and varied employment opportunities. Many daughters in the bituminous areas who needed jobs were thus forced to leave home. According to the Women's Bureau, "Daughters who have left home for such purposes are economically 'adrift' and are less likely to contribute to the family income, despite the need of their contributions, than if they had continued under the family roof."¹⁴⁶

Kay Moor was no exception from this general assessment of employment opportunities for women in coal towns. No other industries existed in Kay Moor outside of the mine. Men could always pursue farming or perform road building in areas adjacent to Kay Moor, but no other

142. Ibid., p. 197.

143. Women's Bureau, *Home Environment*, p. 1. An abstract of this report may be found in "Woman and Child Labor," *Monthly Labor Review* 21 (1925): 87-88.

144. Notice that all women are considered wives in the Women's Bureau study, while all unmarried women are counted as daughters. No provision was made for grown, unmarried women on their own; there possibly was no opportunity for unmarried women to be economically independent outside of their parents' house.

145. Women's Bureau, *Home Environment*, p. 4.

146. Ibid., pp. 6-7. Of course, these daughters are also "adrift" from family life.

opportunities existed in Kay Moor for boys except the mine work. According to the coal commission investigator, women and girls had no employment opportunities in Kay Moor whatsoever.¹⁴⁷ (See illustrations 15-19 for views of Kay Moor residents.)

Abandonment of Kay Moor Top and Bottom

Kay Moor Bottom was abandoned in 1952. Most of the inhabitants moved to Kay Moor Top or to Minden. Former Kay Moor employee Virgil Burgess recalled most residents being moved out of Kay Moor Bottom by 1958.¹⁴⁸ (See illustrations 20 and 21 for aerial views of Kay Moor in 1945 and 1957, just before and after its closing.)

Fire destroyed about 40 vacant houses in the deserted Kay Moor Bottom in April 1960. The fire was brought under control after two days by employees of New River and Pocahontas and the C&O, and only 11 houses were left standing. The fire also destroyed a trestle on the C&O branch line which served the operating tippie. Kay Moor superintendent Clifford Davis stated the fire was believed to have started by a "piece of flaming carbon" thrown by a diesel locomotive into one of the deserted houses next to the railroad track. The fire fed on trimmings left from logging operations several years previously and was fanned by high winds. Some of the houses destroyed had been sold and dismantled. The company had no plans for the houses except to sell them for salvage.¹⁴⁹

Virgil Burgess remembered the closing of Kay Moor Top:

There was a real nice community there [at the top of the mountain] and it's all torn down now except for one house. All the rest of them are torn down. The company . . . we sold the houses along in the early fifties, or '54, we sold the houses to individuals and they were torn down and moved away. We never did sell the surface, just sold the houses as they were and you tore them down and moved them whatever you wanted to do.¹⁵⁰

Kay Moor was a company town from its construction until the mine was closed in 1962. It was home to generations of mine workers and their families who rode the haulage, swam in the New River, shopped at store no. 11, attended the black or white schools, breathed the air filled with smoke from the coke ovens, and lived in fear of a tragedy in the mine. In its first years Kay Moor was probably as isolated as the worst of the West Virginia coal towns, but this relative isolation was diminished with the coming of the automobile and access to other towns via the railroad. During the Low Moor Iron Company years, at least, Kay Moor was a much better, cleaner, more

147. RG-68, U.S.C.C., Records of the Division of Investigation of Labor Facts, Living Conditions Section, Completed Mining Community "A" Schedules, Entry 62, Box 31, NA – Suitland.

148. *Fayette State Sentinel*, April 27, 1960; Interview with Virgil Burgess, p. 47.15, NERI.

149. *Fayette State Sentinel*, April 27, 1960; Virgil Burgess believed the fire was fueled by the dense vegetation which had grown up among the houses. He remembered 54 houses being burned. Interview with Virgil Burgess, p. 47.15, NERI. Former Kay Moor resident Dometrius Woodson recalled that "somebody set the houses on, set a house on fire down there, and they were so close together, they just kept going till they burned them all up but two." Interview with Dometrius Woodson, p. 20.3, NERI.

150. Interview with Virgil Burgess, p. 47.11, NERI.

organized town to live in than some of its neighbors. Yet, Kay Moor's social system was controlled by the company; miners and their families were controlled by the company management through the wage and scrip system, and through anti-union activities.

The existence of such a controlled atmosphere on such a large scale left its mark in West Virginia. Ronald D. Eller summed up the legacy of the company towns on the state's psyche:

Thus, company towns, as they evolved in the southern mountains, functioned to limit the growth of social freedom and self-determination and to heighten social tensions and insecurities within the region. Unlike the industrial towns of the Northeast, the textile towns of the South, or in fact the majority of American industrial communities, the coal towns of Appalachia were new communities imposed upon a region in which formal social ties were few. They provided an expedient means of urban development but created a system of closed, artificial communities that restricted rather than induced economic growth. By monopolizing almost every aspect of community life, company towns effectively blocked the growth of local retail enterprises and diversified or supporting industries that might have accompanied coal mining. Since the profits from mining went to nonresident owners, the only benefit that might have accrued to the region itself was the miners' wages. But, under the closed company town system, these too flowed largely out of the mountains. The same modernizing forces that oversaw the transition in land ownership and the emergence of a new economic order in the mountains also shaped the new social environment of the region. And like so much accompanying industrialization that environment was not of the mountaineer's own choosing.¹⁵¹

The National Park Service provided funding which was used in 1989 to stabilize several mining features at Kay Moor, including the powderhouse, headhouse, fanhouse, and processing plant. The mine entrances have been sealed off for visitor safety. The coke oven batteries are still intact, as is a portion of Kay Moor Top, most notably the New Camp. Only foundations and two dilapidated houses remain of the community at Kay Moor Bottom. In 1989 a draft development concept plan was prepared by the Denver Service Center to address preservation, interpretation, and access needs at the Kay Moor site.

151. Eller, *Miners*, p. 198.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

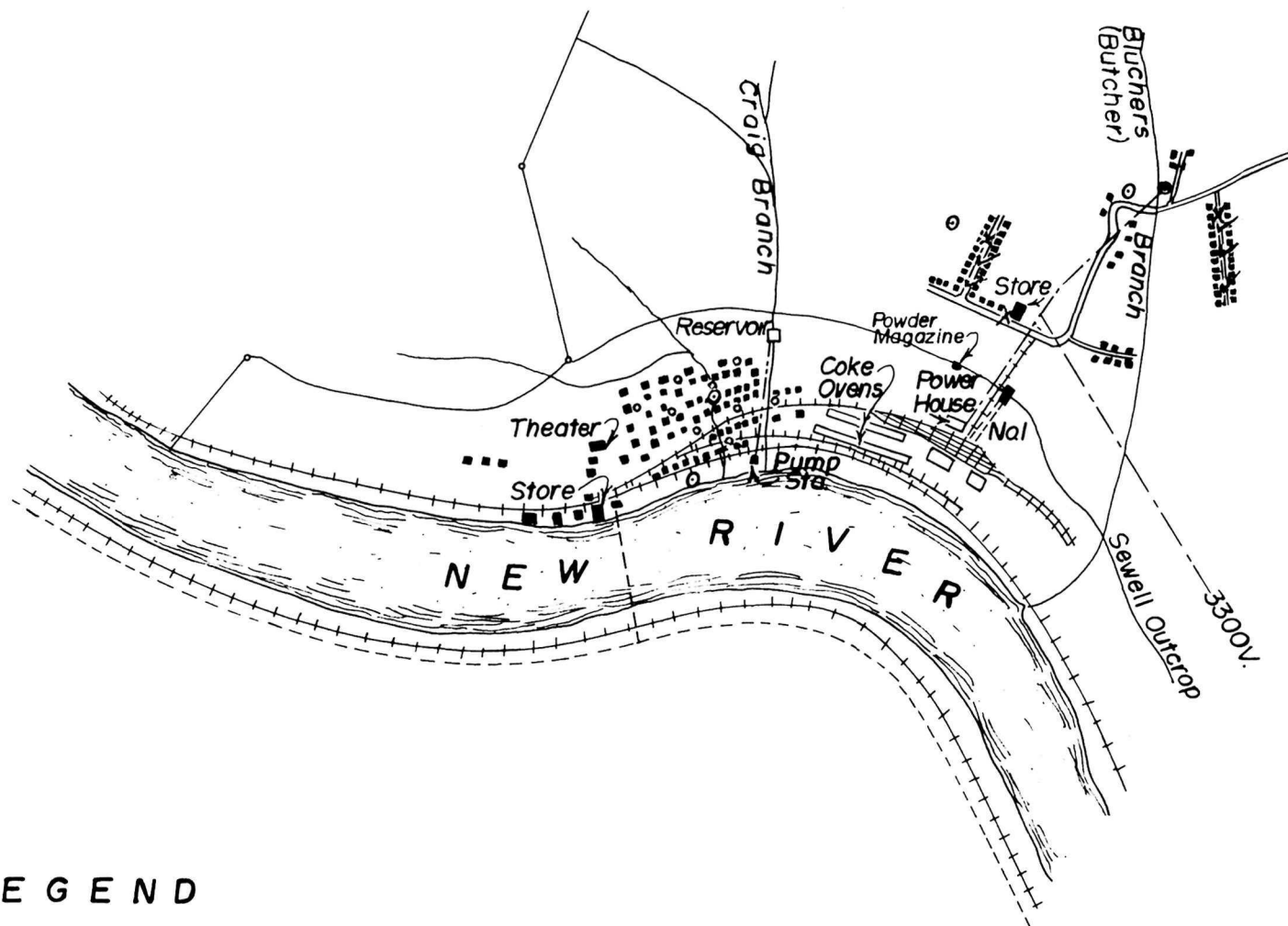
The Low Moor Iron Company collection at the University of Virginia is very extensive. A guide for the collection does exist but it is cursory and does not provide a very detailed index. Therefore, researchers looking for data on Kay Moor have to search item by item through much of the correspondence relating to other Low Moor Iron Company activities. As much as the Kay Moor material as could be found was photocopied for deposit at New River Gorge National River, but a thorough search of the Low Moor Iron Company collection needs to be done. The collection is now stored in a dormitory attic for lack of space, and the University of Virginia has no time or money to put the collection in better storage, or to provide a much more detailed guide.

Very little information on the New River and Pocahontas Consolidated Coal Company's activities at Kay Moor is presently available. Evidently, as per conversation of Jack Bergstresser with a Berwind Land Company representative, the company has destroyed much of its historical files.

Newspaper files for many years of New River and Pocahontas ownership were not searched. Indexing for the Fayette County newspapers exists for the years 1900-1940, with scattered references thereafter. Once subsequent years are indexed, further searches for articles pertaining to Kay Moor's later history could be located. Time for this project did not allow detailed searches of the available newspapers; for that reason the articles used were all located through the indexes.

Most importantly, the oral interviews of former Kay Moor residents and employees were valuable in providing data on the town and mine. Further oral interviews need desperately to be conducted. Such a program should be a park priority.

HISTORICAL BASE MAPS



LEGEND

Buildings	■ ■ ■
High Tension Lines	— — — — —
Water Lines	- - - - -
Telephone Lines	- - - - -
Railroad	+ + + + +
Hydrants-Water Plugs	o
Active Wells	x
Springs	o
Wells Filled Up By Children	j

HISTORIC BASE MAP I

KAY MOOR, WEST VIRGINIA, 1922

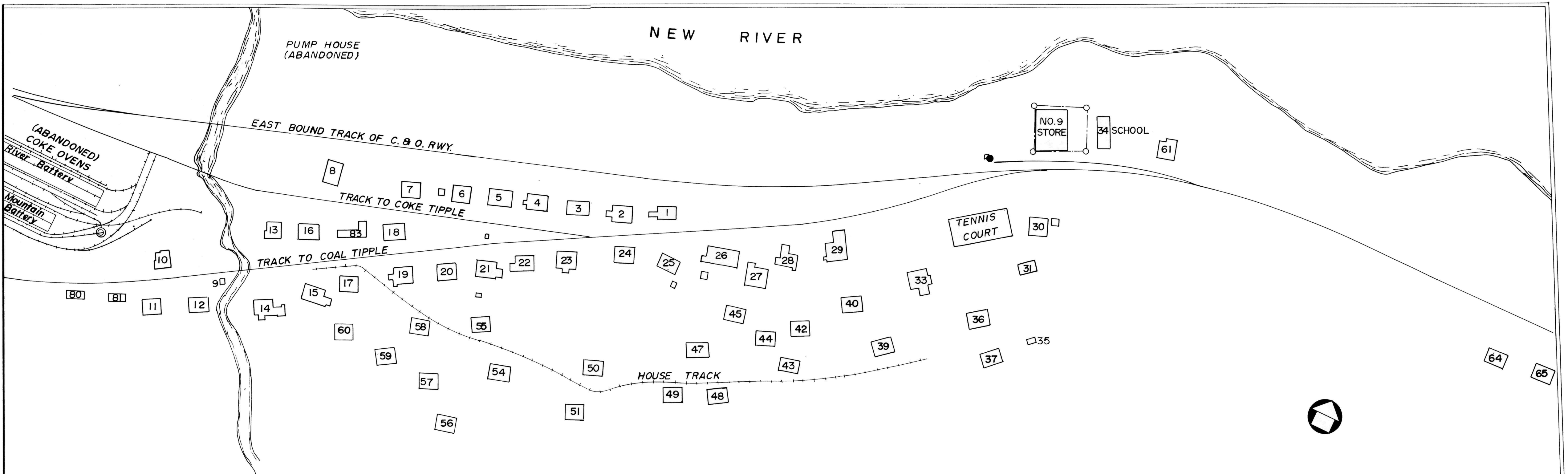
SCALE: 1" = 1600 FT.

BASED ON ORIGINAL BY U. S. COAL COMMISSION

RECORD GROUP - 68 UNITED STATES COAL COMMISSION

Records of the Division of Investigation of Labor Facts Living Conditions Section

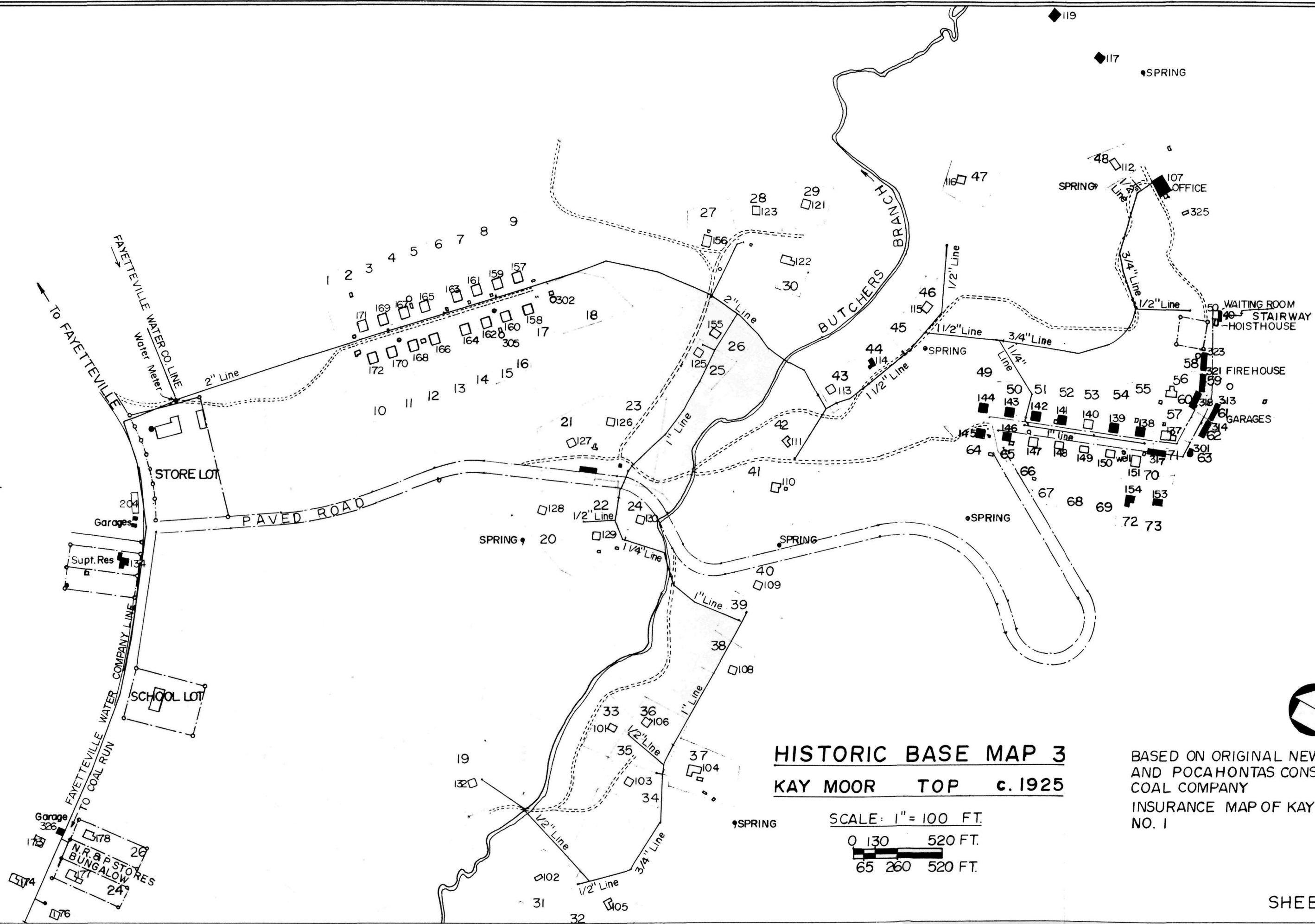
Completed Mining Community "A" Schedules (Form LC-12), with Camp Ratings 1922-23. (Logan District, W. Va.-New River District W. Va.) Entry 62 Box 31 National Archives - Suitland, Maryland. 637/25,002



HISTORIC BASE MAP 2
KAY MOOR BOTTOM c.1925

SCALE: 1" = 100 FT.
0 50 100 FT

BASED ON ORIGINAL NEW RIVER
AND POCAHONTAS CONSOLIDATED
COAL COMPANY
INSURANCE MAP OF KAY MOOR
NO. 1



HISTORIC BASE MAP 3
KAY MOOR TOP c. 1925

SCALE: 1" = 100 FT.
0 130 520 FT.
65 260 520 FT.

BASED ON ORIGINAL NEW RIVER
AND POCAHONTAS CONSOLIDATED
COAL COMPANY
INSURANCE MAP OF KAY MOOR
NO. 1

637
25,001
SHEET 1 OF 1

APPENDIXES

**APPENDIX 1: SHIPPING STATEMENT, THE LOW MOOR
IRON COMPANY OF VIRGINIA, APRIL 17, 1903,**

1-O.

THE LOW MOOR IRON COMPANY OF VIRGINIA.

COAL DEPARTMENT.

KAY MOOR, W. VA., 17th, April 1903 190

General Office:

We shipped to-day as follows, as per original Bills of Lading on file here:

ORDRR No.	KIND OF COAL OR COKE	CONSIGNEE	DESTINATION	CAR INITIAL	CAR No.	CAPACITY
	Coke	L.M.I.C.	Covington Va	C & O	10968 10786 10721 10945 10913 10910 10783	60,000
	R.O.M.		Low Moor Va		23202 22599 23648	100,000

OK

THE LOW MOOR IRON CO. OF VA.

By _____
Shipping Clerk.

Source: LMIC, Acc. 662, Box 28, Folder: 1903 Feb-Aug, General Office Shipping Statements, Low Moor, UVAC.

APPENDIX 2: MANAGERS OF KAY MOOR NO. 1

Year	Superintendent	Mine Foreman
1900		J.C. Eastham
1901	James Kay	J.C. Eastham
1902	Harry L. Tansill, James Halstead	J.C. Eastham
1903	Hubert Raven, Edward D. Weeks	J.W. McBrayer, W. Brallihan
1904	D. Weeks, H.D. Gast	John Riley, Elmer Leslie
1905	H.D. Gast	J.W. McBrayer
1906	E.D. Wickes	A.R. Jones
1907	Wm. Barrick	F.H. Tibbetts
1908	Wm. Barrick	F.H. Tibbetts
1909	Wm. Barrick	Joseph Shorthouse
1910	Wm. Barrick	John Clark
1911	F.H. Palmer	M.H. Blythe
1912	Geo. H. Esser	A.S. Reese
1913	G.H. Esser	D.H. Lucas
1914	G.H. Esser	D.H. Lucas
1915	G.H. Esser	Steve Framm
1916	C.C. Cooke	J.H. Allen
1917	C.C. Cooke	Geo. Symon
1918	C.C. Cooke	Geo. R. Davis
1919	E.M. Cabell	Joseph Shorthouse
1920	E.M. Cabell	Joseph Shorthouse
1921	E.M. Cabell	Jos. Shorthouse
1922	J.W. Monteith	A.S. Wilson
1923	J.W. Monteith	H.E. Clingman
1924	J.W. Monteith	H.E. Clingman
1925	A.L. Monteith	H.E. Clingman
1926	A.L. Monteith	M.A. Tygrett
1927	R.C. Wandling	M.A. Tygrett
1928	E.M. Des Rochers	M.A. Tygrett
1929	E.M. Des Rochers	L.E. Jones
1930	E.M. Des Rouchers	L.E. Jones
1931	E.M. Des Rouchers	L.E. Jones
1932	J.M. Kerr	R.D. Jones
1933	J.M. Kerr	R.D. Jones
1934	R.D. Jones	J.A. Kerr
1935	R.D. Jones	
1936	R.D. Jones	
1937	R.D. Jones	
1938	R.D. Jones	
1939	R.D. Jones	
1940	R.D. Jones	
1941	R.D. Jones	
1942	Ray Douglas Jones	
1943	R.D. Jones	
1944	R.D. Jones	
1945	R.D. Jones	
1946	W.R. Burgess	
1947	W.R. Burgess	
1948	W.R. Burgess	
1949	Clifford Davis	
1950	Clifford Davis	
1951	Clifford Davis	
1952	Clifford Davis	

Source: West Virginia *Annual Report of the Department of Mines*, 1900-1962

APPENDIX 3: PRODUCTION OF COAL AND COKE KAY MOOR NO. 1

Year Ending June 30th	Coal (Tons of 2,240 lbs.)	Coke (Tons of 2,000 lbs.)	Number of Coke Ovens Reported
1901	64,800		
1902	76,648	15,087	111
1903	52,296	20,746	111
1904	107,471	37,027	111
1905	110,010	34,293	111
1906	118,836	40,172	145
1907	102,800	39,377	145
1908	109,341	40,166	145
1909	137,367	48,000	147
1910	136,960	50,403	147
1911	132,733	48,170	146
1912	136,319	47,435	146
1913	128,166	48,326	140
1914	139,837	41,103	140
1915	59,245	12,600	145
1916	121,967	23,000	127
1917	135,542	49,138	140
1918	138,819	66,786	202
1919	140,234	71,336	202
1920	166,217	79,745	202
1921	157,056	60,280	202
1922	97,109	8,067	202
1923	122,623	53,316	202
1924	166,926	63,686	
1925	216,458	39,895	
1926	297,308	30,500	
1927	347,568	43,580	
1928	401,003	39,952	
1929	425,070	36,361	
1930	319,250	16,853	
1931	320,521	13,424	
1932	302,350	4,395	
1933	394,488	5,589	
1934	438,290	2,348	
1935	464,622		
1936	266,266		
1937	567,079		
1938	402,042		
1939	600,564		
1940	701,319		
1941	742,709		
1942	627,175		
1943	591,103		
1944	483,049		
1945	376,693		
1946	365,478		
1947	424,262		
1948	389,375		
1949	253,179		
1950	307,890		
1951	421,174		
1952	409,059		
1953	356,180		
1954	470,138		
1955	506,314		
1956	414,027		
1957	295,891		
1958	169,051		
1959	154,459		
1960	64,430		
1961	10,515		
1962	0		

Source: West Virginia, *Annual Report of the Department of Mines* 1900-1962

APPENDIX 4: KAYMOOR PRECINCT, FAYETTEVILLE DISTRICT, 1910 U.S. CENSUS

Location House Number	Name	Relation	Sex	Color or Race	Age	Place of Birth	Trade or Profession	General Nature of Industry
119	Gunnison, Edward A.	Head	M	Mu	33	Virginia	Laborer	Coal Mine
119	Gunnison, Mary V.	Wife	F	B	37	Virginia		
119	Gunnison, Cecil M.	Son	M	Mu	5	West Virginia		
119	Watson, James A.	Boarder	M	B	22	Virginia	Laborer	Coal Mine
119	Watson, Flannah	Boarder	F	B	16	Virginia		
119	Watson, Quinlan	Boarder	M	B	1/12	West Virginia		
117	Jones, James	Head	M	Mu	22	Virginia	Laborer	Coal Mine
117	Jones, Elsie	Wife	F	Mu	18	Virginia		
122	Ash, Martin	Head	M	W	55	Virginia	Laborer	Coal Mine
122	Ash, Mary	Wife	F	W	46	Kentucky		
122	Ash, Lizie	Dghtr-in-law	F	W	17	Kentucky		
122	Ash, James	Son	M	W	23	Kentucky	Laborer	Coal Mine
122	Ash, Roy	Grandson	M	W	0/12	West Virginia		
122	Phillips, George	Boarder	M	W	22	Pennsylvania	Laborer	Coal Mine
122	Hanners, Jessie	Boarder	M	W	19	Kentucky	Laborer	Coal Mine
122	Ash, Herbert	Boarder	M	W	16	Kentucky	Laborer	Coal Mine
126	Wilson, Anderson	Head	M	W	44	Kentucky	Laborer	Coal Mine
126	Wilson, Nellie	Wife	F	W	29	Kentucky		
126	Wilson, Minnie	Daughter	F	W	8	Kentucky		
126	Wilson, John	Son	M	W	4	West Virginia		
126	Wilson, Breck	Boarder	M	W	16	Kentucky	Laborer	Coal Mine
126	Wilson, Jennie	Boarder	F	W	15	Kentucky		
127	Lenoir, Romey	Head	M	B	37	North Carolina	Laborer	Coal Mine
127	Lenoir, Missouri	Wife	F	Mu	33	Virginia		
127	Lenoir, Hattie S.	Daughter	F	Mu	16	West Virginia		
127	Lenoir, Leonard E.	Son	M	Mu	12	West Virginia		
127	Lenoir, Jose E.	Niece	F	Mu	10	West Virginia		
128	Haney, Austin	Head	M	W	27	Kentucky	Laborer	Coal Mine
128	Haney, Nanie	Wife	F	W	19	Kentucky		
128	Haney, Lonzo	Son	M	W	3	West Virginia		
128	Haney, Mary E.	Daughter	F	W	1	West Virginia		
128	Burton, Eva	Servant	F	W	15	Kentucky	Servant	Private Family
128	Burton, Aaron	Brth-in-law	M	W	8	Kentucky		
129	Rife, Thomas	Head	M	W	38	Kentucky	Laborer	Coal Mine
129	Rife, Jenesis	Wife	F	W	37	Kentucky		
129	Rife, Fred	Son	M	W	14	Kentucky		
129	Rife, Flora	Daughter	F	W	11	Kentucky		
129	Rife, Vernal	Son	M	W	9	Kentucky		
129	Rife, Myrtle	Daughter	F	W	5	Kentucky		
129	Rife, Ruby	Daughter	F	W	2	Kentucky		
129	Young, Jacob	Head	M	W	33	Kentucky	Laborer	Coal Mine
129	Young, Flora	Wife	F	W	27	Kentucky		
129	Young, Bulah	Daughter	F	W	7	Kentucky		
129	Young, Larena	Daughter	F	W	4	Kentucky		
129	Young, James	Brother	M	W	40	Kentucky	Laborer	Coal Mine
131	McClain, Booker	Head	M	B	40	Virginia	Laborer	Coal Mine
131	McClain, Salle	Wife	F	Mu	40	Virginia		
131	Easter, Hattie	Daughter	F	Mu	17	West Virginia		
131	Easter, Tan	Son-in-law	M	Mu	25	Virginia	Laborer	Coal Mine
131	McClain, Charlie	Son	M	Mu	16	West Virginia	Laborer	Coal Mine
131	McClain, Booker	Head	M	B	40	Virginia	Laborer	Coal Mine
131	Samuel, Eldridge	Boarder	M	B	24	West Virginia	Laborer	Coal Mine
131	Banden, Garfield	Boarder	M	B	20	Virginia	Laborer	Coal Mine
131	Grant, Giles	Boarder	M	B	30	Virginia	Laborer	Coal Mine
131	Kains, Morris	Boarder	M	B	23	Virginia	Laborer	Coal Mine
130	Shelton, Frank	Head	M	Mu	26	Virginia	Laborer	Coal Mine
130	Shelton, Ida	Wife	F	Mu	18	West Virginia		
105	Smith, Richard	Head	M	Mu	30	Virginia	Laborer	Coal Mine
105	Smith, Louisa	Wife	F	Mu	25	Virginia		
105	Smith, Clara L.	Daughter	F	Mu	1	West Virginia		
105	Smith, Dell R.	Daughter	F	Mu	2/12	West Virginia		
105	Smith, Mary	Niece	F	Mu	14	West Virginia	Servant	Private Family
104	Lavander, L.M.	Head	M	W	54	Virginia	Carpenter	House
104	Lavander, E.J.	Wife	F	W	47	Virginia		
104	Lavander, Victoria	Daughter	F	W	26	Virginia		
104	Lavander, May B.	Daughter	F	W	14	Virginia		

Location House Number	Name	Relation	Sex	Color or Race	Age	Place of Birth	Trade or Profession	General Nature of Industry
104	Lavander, Clifford J.	Son	M	W	11	Virginia		
104	Lavander, Cora E.	Daughter	F	W	5	West Virginia		
104	Lavander, Ezelda I.	Daughter	F	W	3	West Virginia		
104	Lavander, Earl	Grandson	M	W	11/12	West Virginia		
104	Lyons, Charley	Boarder	M	W	30	Kentucky	Laborer	Coal Mine
104	Biggs, Bast	Boarder	M	W	30	Kentucky	Laborer	Coal Mine
104	Basham, James	Boarder	M	W	27	Virginia	Laborer	Coal Mine
104	Guinn, Joseph	Boarder	M	W	22	West Virginia	Laborer	Coal Mine
104	Dedrich, W.H.	Head	M	W	47	Virginia	Carpenter	Railroad
104	Dedrich Alice	Wife	F	W	47	Virginia		
104	Cook, Zeima	Daughter	F	W	23	Virginia		
104	Cook, D.H.	Son-in-law	M	W	31	Virginia	Laborer	Coal Mine
104	Hoback, Jefferson	Head	M	W	36	Virginia	Laborer	Coal Mine
104	Hoback, Cora	Wife	F	W	25	West Virginia		
104	Hoback, Aldena	Daughter	F	W	7	West Virginia		
104	Hoback, Harry	Son	M	W	5	West Virginia		
104	Hoback, Lillie	Daughter	F	W	2	West Virginia		
104	Hoback, Roy	Son	M	W	6/12	West Virginia		
108	Thomas, Andrew	Head	M	W	47	West Virginia	Sawyer	Lumber Mill
108	Thomas, Ida	Wife	F	W	45	West Virginia		
108	Thomas, Ona	Daughter	F	W	16	West Virginia		
108	Thomas, Lula	Daughter	F	W	13	West Virginia		
108	Thomas, Millie	Daughter	F	W	11	West Virginia		
108	Thomas, Everett	Son	M	W	8	West Virginia		
108	Thomas, Elmer	Son	M	W	5	West Virginia		
109	Pennington, J.M.	Head	M	W	42	Kentucky	Woodchopper	Lumber Camp
109	Pennington, Mary	Wife	F	W	38	Kentucky		
109	Pennington, Luther H.	Son	M	W	18	Kentucky	Laborer	Coal Mine
109	Pennington, Everett	Son	M	W	16	Kentucky	Laborer	Coal Mine
109	Pennington, Herbert	Son	M	W	12	Kentucky		
109	Pennington, Pearl	Daughter	F	W	10	Kentucky		
109	Pennington, Nimrod	Son	M	W	7	West Virginia		
109	Pennington, Winnie	Daughter	F	W	4	West Virginia		
109	Pennington, Bernis	Daughter	F	W	11/12	West Virginia		
110	Brunk, J.C.	Head	M	W	43	Virginia	Laborer	Coal Mine
110	Brunk, Margaret	Wife	F	W	34	Illinois		
110	Brunk, George	Son	M	W	17	Tennessee	Laborer	Coal Mine
110	Brunk, Claude	Son	M	W	15	Kentucky		
110	Brunk, Gracie	Daughter	F	W	13	Kentucky		
111	Chambers, George	Head	M	W	22	Kentucky	Laborer	Coal Mine
111	Chambers, Janice	Wife	F	W	21	Kentucky		
111	Chambers, Fred	Son	M	W	3	West Virginia		
111	Chambers, Robert	Son	M	W	2	West Virginia		
111	Pennington, Frank	Boarder	M	W	24	West Virginia	Laborer	Coal Mine
111	Pennington, Sallie	Boarder	F	W	24	West Virginia		
111	Baker, Mary	Servant	F	W	62	Ohio	Servant	Private Family
113	Hill, James	Head	M	Mu	43	West Virginia	Laborer	Coal Mine
113	Hill, Anna	Wife	F	Mu	16	West Virginia		
113	Hill, Effa M.	Daughter	F	Mu	6/12	West Virginia		
114	Brunk, F.H.	Head	M	W	21	Kentucky	Laborer	Coal Mine
114	Brunk, M.J.	Wife	F	W	17	West Virginia		
114	Brunk, Claudia	Daughter	F	W	1	West Virginia		
115	Patten, Joseph	Head	M	Mu	45	North Carolina	Laborer	Blacksmith Shop
115	Patten, Elizabeth	Wife	F	Mu	44	Virginia		
115	Patten, Herbert	Son	M	Mu	14	West Virginia		
115	Patten, Roy	Son	M	Mu	12	West Virginia		
115	Patten, Flora	Daughter	F	Mu	10	West Virginia		
115	Patten, Berth	Daughter	F	Mu	8	West Virginia		
115	Patten, Hughey	Son	M	Mu	6	West Virginia		
115	Patten, Jessie	Son	M	Mu	4	West Virginia		
115	Patten, Maggie	Daughter	F	Mu	2	West Virginia		
116	Radliff, Abraham	Head	M	B	36	North Carolina	Laborer	Coal Mine
116	Radliff, Willie	Wife	F	Mu	21	Virginia		
146	Pennington, Thomas	Head	M	W	27	Kentucky	Laborer	Coal Mine
146	Pennington, Pearl	Wife	F	W	27	Virginia		
146	Woodrum, Charlie	Stepson	M	W	7	West Virginia		
146	Woodrum, Claude	Stepson	M	W	4	West Virginia		
146	Pennington, Cassie	Daughter	F	W	9/12	West Virginia		
143	Griffiths, George	Head	M	W	35	Kentucky	Laborer	Coal Mine
143	Griffiths, Sarrah	Wife	F	W	31	Kentucky		

Location House Number	Name	Relation	Sex	Color or Race	Age	Place of Birth	Trade or Profession	General Nature of Industry
143	Griffiths, Goldie M.	Daughter	F	W	11	Kentucky		
143	Griffiths, Willie	Son	M	W	8	West Virginia		
143	Griffiths, Mary	Daughter	F	W	5	Kentucky		
143	Griffiths, Virgil	Son	M	W	2	Kentucky		
147	Hitchcock, M.L.	Head	M	W	32	Kentucky	Laborer	Coal Mine
147	Hitchcock, Tessie	Wife	F	W	28	Kentucky		
147	Hitchcock, Erle	Son	M	W	8	Kentucky		
147	Hitchcock, Hubert	Son	M	W	5	West Virginia		
147	Hitchcock, Vivian	Daughter	F	W	3	West Virginia		
147	Hitchcock, Vernon	Son	M	W	2	West Virginia		
148	Samples, J.B.	Head	M	W	24	West Virginia	Laborer	Coal Mine
148	Samples, Ollie	Wife	F	W	19	Kentucky		
148	Samples, Doran	Son	M	W	6/12	West Virginia		
141	Lyle, George	Head	M	W	34	Pennsylvania	Laborer	Coal Mine
141	Lyle, Lillie	Wife	F	W	24	England		
141	Lyle, Harry	Son	M	W	4	Pennsylvania		
141	Lyle, James	Son	M	W	2	Pennsylvania		
140	Withrow, William	Head	M	W	50	West Virginia	Laborer	Coal Mine
140	Withrow, Mary	Wife	F	W	35	Pennsylvania		
140	Withrow, John	Son	M	W	21	Pennsylvania	Laborer	Coal Mine
140	Withrow, Russell	Son	M	W	14	West Virginia		
140	Withrow, Nancy	Daughter	F	W	9	Pennsylvania		
140	Withrow, Albert	Son	M	W	8	Pennsylvania		
140	Withrow, Millard	Son	M	W	6	West Virginia		
140	Withrow, Maggie	Daughter	F	W	3	West Virginia		
149	Conner, Noah	Head	M	W	33	Virginia	Laborer	Blacksmith Shop
149	Conner, Grace	Wife	F	W	32	Virginia		
149	Conner, Bulah	Daughter	F	W	11	Virginia		
149	Conner, Verna	Daughter	F	W	10	Virginia		
149	Conner, Edith	Daughter	F	W	7	Virginia		
149	Conner, Raymond	Son	M	W	4	West Virginia		
149	Conner, John	Son	M	W	1	West Virginia		
139	Hineli, Loyd	Head	M	W	23	West Virginia	Laborer	Coal Mine
139	Hineli, Gracie	Wife	F	W	20	West Virginia		
150	Roberts, Harry	Head	M	W	23	Pennsylvania	Laborer	Coal Mine
150	Roberts, Flora	Wife	F	W	18	West Virginia		
150	Roberts, Arnold	Son	M	W	6/12	West Virginia		
150	Comer, Woodson	Fth-in-law	M	W	50	Kansas	Laborer	Coal Mine
151	Hitchcock, Claude	Head	M	W	25	Kentucky	Laborer	Coal Mine
51	Hitchcock, Dove	Wife	F	W	21	Kentucky		
51	Hitchcock, Daisy	Daughter	F	W	4	West Virginia		
51	Hitchcock, Violet	Daughter	F	W	2	West Virginia		
51	Hitchcock, Quinton	Son	M	W	1	West Virginia		
54	Marshall, Elexander	Head	M	W	49	Kentucky	Laborer	Coal Mine
54	Marshall, Mary	Wife	F	W	45	Kentucky		
54	Marshall, Lucy	Daughter	F	W	12	Kentucky		
54	Marshall, Grover	Son	M	W	18	Kentucky	Laborer	Coal Mine
54	Marshall, Albert	Son	M	W	16	Kentucky		
154	Marshall, Eddie	Son	M	W	10	Kentucky		
154	Marshall, Vernie	Daughter	F	W	7	Kentucky		
154	Marshall, Hazel	Son	M	W	3	Kentucky		
138	Bayls, S.W.	Head	M	W	29	West Virginia	Clerk	Company Store
138	Bayls, Anna	Wife	F	W	29	West Virginia		
138	Bayls, Opal L.	Daughter	F	W	6	West Virginia		
138	Bayls, Paulina E.	Daughter	F	W	10/12	West Virginia		
152	Hitchcock, Nimrod	Head	M	W	28	Kentucky	Miner	Coal Mine
152	Hitchcock, Amanda	Wife	F	W	22	West Virginia		
152	Hitchcock, Rutherford	Son	M	W	5	Kentucky		
152	Hitchcock, Blainie	Daughter	F	W	3	West Virginia		
137	Burton, Burl	Head	M	W	29	Kentucky	Laborer	Coal Mine
137	Burton, Pearl	Wife	F	W	24	Kentucky		
137	Burton, Everette	Son	M	W	6	Kentucky		
137	Burton, Oral	Daughter	F	W	4	Kentucky		
137	Burton, Delbert	Son	M	W	1	West Virginia		
153	Hamilton, J. W.	Head	M	W	40	Kentucky	Miner	Coal Mine
153	Hamilton, Sarrah	Wife	F	W	40	Virginia		
153	Hamilton, Rosa	Daughter	F	W	17	Virginia		
153	Hamilton, Douglass	Son	M	W	12	West Virginia		
153	Hamilton, Herman	Son	M	W	6	West Virginia		
153	Hamilton, Thelma	Daughter	F	W	4	West Virginia		

Location House Number	Name	Relation	Sex	Color or Race	Age	Place of Birth	Trade or Profession	General Nature of Industry
153	Hamilton, Clarence	Son	M	W	2	West Virginia		
153	Hamilton, Florida	Daughter	F	W	1/12	West Virginia		
153	Hamilton, John	Father	M	W	55	Kentucky	Miner	Coal Mine
153	Hamilton, Willie	Cousin	M	W	18	Kentucky	Miner	Coal Mine
153	Cook, Ellis	Boarder	M	W	28	Kentucky	Carpenter	House
135	Grafton, Edwin, Jr.	Head	M	W	22	West Virginia	Store Manager	General Store
135	Grafton, Goldie	Wife	F	W	22	West Virginia		
135	Grafton, Pauline	Daughter	F	W	1	West Virginia		
135	Grafton, Susan	Sister	F	W	20	West Virginia	Teacher	Public School
135	Overton, Thomas	Cousin	M	W	24	England	Laborer	Coal Mine
135	Miller, J.F.	Head	M	W	40	Kentucky	Merchant	General Store
135	Miller, Edna	Wife	F	W	29	Kentucky		
135	Miller, Alta	Daughter	F	W	9	Kentucky		
135	Miller, Ora	Daughter	F	W	7	Kentucky		
135	Miller, John	Son	M	W	1	10/12	West Virginia	
135	Miller, Sylvia	Daughter	F	W	1	10/12	West Virginia	
135	Lenoir, S.H.	Head	M	Mu	46	North Carolina	Miner	Coal Mine
135	Guerrant, Margaret	Mth-in-law	F	Mu	63	Virginia		
135	Lenoir, Addie	Daughter	F	Mu	19	West Virginia		
135	Lenoir, Pearl	Daughter	F	Mu	17	West Virginia		
135	Lenoir, Lucy	Daughter	F	Mu	13	West Virginia		
135	Lenoir, Harris	Son	M	Mu	8	West Virginia		
135	Hayden, B.J.	Head	M	Mu	45	Virginia	Miner	Coal Mine
135	Hayden, Lydia	Wife	F	Mu	30	Virginia		
135	Hayden, Lucie	Daughter	F	Mu	14	West Virginia		
135	Hayden, Florence	Daughter	F	Mu	10	West Virginia		
135	Hayden, Ather	Son	M	Mu	9	West Virginia		
135	Hayden, Russell	Son	M	Mu	7	West Virginia		
135	Hayden, Louisa	Daughter	F	Mu	3	West Virginia		
135	Hayden, Martha	Daughter	F	Mu	2	West Virginia		
UN	Moleu, B.F.	Head	M	Mu	33	Virginia	Manager	Company Stable
UN	Moleu, Eva	Daughter	F	Mu	4/12	West Virginia		
UN	Moleu, Henry	Son	M	Mu	4/12	West Virginia		
8	Witt, T.D.	Head	M	Mu	42	Virginia	Miner	Coal Mine
8	Witt, Ginnie	Wife	F	Mu	27	West Virginia		
8	Lewis, Ethel L.	Boarder	F	Mu	22	Virginia	Teacher	Public School
7	Kirk, Sarah	Head	F	W	26	Kentucky	Keeper	Boarding House
7	Kirk, Pauline	Daughter	F	W	9	Kentucky		
7	Kirk, Gerald	Son	M	W	4	West Virginia		
7	Gallager, Joseph	Boarder	M	W	27	UN	Miner	Coal Mine
7	Pennington, Washington	Boarder	M	W	40	West Virginia	Miner	Coal Mine
7	Kennan, Homer	Boarder	M	W	20	Ohio	Laborer	Coal Mine
7	Donally, James	Boarder	M	W	24	West Virginia	Miner	Coal Mine
7	Durfield, Henry	Boarder	M	W	28	Kentucky	Miner	Coal Mine
7	Franklin, Harry	Boarder	M	W	38	Virginia	Miner	Coal Mine
7	Legg, Lee	Boarder	M	W	19	Virginia	Miner	Coal Mine
7	Pennington, Anna	Boarder	F	W	27	West Virginia		
7	Price, Dock	Boarder	M	W	8	West Virginia		
7	Price, Addie	Boarder	F	W	6	West Virginia		
7	Price, Kerns	Boarder	M	W	4	West Virginia		
4	Wallace, E.C.	Head	M	W	35	West Virginia	Engineer	Power House
4	Wallace, Addie	Wife	F	W	34	West Virginia		
4	Wallace, Donald H.	Son	M	W	1 3/12	West Virginia		
2	Alexander, Edward	Head	M	W	37	Kentucky	Laborer	Coal Mine
2	Alexander, Faira	Wife	F	W	26	Kentucky		
2	Alexander, Ruth	Daughter	F	W	5	West Virginia		
2	Alexander, Irene	Daughter	F	W	1 7/12	West Virginia		
2	Easterling, Henry	Boarder	M	W	28	Kentucky	Laborer	Coal Mine
2	Easterling, Carbin	Boarder	M	W	24	Kentucky	Laborer	Coal Mine
86	May, William	Head	M	W	27	Kentucky	Miner	Coal Mine
86	May, Laura	Wife	F	W	19	Kentucky		
86	May, Harvard E.	Son	M	W	0/12	West Virginia		
86	Husley, Homer	Brother	M	W	17	Kentucky	Laborer	Coal Mine
50	Browning, J.O.	Head	M	W	35	Maryland	Weigh Boss	Coal Mine
50	Browning, Fay	Wife	F	W	33	Maryland		
50	Browning, John	Son	M	W	5	Maryland		
38	Moss, John	Head	M	Mu	33	Kentucky	Miner	Coal M'ne
38	Moss, Mary	Wife	F	Mu	24	Virginia		
38	Moss, Edward	Son	M	Mu	3/12	West Virginia		
81	Opp, Jno. R.	Head	M	B	34	Virginia	Laborer	Coke yard

Location House Number	Name	Relation	Sex	Color or Race	Age	Place of Birth	Trade or Profession	General Nature of Industry
81	Opp, Susie	Wife	F	B	20	Virginia		
80	Marker, Walter	Head	M	W	34	West Virginia	Electrician	Coal Mine
80	Marker, Esna	Wife	F	W	24	Pennsylvania		
80	Marker, William	Son	M	W	11	West Virginia		
80	Marker, Harold	Son	M	W	0/12	West Virginia		
80	Angus, Bessie	Servant	F	W	23	West Virginia	Servant	Private Family
80	Angus, Edward	Boarder	M	W	32	West Virginia	Machinist	Coal Mine
78	Green, David	Head	M	B	20	South Carolina	Miner	Coal Mine
78	Panud, James	Boarder	M	B	22	Virginia	Miner	Coal Mine
78	Brown, Jenkins	Boarder	M	B	23	Virginia	Laborer	Coal Mine
78	Carter, Edward	Boarder	M	B	25	Virginia	Laborer	Coal Bin
64	McDaniel, A.C.	Head	M	W	36	Virginia	Engineer	Locomotion
64	McDaniel, Mary	Wife	F	W	33	Virginia		
64	McDaniel, Alma L.	Daughter	F	W	12	Virginia		
64	McDaniel, Dean B.	Son	M	W	10	Virginia		
64	McDaniel, Clarence	Son	M	W	8	Virginia		
64	McDaniel, Hubert	Son	M	W	6	Virginia		
64	McDaniel, Florence	Daughter	F	W	1/12	West Virginia		
UN	Maussuer, J.E.	Head	M	W	40	West Virginia	Carpenter	Foreman
UN	Maussuer, Rose	Wife	F	W	34	West Virginia		
UN	Maussuer, Ethel M.	Daughter	F	W	13	West Virginia		
UN	Maussuer, Gary J.	Son	M	W	12	West Virginia		
UN	Maussuer, Paul A.	Son	M	W	6	West Virginia		
UN	Maussuer, Russell	Son	M	W	2	West Virginia		
UN	Maussuar, Homer G.	Son	M	W	2/12	West Virginia		
UN	Franklin, C.I.	Head	M	W	0	Virginia	Machinist	Coke Ovens
UN	Franklin, D.A.	Wife	F	W	35	Virginia		
UN	Franklin, Osie L.	Son	M	W	6	Virginia		
UN	Franklin, Elma H.	Son	M	W	4	Virginia		
UN	Franklin, John	Father	M	W	45	Virginia	Laborer	Coal Bins
UN	Franklin, Burks	Brother	M	W	23	Virginia	Foreman	Coal Bins
UN	Franklin, Samuel	Cousin	M	W	18	Virginia	Foreman	Coke Machine
UN	Franklin, Maurice	Cousin	M	W	21	Virginia	Laborer	Coal Bins
UN	Myres, Dennis	Cousin	M	W	21	Virginia	Laborer	Coal Bins
UN	Franklin, W.G.	Brother	M	W	27	Virginia	Engineer	Coke Machine
UN	Franklin, Ida	Sstr'in-law	F	W	36	Virginia		
11	Cummings, Thomas	Head	M	W	52	England	Foreman	Coke Ovens
11	Cummings, Lula	Wife	F	W	51	Virginia		
11	Cummings, Joseph	Son	M	W	20	West Virginia	Student	Normal School
12	Reece, C. L.	Head	M	W	41	Ohio	Electrician	Coal Mine
12	Reece, Luvenia	Wife	F	W	32	West Virginia		
12	Reece, Bessie	Daughter	F	W	13	West Virginia		
12	Reece, Eric	Son	M	W	10	West Virginia		
12	Reece, Lou	Son	M	W	8	West Virginia		
12	Reece, Jessie	Son	M	W	6	West Virginia		
12	Reece, Goldie	Daughter	F	W	2	West Virginia		
54	Gee, Thomas	Head	M	W	25	Kentucky	Laborer	Coal Mine
54	Gee, Thessie	Wife	F	W	16	Kentucky		
54	Gee, Edith	Daughter	F	W	3/12	West Virginia		
54	Cordell Julia	Sstr-in-law	F	W	14	Kentucky	Servant	Private Family
5	Junutolo, David	Head	M	W	48	Italy	Mason	Stone Work
5	Junutolo, Amelia	Wife	F	W	34	Italy		
5	Junutolo, Palmeria	Daughter	F	W	16	Italy		
5	Junutolo, Rocco	Son	M	W	14	Italy		
5	Junutolo, Ugo	Son	M	W	12	Italy		
5	Junutolo, Tisbe	Daughter	F	W	11	Italy		
5	Junutolo, Dondola	Son	M	W	9	Italy		
5	Rotali, Lidono	Boarder	M	W	24	Italy	Miner	Coal Mine
33	Pike, William	Head	M	B	30	North Carolina	Miner	Coal Mine
33	Pike, Rachael	Wife	F	B	25	Virginia		
33	Pike, Mabel	Daughter	F	B	13	Virginia		
33	Pike, Bessie	Daughter	F	B	11	Virginia		
33	Pike, Hattie	Daughter	F	B	7	Virginia		
33	Pike, Henley	Daughter	F	B	4	West Virginia		
33	Pike, Ida	Daughter	F	B	1	West Virginia		
34	Brown, William	Head	M	B	30	Virginia	Miner	Coal Mine
34	Brown, Nettie	Wife	F	B	28	North Carolina		
34	Brown, Nellie	Niece	F	B	13	North Carolina		
34	Brown, Thomas	Brother	M	B	25	Virginia	Miner	Coal Mine
34	Bowls, Milton	Boarder	M	B	30	Virginia	Miner	Coal Mine

Location House Number	Name	Relation	Sex	Color or Race	Age	Place of Birth	Trade or Profession	General Nature of Industry
43	Robertson, William	Head	M	B	40	Virginia	Laborer	Coke Yard
43	Cardwell, Robert	Boarder	M	B	21	Virginia	Laborer	Coal Mine
43	Gipson, Loyd	Boarder	M	B	21	Virginia	Laborer	Coke Yard
42	Muse, W.M.	Head	M	B	23	Virginia	Miner	Coal Mine
42	Muse, Annie	Wife	F	B	24	Virginia		
35	Thurmond, Mary	Head	F	B	50	Virginia	Keeper	Boarding House
35	Thurmond, James	Son	M	B	18	Virginia	Miner	Coal Mine
35	Ervan, Robert	Boarder	M	B	20	Virginia	Miner	Coal Mine
35	Good, James	Boarder	M	B	22	Virginia	Miner	Coal Mine
29	Wood, William	Head	M	B	33	Virginia	Laborer	Coke Yard
29	Wood, Lottie	Wife	F	B	20	Virginia		
29	Wood, Joe	Son	M	B	5	Virginia		
29	Wood, Hank	Son	M	B	3	Virginia		
29	Good, James	Boarder	M	B	34	Virginia	Laborer	Coke Yard
UN	Brenner, Charles	Head	M	W	26	Ohio	Foreman	Power House
UN	Brenner, Flossie	Wife	F	W	21	Ohio		
UN	Brenner, Roy	Son	M	W	2	Ohio		
UN	Brenner, Clarence	Son	M	W	5	Ohio		
14	Clingman, H.E.	Head	M	W	26	West Virginia	Laborer	Coal Mine
14	Clingman, Ida	Wife	F	w	25	West Virginia		
15	McDonald, Andrew	Head	M	W	51	Pennsylvania	Miner	Coal Mine
15	McDonald, Eugene	Wife	F	W	49	North Carolina		
15	McDonald, Maud	Daughter	F	W	26	West Virginia		
16	Collins, Ulysses	Head	M	W	28	Ohio	Miner	Coal Mine
16	Collins, Kate	Wife	F	W	26	Kentucky		
16	Collins, Harry	Son	M	W	8	Ohio		
16	Collins, Loren	Son	M	W	5	Ohio		
16	Collins, Lee	Son	M	W	2	Ohio		
3	Allen, William	Head	M	W	38	Ohio	Miner	Coal Mine
3	Allen, Maggie	Wife	F	W	24	Ohio		
3	Allen, Elsie	Daughter	F	W	7	Ohio		
3	Allen, Pearlle	Son	M	W	4	Ohio		
3	Allen, James	Father	M	W	55	Ohio	Miner	Coal Mine
3	Allen, Isaac	Brother	M	W	25	Ohio	Miner	Coal Mine
17	Cunningham, J.E.	Head	M	W	35	Virginia	Engineer	Power House
17	Cunningham, Lillie	Wife	F	W	39	Virginia		
18	Shoeman, Charlie	Head	M	W	21	Virginia	Engineer	Coal Mine
18	Shoeman, Bertha	Wife	F	W	19	Kentucky		
18	Huskey, Cash	Boarder	M	W	22	Virginia	Laborer	Coal Mine
18	Jones, Walter	Boarder	M	W	29	Virginia	Engineer	Rope Hallinger
18	Tippit, Robert	Boarder	M	W	23	Maryland	Carpenter	House
18	Ellis, J.A.	Boarder	M	W	30	West Virginia	Carpenter	House
18	Keffler, Hood	Boarder	M	W	28	Kentucky	Laborer	Coal Bins
18	Stewart, Goldie	Boarder	F	W	15	West Virginia	Student	Public School
18	Stewart, Nellie	Boarder	F	W	17	West Virginia	Student	Public School
18	Stewart, Josephine	Boarder	F	W	6	West Virginia		
18	Stewart, Eva	Boarder	F	W	9	West Virginia		
18	Stewart, Clarence	Boarder	M	W	13	West Virginia		
21	Skaggs, H.C.	Head	M	W	27	West Virginia	Doctor	Coal Town
21	Skaggs, Eva	Wife	F	W	24	Michigan		
21	Updyke, Fred	Stepson	M	W	7	Virginia		
21	Updyke, Raymond	Stepson	M	W	5	West Virginia		
20	Alexander, Joe	Head	M	W	26	Kentucky	Drummer	Coal Tipper
20	Alexander, Eva	Wife	F	W	28	Ohio		
20	Alexander, Cecil	Son	M	W	4	West Virginia		
20	Alexander, Lillian	Daughter	F	W	3	West Virginia		
23	Eagle, Walter	Head	M	W	28	Virginia	Laborer	Coal Mine
23	Eagle, Doshia	Wife	F	W	18	Kentucky		
23	Kirk, Thomas	Fth-in-law	M	W	42	Kentucky	Foreman	Power House
23	Kirk, Labe	Brth-in-law	M	W	16	Kentucky	Laborer	Coal Mine
UN	Barrack, W.M.	Head	M	W	35	Maryland	Superintendent	Coal Mine
UN	Barrack, Mollie	Wife	F	W	35	Pennsylvania		
UN	Barrack, Willie	Son	M	W	12	West Virginia		
UN	Barrack, George	Son	M	W	10	West Virginia		
UN	Barrack, Williard	Daughter	F	W	8	West Virginia		
UN	Barrack, Joseph	Son	M	W	7	West Virginia		
UN	Barrack, Travice	Son	M	W	6	West Virginia		
77	Smith, Giles	Head	M	B	26	Virginia	Miner	Coal Mine
77	Smith, Lizzie	Wife	F	B	25	Virginia		
77	Smith, Susie	Daughter	F	B	8	West Virginia		

Location House Number	Name	Relation	Sex	Color or Race	Age	Place of Birth	Trade or Profession	General Nature of Industry
77	Smith, Floyd	Son	M	B	4	West Virginia		
77	Smith, Martha	Daughter	F	B	3/12	West Virginia		
77	Smith, Samuel	Brother	M	B	23	Virginia	Laborer	Coal Mine
38	Page, James	Head	M	W	26	Virginia	Miner	Coal Mine
38	Page, Dixie	Wife	F	W	20	Kentucky		
38	Page, Pauline	Daughter	F	W	6/12	West Virginia		
38	Page, Mamie	Niece	F	W	10	Virginia		
41	Hedricks, William	Head	M	B	22	West Virginia	Miner	Coal Mine
41	Hedricks, Mary	Wife	F	B	25	Virginia		
41	Hedricks, Hattie	Daughter	F	B	5	Virginia		
41	Davis, James	Boarder	M	B	24	Virginia	Miner	Coal Mine
41	Snow, Vince	Boarder	M	B	30	Virginia	Miner	Coal Mine
41	Brown, James	Boarder	M	B	22	Virginia	Miner	Coal Mine
41	Lockett, William	Boarder	M	B	24	Virginia	Miner	Coal Mine
78	Pennington, W.M.	Head	M	B	30	Kentucky	Miner	Coal Mine
78	Pennington, Mary	Wife	F	B	29	Virginia		
78	Hetten, Letha	Servant	F	B	20	West Virginia	Servant	Private Family
78	Thomal, Willie	Boarder	M	B	13	Virginia		
78	Hellan, Catharine	Boarder	F	B	7/12	West Virginia		
27	Kessio, L.E.	Head	M	B	26	Virginia	Driver	Coal Mine
27	Kessio, Eunice	Wife	F	B	21	Kentucky		
27	Kessio, Lewis	Son	M	B	2/12	West Virginia		
27	Hays, Kate	Mth-in-law	F	B	50	Kentucky		
24	Stewart, Cecil	Head	M	W	21	Kentucky	Motorman	Coal Mine
24	Stewart, Mollie	Wife	F	W	19	West Virginia		
24	Stewart, Marie	Daughter	F	W	3	West Virginia		
24	Hackett, Barrett	0th-in-law	M	W	17	West Virginia	Driver	Coal Mine
*UN	Damiani, Valentino	Head	M	W	21	Italy	Laborer	Coke Yard
*UN	Filigenzo, John	Boarder	M	W	26	Italy	Laborer	Coke Yard
*UN	Cuipoli, Angelo	Boarder	M	W	26	Italy	Laborer	Coke Yard
*UN	Torelli, Cesare	Boarder	M	W	35	Italy	Laborer	Coke Yard
*UN	Torelli, Aristadi	Boarder	M	W	18	Italy	Laborer	Coke Yard
*UN	Torelli, Angelo	Boarder	M	W	50	Italy	Laborer	Coke Yard
*UN	Cassone, Angelo	Boarder	M	W	23	Italy	Laborer	Coke Yard
*UN	Torelli, Lorenzo	Boarder	M	W	22	Italy	Laborer	Coke Yard
*UN	Accapezzoto, Marcello	Boarder	M	W	27	Italy	Laborer	Coke Yard
*UN	Berti, Vincenzo	Boarder	M	W	18	Italy	Laborer	Coke Yard
*UN	Accapezzoto, John	Boarder	M	W	24	Italy	Laborer	Coke Yard
*UN	Cassoni, Antonio	Boarder	M	W	26	Italy	Laborer	Coke Yard
*UN	Cassiono, Ignazio	Boarder	M	W	25	Italy	Laborer	Coke Yard
*UN	Vitelli, Peter	Boarder	M	W	22	Italy	Laborer	Coke Yard
*UN	Damiani, Vincenzo	Boarder	M	W	24	Italy	Laborer	Coke Yard
*UN	Damiani, Frank	Boarder	M	W	22	Italy	Laborer	Coke Yard
*UN	Bortoli, Joseph	Boarder	M	W	18	Italy	Laborer	Coke Yard
*UN	Accupezso, Lorenzo	Boarder	M	W	16	Italy	Laborer	Coke Yard
*UN	Lova, Cristoff	Boarder	M	W	26	Bulgaria	Laborer	Coke Yard
*UN	Crifton, Angeloff	Boarder	M	W	30	Bulgaria	Laborer	Coke Yard
*UN	Evtiun, Petroff	Boarder	M	W	25	Turk-Bulgaria	Laborer	Coke Yard
*UN	Encho, Corosoff	Boarder	M	W	40	Bulgaria	Laborer	Coke Yard
*UN	Noido, Gergoff	Boarder	M	W	18	Turkey	Laborer	Coke Yard
UN	Ramondi, Frank	Head	M	W	28	Italy	Laborer	Coal Mine
UN	Ramondi, Maria	Wife	F	W	21	Italy		
UN	Ramondi, Ida	Daughter	F	W	5	Italy		
UN	Ramondi, Guido	Son	M	W	3	Italy		
UN	Ramondi, Bambina	Daughter	F	W	2	Italy		
UN	Ramondi, Dominico	Son	M	W	5/12	Italy		
UN	Pompani, Benizzo	Boarder	M	W	29	Italy	Laborer	Coal Mine
UN	Debacco, Lorito	Boarder	M	W	30	Italy		
UN	Tuzzi, Frank	Boarder	M	W	48	Italy	Laborer	Coke Yard
34	Williams, Robert	Head	M	B	35	Virginia	Laborer	Coal Mine
34	Williams, Rachel	Wife	F	B	23	Virginia		
34	Williams, Hubert	Son	M	B	9	Virginia		
34	Williams, Eugene	Son	M	B	5	Virginia		
34	Williams, Robert	Son	M	B	4	Virginia		
34	Williams, Roselia	Daughter	F	B	2	Virginia		
UN	Payne, Aben	Head	M	W	28	Virginia	Salesman	General Store
UN	Casper, E.M.	Boarder	M	W	18	West Virginia	Salesman	General Store
UN	Darlington, G.H.	Boarder	M	W	22	West Virginia	Manager	General Store
UN	Pugh, E.H.	Boarder	M	W	27	Kentucky	Salesman	General Store
62	Cook, J.S.	Head	M	W	38	West Virginia	Miner	Coal Mine

Location House Number	Name	Relation	Sex	Color or Race	Age	Place of Birth	Trade or Profession	General Nature of Industry
62	Cook, Lula	Wife	F	W	44	Ohio		
62	Cook, Dow	Son	M	W	24	West Virginia		
62	Hutchinson, Carl	Boarder	M	W	21	West Virginia	Foreman	Driver-Truck
62	Clark, J.	Boarder	M	W	50	England	Foreman	Coal Mine
66	Stack, L.R.	Head	M	W	39	West Virginia	Laborer	Coal Mine
66	Stack, Mary	Wife	F	W	34	West Virginia		
66	Stack, George	Son	M	W	17	West Virginia	Laborer	Coal Mine
66	Stack, Robert	Son	M	W	15	West Virginia	Laborer	Coal Mine
66	Stack, Garnet	Son	M	W	8	West Virginia		
66	Stack, Hazel	Daughter	F	W	4	West Virginia		
66	Stack, Catherine	Daughter	F	W	0/12	West Virginia		
45	Gill, F.H.	Head	M	W	30	West Virginia	Bookkeeper	Coal Company
45	Gill, Maud M.	Wife	F	W	27	West Virginia		
48	White, John	Head	M	W	55	North Carolina	Laborer	Coke Yard
48	White, Mary	Wife	F	W	44	Virginia		
48	White, Willie	Son	M	W	22	West Virginia	Laborer	Coal Mine
48	White, May	Daughter	F	W	20	West Virginia		
48	White, Nellie	Daughter	F	W	18	West Virginia		
48	White, Georgia	Son	M	W	15	West Virginia		
48	White, Ella	Daughter	F	W	10	West Virginia		
48	White, Ada	Daughter	F	W	9	West Virginia		
48	White, Maggie	Daughter	F	W	5	West Virginia		
48	White, Martha	Daughter	F	W	3	West Virginia		

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910 Population, Kaymoor Precinct Fayetteville District, Microcopy T-624 Roll #1679, Department of Culture and History, Archives and History Library, Charleston, West Virginia.

*These occupy shanty

**APPENDIX 5: NATIONALITIES OF PERSONS EMPLOYED
AT KAY MOOR NO. 1, 1907-1915**

Year	Employed	American	Negro	Italian	Hungarian	Polish	Macedonian	Austrian	Russian	English	French	German	Scotch	Unknown
1907	Inside	106	15	1	2	5		1		1			1	1
	Outside	25	5	10										
	Coke Yard	10	10	10										
1908	Inside	110	50											
	Outside	9	7	4										
	Coke Yard	4	20	8			8							
1909	Inside	97	79		2	6								-
	Outside	18	2	1										-
	Coke Yard	5	13	16			8		1					13
1910	Inside	74	32	4					16	2				
	Outside	10	8	2						-				
	Coke Yard	10	17	20					2	1				
1911	Inside	91	48	-				-		-				
	Outside	26	3	-				-		-				
	Coke Yard	2	6	10				2		1				
1912	Inside	58	50	2	2	5		2	40	5	1			
	Outside	16	6	2		5			1					
	Coke Yard	8	11	8				1		7				
1913	Inside	82	30	3	1				40					
	Outside	12	12	3					1					
	Coke Yard	5	7	6					8					
1914	Inside	50	60						40					
	Outside	10	10						5					
	Coke Yard	4	3	10					13					
1915	Inside	30	52	-					-					
	Outside	13	8	-					-					
	Coke Yard	4	2	12					10					

Source: West Virginia, *Annual Report of the Department Of Mines*, 1900-1962

APPENDIX 6: MEN EMPLOYED AT KAY MOOR NO. 1

Year Ending June 30	Employees			
	Inside	Outside	Supervision	Total
1900				
1901	52	10		
1902	106	45		
*1903	153	55		
1904	131	45		
1905	162	55		217
1906	177	58		235
1907	139	80		219
1908	184	60		244
1909	184	77		261
1910	153	70		223
1911	169	78		247
1912	165	65		230
1913	156	54		210
1914	150	55		205
1915	141	54		195
1916	123	56		179
1917	164	65		229
1918	166	86		252
1919	158	85		243
1920	180	90		270
1921	187	114		301
1922	90	57		240
1923	190	60		250
1924	161	79		240
1925	158	70		228
1926	186	64		250
1927	288	64		352
1928	361	119		480
1929)				
1930)				
1931)				
1932)	not provided			
1933)				
1934)				
1935				520
1936	516	74		590
1937	607	78		685
1938	466	57		523
1939	589	75		664
1940	713	94		807
1941	663	94		757
1942	516	81	33	630
1943	394	69	22	485
1944	294	50	19	363
1945	239	44	19	302
1946	261	48	21	330
1947	312	49	22	383
1948	320	50	22	392
1949	336	53	24	413
1950	351	57		436
1951	356	57	29	442
1952	363	56	29	448
*1953				466
*1954				488
1955	369	55	31	455
1956	324	53	30	407
1957	271	44	27	342
1958	200	35	21	256
1959	153	27	20	200
1960	27	27	6	60
1961	22	12	3	37

*Kay Moor Nos. 1 & 2

Source: West Virginia, *Annual Report of the Department of Mines*, 1900-1962

**APPENDIX 7: KAY MOOR NO. 1 EMPLOYEES,
AUGUST 1915**

Roll No.	Roll No.
1. Albert King	44. John Sibolosky
2. Jas Donally	45. P A Harris
3. Joe Oboto	46. Wm Hopkins
4. Abe Ratliff	47. John Covas
5. Wm Calloway	48. R E King
6. Aust Haynie	49. Steve Knot
7. Chas Cecil	50. Frank Casie
8. Sam Sukomo	51. Rony Lanoire
9. Grover Calloway	52. Dave Hall
10. Hardy Landire	53. Geo Wasil
11. John Barksdale	54. Frank Mozeck
12. Mike Suko	55. Henry Allego
13. Geo Persuko	56. D Jackson
14. Jas Reed	57. Andy Susky
15. Lud Riner	58.
16. John Orsuch	59. Harry Legada
17. Jake Jackson	60. Hub Patton
18. Mike Polick	61. Ed Calloway
19. Pete Kelso	62. Frank Shelton
20. Wasil Dolopole	63. Geo Pennington
21. J C Morrison	64. James Doncan
22. Cornelius Bryant	65. Sam Casie
23. Tom Mozeck	66. G.P. Graham
24. Tom Gallahue	67. Ben Hollien
25. Tom Martino	68.
26. West Mayo	69. Jim Pelock
27. Penas Slepeck	70. Geo Synder
28. Harry Dolopole	71.
29. Wm Claybourn	72. E C Clingman
30. John Smokla	73. Chas Gibson
31. Richd Bundum	74. Wm Swanagan
32. Silas Pennington	75. W V Bragg
33. Wm Miller	76. Ignat Mashin
34. L T Toppy	77. Mose Blackburn
35. Jas Thompson	78. Mike Zoposky
36. John Ash	79. W O Blackburn
37. Geo Bocock	80. Jas Page
38. J H Sneed	81. J A Pennington (see #161)
39. W H Hawes	82. Lem Stump
40. Geo Bowes	83. John Creppole
41. W T Kiou	84. E.H. Tarter
42. A E Jameson	85. Geo. Pennington
43. C W Martin	86. Waskie Cobina

Roll No.	Roll No.
87. Obe Hyde	137. Chas McLean
88. E J Jones	138. Sam Calloway
89.	139. Issac Calloway
90. Frank Agee	140. Fred Blair
91. Pete Cartin	141. Jack Stewart
92.	142. John Wilt
93. Esmond Gibson	143. Russel Lavender
94. Willard Baker	144. Ugo Janutolo
95. Tom Mendalow	145. Booker Witt
96. Harry Johnson	146. John Withers
97.	147. Oat Hopkins
98. John Gibson	148. Harlis Laneire
99. Sterling Lunford	149. Aaron Burton
100. Wm Hunter	150. Mathew Claytor
101. Alex Moska	151. Dandola Janutolo
102.	152. R Horsley
103. Booker McLean	153. Wm Rorabaugh
104. Jas Ratliff	154. Jas Stevenson
105. Thos Ball	155. W.P. Haws
106. Leonard Lanoire	156. Ed Calloway
107. Jas Booker	157. Sam Spurlock
108. Mike Sukolo	158. A J Jackson
109. Jas Watts	159. Burrell Burton
110. Joe Sokodinsky	160. Jas Burton
111. Alex Knox	161. John Pennington
112. Robt Erwin	162. Joe Miller
113. John Polock	163. J.T. Hydes
114. Homer Washington	164. C P Garten
115. Jess Bryant	165. Joe Patton
116. Robt Bryant	166. L M Lavender
117. Josh Smith	167. Joe Wood
118. Cecil Stewart	168. Howard Clingman
119. Corey Johnson	169. Walter Eagle
120. Joe Tichnell	170. Martin Ash
121. Cecil Stewart	171. Frank Agee
122. Alex Hayes	172. A E Jamison
123. Von Sanger	173. James Watts
124. Harry Decker	174. (John) Sergey Milnosky
125. Dot King	175. Wilson Cavasky
126. Lucian Randall	176. Wilson Mosko
127. Vint Harris	177. Pete Cardonish
128. Roy Patton	178. Ignot Orspin
129. Hub Ash	179. Vickor Ekashaw
130. Wm Medley	180. Geo Harris
131. Lon Witt	181. Tobe Stewart
132. Sol Hopkins	182. John W. Cuthbertson
133. Chas Wilt	183. Tom Cuthbertson
134. Josh Smith	184. D Jackson (also #56)
135. Lloyd Gibson	185. Jas Watts
136. Wash Langhorn	186. Evertt Pennington

Roll No.	Roll No.
187. Walter Newton	223. Jenkins Brown
188. Tom Clarkson	224. Wm Woodson
189. C Backus	225.
190. Jas Stewart	226.
191. Dude Calloway	227.
192. Joe Sokodinsky	228. Ed Carter
193. Mike McKlosky	229. Lorenzo Accepito
194. Burl Biggs	230. Joe Accepito
195. Henry McGraw	231. Wm Robinson
196. Tom Woolpeck	232. Philip Matosky
197. F W Rucker	233. Andrew Spurlock
198. Noah Dailey	234.
199. F M Sprague	235. Ray Hoffman
200. I H Brown	236. F Maires
201. J C Morrison (see #21)	237. Wm Dempsey
202. Peter Cartin	238. Chas Rose
203. Robt Erwin	---
204. Chas Gibson	242. Herbert Moore
205. Frank Borosky	243. Dave Janutolo
206. Hurshell Eddy	244.
207. John Tinchier	245. A Frederico
208. Chas Randolph	246. Harry Garten
209. John Withrow	---
210. Lee Hill	253. F. H. Gill
211. Ed. Withrow	254. Victor Ruse
212. Pete Bowles	255. Wm Cary
213. W M Staney	256. Irvin Austin
214. Fritz King	257. Geo Lavender (checkweighman)
215. Jas Poore	
216. Leslie Davis	
217. Van Banks	
218. O.E. Propps	
219. Jas Smith	
220. Jeff (?) Sloback	
221. Jas Hill	
222. Chas Beuners	

Entered on Salary Payroll at Low Moor

Joe Alexander
Mike Pashion
E.M. Cabell
H.G. Broughman
L E Proctor
B B Legg
Watter Cuthbertson
J E Cunningham (?)
Marion Wright

Note: Several names appear twice as these individuals worked for both a tonnage rate and a day rate.

Source: "Pay Roll and Account Sheet for the First Half of August 1915," The Low Moor Iron Company of Virginia, Kay Moor Mine No. One, LMIC, Acc. 662, Payroll Book No. 120, UVAC.

**APPENDIX 8: KAY MOOR MINE #1, PAYROLL BOOK #13,
FEBRUARY, 1925**

11										
CREDITS										
No.	NAME	Occupation	Time Book Page	Rate	Total Wages	Board and Fuel	Cash			Total
201	R. L. Ratliff									1425
202	Mrs. L. A. Rhodes									21631
203	G. B. Spangler									6905
204	Edw. Stewart									7418
205	Kenneth Stull									2641
206	Paul Smith									235
207	E. A. Shockey									8072
208	Lester Smith									6041
209	Harve Stewart									4416
210	Becil Smith									3941
211	M. A. Stull									7413
212	Oack Stewart									7163
213	M. C. Smith									6641
214	Ray Sexton									5040
215	Dan Stull									5460
216	Amos Sexton									5084
217	Co. Smith									4565
218	I. V. Sanger									6043
219	Eugene Spangler									7560
220	Steve Spears									4400
					9654423056					950190749

Source: LMIC, Acc. 662, Volume #21, Payroll Book #13, 1925 February, p. 11, UVAC.

DEDUCTIONS														1925			
Previous Bill	Share	Room	Food	Light	Drinking	Dr.	Board and Lodging	Cash	Laundry	Medical and Dental	Insurance	Other	Total	Balance Due	Overpaid	No.	Remarks
													3.00	1125/		201	
97.06													97.06	12775/		202	OK
7.00						15	15						31	368	4537/	203	OK
10.00	1.00					15	15		2.11				31	4748	7650/	204	
13.00						15	15						31	483	1338/	205	
31.00						15	15		3.15				51	8519	732/	206	
7.00						15	15						51	322	7744/	207	OK
16.00	2.00					15	15		0.12				51	7112	2851/	208	OK
13.00						15	15						51	1499	3053/	209	
10.00	2.00					15	15		2.00				51	588	7345/	210	
15.00						15	15						51	668	5745/	211	OK
17.00	2.00					15	15						51	1083	5080/	212	OK
7.00	2.00					15	15		2.50				51	802	5073/	213	OK
171 31.00	3.00	2.75	1.00			15			2.50				4781	739/		214	
12.00						15							1355	4075/		215	OK
						15			2.50				300	4784/		216	OK
7.00						15							215	4280/		217	OK
						15							65	5055/		218	OK
7.15	1.60					15			2.50				1395	1167/		219	
7.00						15							450	4150/		220	
171 37.00	10.00	16.35	1.00	2.15	14.50				19.15				50 633 39040	81708			

APPENDIX 9: DISTRICT MINE INSPECTOR'S REPORT
KAYMOOR NO. 1. AUGUST 2-3, 1922

Form A-1-14-21-10M.

DISTRICT MINE INSPECTOR'S REPORT

District No. 12

Kaymoor no. 1 Mine

Operator Louise G. G. G. G.

County Layette

Inspector J. A. Porter

THE DATE OF THIS INSPECTION IS

August 2-3, 1922

Source: West Virginia Department of Mines Inspection Reports 1923 vol. 5 J-K-L Acc. no. 171, Archives and History, Department of Culture and History, Cultural Center, Capitol Complex, Charleston, West Virginia

STATE OF WEST VIRGINIA

DEPARTMENT OF MINES

730 a. M. Date of Inspection Aug-2-3, 1922
 1. Entered Mine 730 a. M. Came out of Mine 4 P. M.

3. Name of operator Loumou Iron Co. of Va. P. O. of Mine Stayman
 5. Name of coal bed Sewell Thickness 3 feet Kind of opening Drift
 7. Supt. Archamouth 8. Mine Foreman A. B. Willson Certificate? yes No. 1
 10. Fire Boss Ed. Esheewood 11. Certificate? no
 12. Did you examine records of Mine Foreman? yes 13. Fire Boss? yes
 14. Are records properly made out and signed? yes
 15. How ventilated fan Diam. of Fan 8 ft R. P. M. 192 Force or Exhaust force
 16. No. splits in current 4
 17. Cu. Ft. air at intake 96000 Cu. Ft. air at outlet 97000
 18. Cu. Ft. air at Main Entry 16000-14 ft 63.70-12
 19. Cu. Ft. air at right 4000-11 right 13200-11 left 3600
 20. Cu. Ft. air at _____
 21. Maximum No. employees in one split 74
 22. Does the mine liberate explosive gas no 22-a. Kind of lights used carbide
 23. { Is the mine dry no
 Is the mine dusty no 23-a. Kind of explosive used Permissible
 24. No. persons working on day shift 145 Horses none Mules none
 25. No. persons working on night shift 10
 26. No. Pick Miners 16 No. day hands inside 51 No. Drivers none
 27. No. Machine Miners 70 No. Machine Operators 4 No. Machine Helpers 4
 28. No. Day Men Outside 14 No. Coke Ovens in blast 90 No. Coke Workers 45
 29. No. Mine Machines 4 Power used on Machines electric
 30. Voltage on electric wires in mine 250 volts Are wires guarded as required by law no
 31. { Does Second Opening meet lawful requirements? yes
 If not, state in what respect _____
 32. Date of last extension of map in your possession June 1922
 33. Does Mine Foreman or his Assistant visit working places each alternate day, as required by law? yes
 34. Does Fire Boss make proper examination each day of all working places and leave evidence of same? yes
 35. Does Fire Boss make the necessary examination of abandoned or idle sections of the mine and leave evidence of same? yes
 36. What system used to humidify mine air? Water
 37. Is the proper humidity maintained throughout the mine? yes

HYGROMETRIC READINGS

Were Taken	Dry	Wet	Relative Humidity	Conditions	Gal's Water for 100,000 Cu. Ft. Air.

September 7, 1922

Lowmoor Iron Company of Va.,
Kaymoor, West Virginia

Gentlemen:

On August 2d and 3rd
Inspector Porter examined your
Kaymoor No. 1 mine and recom-
mended

"that all holes be
tamped with clay, that miners
must not be allowed to take
more than fifteen sticks of
monobel into the mine for one
shift, that the practice of
motormen sliding nips on trolley
wire be stopped, at once, that a
powder car be constructed and
properly insulated and all powder
delivered in mine in same and that
all wire be properly guarded where
men cross under."

Please give the above
your immediate attention and report
same to this office.

Yours very truly,

RML:H

Chief of Department of Mines.

Copy to Mr. Porter

APPENDIX 10: FATALITIES AT KAY MOOR NO. 1

- June 2, 1904 – Frank Decatur, a young white miner employed in the Kay Moor mines was killed by a fall of slate last Thursday.
- August 25, 1904 – The first [?] miner to be killed by a fall of slate in the Kay Moor mines met his death Wednesday Aug. 17. Sam Cheese one of the oldest and most experienced miners along the river was the victim. It was his first day in the mine and he had not worked more than half an hour before he was caught by the slate.
- January 24, 1907 – Tonney Harris, colored, a miner employed at Kaymoor no. 1 mine was run over by a train Monday and both legs crushed off. He died enroute to the Mckendree hospital.
- April 6, 1911 – Tuesday afternoon about four o'clock in the afternoon a Russian miner, working at Kaymoor No. 1, was instantly killed by coming in contact with a live wire as he was passing a parting on his way out of the mine, after having completed his day's work. . . . The name of the Russian could not be ascertained at the office of the company, since he has been working on another's check, and for that reason no record of his employment had been kept.
- January 12, 1911 – James Ash, American, 24, 10 years experience, killed by fall of slate, left wife and two children.
- January 18, 1912 – Pat Ash, a miner working at Kaymoor No. 1, was crushed to death last Thursday, by the fall of slate. He was loading coal when caught.
- October 24, 1913 – Amos Howell, Miner, 18, American, Kaymoor No. 1 Mine, . . . riding down the hill on a car; the rope parted allowing the car to descend and run over a cliff, the above person receiving such injuries that caused death in two hours.
- October 24, 1913 – Elmer Butler, Miner, 25, American, Kaymoor Mine No. 1, . . . riding down the hill with Amos Howell; the rope parted allowing the car to descend and run over a cliff causing instant death.
- July 1, 1915 – H.M. Tabor, a young carpenter . . . at work on the Kaymoor incline, was killed Tuesday morning when a heavy iron wheel rolled down the hillside and struck him in the head.
- December 5, 1918 – The death of Charles Raines, 35, . . . was reported to the office of the workmen's compensation department. He was killed in an accident at the tipple at the mines.
- June 9, 1920 – Chas. Gibson, Negro, 26, 8 years experience, killed by fall of slate leaving a wife and child.
- March 23, 1922 – Louis Rombaut, aged 22, son of S. Rombaut, of Gatewood, was killed at Kaymoor No. 1 mine Friday night. He was running a coal cutting machine into a room preparatory to making a cut when in some unknown manner the machine jammed him against the roof crushing his skull and killing him instantly. [The West Virginia annual report stated the married Rombaut was a motorman, had 10 years experience, and was killed by a fall of slate.]
- November 30, 1923 – William Wood, Negro, 50, several years experience, laborer, was caught by a coal cutting machine, leaving a child.
- September 11, 1929 – Glenn Twyman, aged 18, was electrocuted Tuesday at the electric power sub-station of the Kaymoor mine at Garten.
- June 4, 1930 – Tom Ohlinger, single, about 25 years, and popular employee of the N.R. & P. Coal company, met tragic death in Kaymoor mine Saturday morning when he was caught under a fall of slate. It was estimated that there was about three tons fell on him killing him instantly.
- February 11, 1931 – Henry Price, colored brakeman in Kaymoor mine, was electrocuted Tuesday when he accidentally came in contact with a live wire.

- June 6, 1934 – Lewis C. Pennington, 23, of Kaymoor, met almost instant death on Monday morning at 9:30 when his head was crushed between a mine car and the rib.
- July 11, 1935 – Returning to work a few minutes before, after a week's absence because of illness, A.L. (Uncle Andy) Davis, aged 69 years, employed at Kaymoor for the past 35 years, and known to practically everyone throughout this section, met almost instant death Tuesday afternoon about 3:30, when he fell from a railroad car at the Kaymoor tippie.
- January 23, 1936 – Odie Godfrey, 23, colored, brakeman in the Kaymoor mine, was fatally injured Tuesday night when he was caught and rolled between a car and the rib. He died before reaching a hospital.
- January 14, 1938 – Mason Sexton, 45, well known local man employed in the mine at Kaymoor, was killed there about noontime on Wednesday when caught between a mine car and the coal rib, and apparently suffocated.
- July 19, 1940 – Herbert Mimms, 33, Negro, was electrocuted at the Kaymoor mine this morning about 10:30, when a trolley pole slipped off the line, and in replacing it his shoulder touched the wire. Death was instantaneous.

Sources: Various articles in *Fayette Journal*, *Fayette Tribune*, and West Virginia annual reports of the Department of Mines. This list should not be considered as complete.

APPENDIX 11: WAGES PAID AT KAY MOOR MINE, 1902-1903

Employment	Rate Apr. 1, 1902	Percent Adv.	Rate Jan.1,1903 with Adv.	Actual Rate Jan. 1, 1903
Cutting coal with machine	.14 per hr			
Loading coal without slate	.28			
Loading coal with slate	.33			
Pick coal	.50			
Drivers and stable	1.75 per day	20%	2.10	2.00
Boss Drivers	2.25	20	2.70	2.50
Drum Runner	2.20	10	2.20	2.50
Tipple men	1.50	10	1.65	1.75
Boys (greasers, etc.)	.75	10	.82	1.00
Weigh-master	2.00	10	2.20	2.00
Inside labor	1.75	20	2.10	2.00
Slate boss	2.25	20	2.70	2.50
Track layer	2.25	20	2.70	2.50
Out-side labor	1.35	10	1.49½	(1.50 (1.75
Carpenters	2.00	10	2.20	2.50
Power house Engineer	2.00	10	2.20	2.50
Pipe man	2.25	20	2.70	2.50
Fireman, night & day	1.50	10	1.65	2.00
Black-smith	2.25	10	2.47½	2.50
Black-smith	2.50	10	2.75	2.75
Machine runners	(2.25 (2.50	20	(2.70 (3.00	(2.50 (3.00 (3.60
Machine helpers	1.75	20	2.10	(2.00 (2.40

Source: LMIC, Acc. 662, Box 28, Folder: 1903 Jan-May E.C. Means, UVAC.

NEW WAGE SCALE IN EFFECT IN THIS FIELD

Fourteen Per Cent Increase Is Granted, Adding About 56 Cents Daily to Lowest Man's Wage—Many Idle.

Monday, December 1st, in the New River district found a new wage scale in effect, giving miners and day men a 14% increase in wages as decided upon by the Federal Fuel Administrator, Dr. Harry Garfield.

Notices of the new wage scale, showing the increase and comparing it with the former scale, were posted at practically all of the mines in the county, yet the day found a very small per cent of the miners at work on Loop Creek and places along the river were similarly affected. The mines were running well the first of last week, but the Thanksgiving holiday put a stop to labor and on Saturday it was announced that the field was out on strike, demanding the check-off.

The New River Company had men in at all its mines on Monday and coal was being loaded. The McKel and subsidiary operations were going with larger working forces except at Killarth, where a slight reduction in the working force was noted.

The mine of the Sugar Creek Coal and Coke Co., where about 90 men are employed, was running on Monday, as were also the mines at Dewitt and Pamerton. San mines and the mines at Minden have granted the check-off in addition to the increase and are reported as having full forces at work.

The new wage scale, with comparative increases, is as follows:

	Old Rate	New Rate
PICK MINING		
Room and pillar work, mine run, per ton of 2000 lbs.	5911	6391
ALL MACHINE CUTTING		
All machine cutting, per ton 2000 lbs.	1071	1200
LOADING AND SCRAPPING		
Rooms and pillars, mine run, per ton of 2000 lbs.	4732	5433
Loading and scrapping, rooms and pillars mine run, where loader pushes the cars to and from the face and lays track, per ton	5178	5929
YARDAGE:		
Where 7 ft. in width is taken, per inch, per lineal yard	.04	.0912
Where 8 ft. width is taken, per inch, per lineal yard	.04	.1022
Where 9 ft. width is taken, per inch, per lineal yard	.10	.1140
Where 10 ft. width is taken, per inch, per lineal yard	.11	.1224
Where 11 ft. width is taken, per inch, per lineal yard	.12	.1308
Room yardage, top, room width, when taken down, loaded or gobbed, per inch, per lineal yard	.045	.0741
Room yardage, bottom, road width, when taken up, loaded or gobbed, per inch, per lineal yard	.0833	.0949
INSIDE DAY WAGE SCALE—		
Motormen and machine runners, per day	4.61	5.25
Insulators, per day	4.27	4.87
Trip rider, rope haulage, per day	4.37	4.97
Skilled wiremen, per day	4.42	5.02
Wiremen's helpers, per day	4.24	4.90
Tracklayers, per day	4.55	5.25
Tracklayers' helpers, per day	4.15	4.81
Mate shooters, per day	4.39	5.05
Blatemen, per day	4.15	4.81
Bratticemen, per day	4.35	5.21
Timbermen, per day	4.35	5.25
Pumpmen, per day	4.20	4.88
Bottom engers, per day	4.35	5.05
Drivers, single mule per day	4.15	4.81
Drivers, two or more mules	4.27	4.97
Couplers, where men are employed, per day	4.10	4.76
Couplers, where boys are employed, per day	3.85	4.02
Greasers, where men are employed, per day	4.10	4.76
Greasers, where boys are employed, per day	3.85	4.02
Trappers, per day	2.45	3.02
Pipemen, per day	4.65	5.24
All other inside day labor, per day	4.10	4.76
OUTSIDE WAGE SCALE		
Dampers, per day	4.15	4.77
Top Tipplesmen, per day	4.01	4.65
Transfer operators per day	4.00	4.64
Trimmers, per day	4.00	4.61
Drum runners, per day	4.60	5.24
Car Cleaners and Car Droppers, per day	4.00	4.64
Blacksmiths, per day	5.00	5.70
Blacksmiths' helpers, per day	4.20	4.90
Car Repairmen, per day	4.80	5.39
Greasers, where men are employed, per day	4.00	4.64
Greasers, where boys are employed, per day	3.80	4.35
Couplers, where men are employed, per day	4.00	4.64
Couplers, where boys are employed, per day	3.80	4.35

The above increase, and the new scale are subject to such corrections as shall become necessary, if any rulings of the United States government or any changes in the amount of any corresponding increases allowed by the Central Competitive Field.

APPENDIX 13: RENT JOURNAL 1919-1920

40

1920	Hill	april may	J.
Lights	1 Wm Graft	6.00 office	-
	1 1/2 F E Sanderson	15.00 office	-
8	2 J F Dillard	10.00	✓ ✓ ✓ ✓
	F E Doremy		
3	Dr Wm Myers	11.00 Va	✓ 735
11	1 1/2 L E Walton	on 5/14/20	✓ ✓
	Paik by individual office		
	3 1/2 J L Blizard	office	
9	4 R S Milton	11.00	✓ ✓ ✓ ✓
	4 1/2 J W Montath	office	
	5 H A Sanford	office	
13	6 G W Lifecomb	office	
	7 Dr B R Kinnall	office	
	18 F L Bateman	11.50	✓ ✓ ✓ ✓
15	1 1/2 J A Martin	12.75	✓ ✓ ✓ ✓

Source: Rent Journal #883, 1919-1920, LMIC, Acc. 662, UVAC.

APPENDIX 14: DISTRIBUTION OF EXPENDITURES OF MINERS' FAMILIES IN 1922

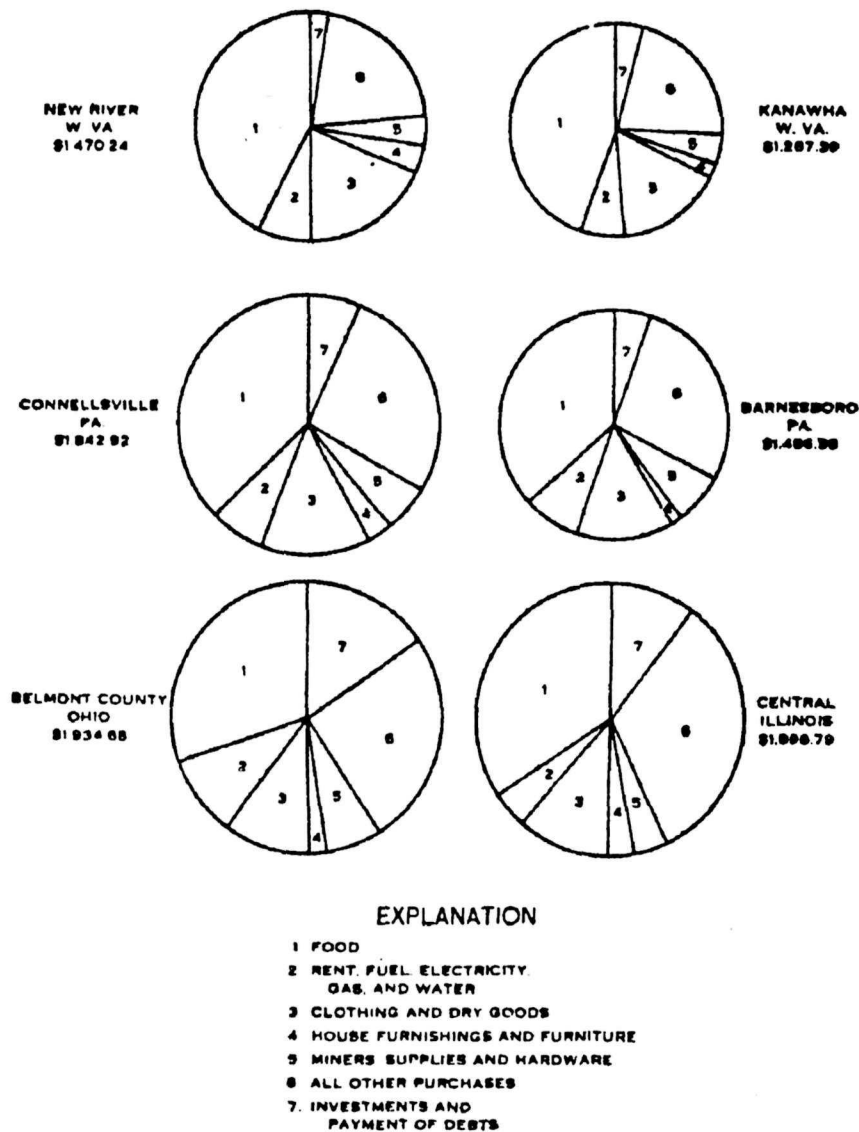


CHART 1.—Distribution of expenditures of miners' families in 1922.

The size of the circle represents the average sum disbursed during the year by the families visited by the commission's field workers. The sections show how the total was divided between the principal items of expense. Data in Table 13b

36000—25†—PT III—28

Source: U.S. Coal Commission, *Report*, Part III, Report of the United States Coal Commission on the Bituminous Mine Workers and Their Homes, p. 1455.

APPENDIX 15: INVENTORY STORE #9, DECEMBER 1906

Dry Goods Metrics			
Aunt Lord			
19	EZ Hairs	19	3054 49-
29	bars Buttons	6 1/4	1 51-
12	Mufflers	37 1/2	4 50-
12	" " "	19	2 28-
9	pr. Arm bands	16 3/4	1 50-
68	" " "	3	2 04-
9	" " "	6	54-
29	Mens Garters	6 1/4	1 51-
17	" " "	16 3/4	2 53-
8	" " "	7 1/2	60-
5	Ladies garters	16 3/4	84-
12	" " "	6 1/4	78-
6	" " "	19	1 14-
86	Yds garter web	6 1/4	5 37-
61	Bunch Braid	3 1/2	2 13-
26	" " "	7 1/2	1 95-
52	Ladies belts	37 1/2	1 950-
15	" " "	25	3 75-
5	Wrist brooms	10 1/2	52-
3	dry paper pins	35-	1 05-
10	bunch dress facing	6 1/4	1 17-
2	Gents belts	37 1/2	75-
18	" " "	19	3 42-
17	dry Hair pins	4	68-
14	Sets Sewing stitching	10 1/2	1 47-
1	Gross Jards buttons	25-	20-
7	Collar buttons	2	1 4-
81	" " "	3	2 43-
48	Cart Safety pins	2	96-
9	pr bottles	25	1 75 225
7	" " "	33 1/2	2 33 ✓
Total		3128	34-

Source: LMIC, Acc. 662, Inventory #869 Store #9, December 1906, UVAC.

Groceries Continued

88		Amount / 0.00	3005.51	✓
84	4	# Figs	10	40
28	1	Cake Bread Pudd	3.15	3.15
64	35	# Fruit	11 1/2	4.03
34	27	Pkz Currants	6 1/2	1.76
15	10	# Cakes	7	70
157	1/3	Crate Corn Cakes	250	84
50	1	Bbl Flour	410	410
45	85	# Lard	8	6.80
43	2 1/2	Bu Meal	70	1.75
00	5	Cane Syrup	15	75
00	5	" Apples	7 1/2	38
25	31	" Salmon	7 1/2	2.33
50	45	Box Sardines	2 3/4	1.24
75	33	Cans Sweet Potatoes	7	2.31
68	46	Pkz Apples	15	6.90
27	30	Cans B. Beans	10	3.00
10	10	" Tomatoes	8 1/2	84
83	2 75	Bacon	9	24.75
16	47	" Shoulder	10	4.70
00	12	Cans Peas	6 1/4	75
10	5	" Apples	7	35
14	1	Box Apples	120	1.20
37	14	Cans Ham	8	84
00	1	" Beets	7	7
00	4	" Brant	7 1/4	29
36	4	" Pumpkins	5	30
25	19	" Bell Peppers	8	1.52
96	1	Cans St. Charles Milk	425	4.26
33	34	Cans C. Corn	8 1/2	2.84
33	33	" Eagle Milk	13	4.29
51		Spord	3093.14	✓

Groceries Continued			
14-7		And food	13188 76-
80	16	Phgs Pearline	2 1/2 40-
54	19	" Sage	2 1/2 48-
45-	29 1/2 #	Candy	12 1/2 369-
52	1	Lot highly Ham	1200 1200-
38-	38 1/2 #	Candy	20 770-
00-	1/4	Bbl Pickle	850 213-
22-	1/3	" Pic Feet	750 250-
12-	200 #	Calonge	100 200-
55-	1/4	Box Larders	250 313-
40-	1	Box "	35 35-
50	2	" Slices	8 1/3 17-
93-	30	# Silver Mix Candy	8 1/2 253+
49-	1	Box C. Bonbons	125 125-
95-	6	" Penny Candy	50 300-
19-	46	Phgs Africa Coffee	19 874-
89-	50	Meal Oil	11 550-
19-	10	" Peanut Oil	34 340-
64-	1	Rolling Pin	33 1/3 34-
75-	5	Box Broome	230 1150-
90-	4	" Shards	400 1600-
15-	6	Screws	75 450-
75-	7	Angers	150 1050-
83-	1	4 1/2 Ppt. Bil Dill	250 250-
50-	22	Bbl Flour Wood	435 9570-
50-	2 1/2	" " Cloth	425 1063-
44-	30	Backs Feed	125 3750-
90-	4	" C. Corn	110 440-
26-	770	# Lima Beans	5 3850-
16-	25 1/2	Bbl Pink "	200 5100-
21-	41 1/2	" white "	185 7678-
74		Carried forward	360760-

Furniture

2	Coffins	11.95	2380
2	"	13.00	2600
2	"	9.55	1910
1	"	7.25	725
2	"	11.15	2230
2	"	14.50	2900
1	Trunk	4.00	400
2	"	2.50	500
1	"	3.60	360
1	"	4.50	450
1	"	5.50	550
4	Kitchen Tables	1.65	660
7	Childs Chairs	.90	630
3	Wood "	.75	225
4	Wicker Rockers	2.25	900
1	Wood "	2.50	250
1	Split Chair	.50	50
6	Center Tables	1.65	990
2	Dining "	3.50	700
8	Bedsteads	2.25	1800
4	Mattresses	2.50	1000
1	Bed Table	1.25	500
1	Cot	1.25	125
1	Trunk		1100
3	Bedsteads	2.50	750
3	Mattresses	3.00	900
1	Refrigerator		900
1	Safe		200
2	Kitchen Tables	1.50	300
4	Chairs	.75	300
1	Rockers		150
1	"		125
Total			27560

Drugs Continued

	Acet. 107.66	
1 1/2 Doz Plasters	25	29
3 1/3 " V. Virginia	75	250
2 1/2 " Lanthanum	67	172
1/2 " Ch. Cough Syr.	200	100
1 Water Bottle	65	65
2 Bottle Machine Oil	5	10
7 " Liqueur	33 1/3	234
1 " More Polish	7	87
1 1/2 Doz Spts Nitre	75	69
1 1/2 " " Cough	75	81
1/4 " Rongion Bath	100	25
1/2 " Rubbers	40	30
1/4 " Syringes	20	25
1/2 " Footmole	200	170
10/12 " Quinine	75	63
3 Chestnut Meq	30	90
2 " Spite Cloves	16 2/3	34
1/2 Doz Ess. Cinnamon	60	35
1 1/2 " Pineapple Flavor	60	90
3 Bottles Lemon "	6	18
1 1/2 Doz Cloves Phg	75	88
3 1/2 " Cinnamon	40	127
4 1/3 " Turpentine	55	239
3/2 " Vaseline	40	10
1 1/2 " Royal Blue	50	29
2 Box Horse R. Powder	15	30
5/12 " Shoe Shine	10 4/5	530
1 1/2 Doz Incubator	40	65
3 Cathes Bone Ash	7	21
34 " Hand Sapolio	6 1/4	213
24 Bottles Lick (Doz)	40	84
		132757

3	
1	
3	
2	
10	B
1	B
2	Ch
1	Doz
1	White
4	Choke
6	Bottle
3 1/2	Doz G
1	Boty As
7	Bottles
1	Doz. Cui
9	T. Syr.
23	Bottles
6	" Hai
12	Phe Sac.
22	Rox Co
33	Zooth
3	Pander
4	Bath
17	Micro
3	Shavin
22	Musings
10	Phe Car

Drugs Continued

661	Amount	1132 75
291	1 Bottle Listerine 14 2/3	171
501	2 Doz Bottles Ex. 60	1201
721	5 1/2 Dr. Richards Liment 150	8251
001	10 Boxes Pauline Ford 14 2/3	1471
651	3 lbs All Spice 12	361
101	1 Bottle Peptonoid 1.00	1001
341	3 lbs Blue Stone 30	901
071	2 Bottles Rheumatic Cure 14 2/3	341
691	10 Blocks Camphor Gum 7 1/2	751
811	1 Bottle BB Corfial 17	171
251	2 lbs Grace 50	1001
301	1 Doz. Linnet Kums 65	651
051	1 White Wash Brush 37 1/2	381
171	4 lbs Root Ginger 17	681
631	6 Bottles Little's Tob. 21	1261
901	3 1/2 Doz All Spice 40	1501
341	1 Box Ascorbic Acid 3	031
351	7 Bottles Boy Run 6 1/4	1111
901	1 Doz. Anethum 450	4501
181	9 Dr. Syringes 6 1/4	571
881	23 Bottles W. Wash 14 2/3	3831
1271	6 " Hair Oil 6 1/4	371
2391	12 Pkts Sachet Powder 16 2/3	2171
101	22 Box Corn Cure 6 1/4	1371
291	33 Tooth Brushes 14 2/3	5501
301	3 Powder Puffs 4 1/4	191
8301	4 Bath Brushes 33 1/3	1341
651	5 Mirrors 4 1/4	441
211	3 Shaving Brushes 14 2/3	501
2131	22 Nursing Tubes 3	661
501	10 Pkts Cards 14 2/3	1671
2751	4 T. A.	174601

**APPENDIX 16: U.S. COAL COMMISSION SCHEDULE,
STORE #9, 1922-1923**

Page 2, R.S.-i.

1009

Schedule of prices, 1922-1923 Continued.

ARTICLE	BRAND	Price, 1923.		Per Large Unit	Purchased from:	Other Identifying Information on Product	TOTAL SALES 1922.
		Per Small Unit	Per Large Unit				
Ham	Seuchhach	1.50	24¢	137 lb.	Lewis, Robert & Son		1044 134.50 23.520 #
	Seuchhach	1.25	24¢				
meat		11¢	1¢				6 792.00 7200 #
meat	meat	14¢	1¢		Photo. Lane.		4 720.00 4800 #
meat	meat	16¢	1¢				6 720.00 7200 #
meat	meat	15¢	20¢	107-160			1 632.00 6072 #
meat	meat	14¢	1¢	12 lb.			5 259.20 6072 #
meat	meat	14¢	1¢				7 345.60 7200 #
meat	meat	15¢	1¢	30¢			2 216.00 2472 #
meat	meat	50¢	1¢	30¢			2 288.00 2472 #
meat	meat	40¢	1¢				2 230.40 2472 #
meat	meat	15¢	1¢	240-2472			2 152.00 2472 #
meat	meat	50¢	1¢	112 lb.			5 255.00 600 #
meat	meat	15¢	1¢				2 200.00 2400 #
meat	meat	10¢	3¢	15 lb.			2 32.40 2472 #
meat	meat	15¢	1¢	2592 lb.			6 255.00 7200 #
meat	meat	10¢	1¢				50.00 100 #
meat	meat	65¢	1¢				1 167.00 2472 #
meat	meat	50¢	1¢				5 990.00 6072 #
meat	meat	175¢	1¢				4 160.00 2472 #
meat	meat	10¢	1¢				150 120.00 1200 #
meat	meat	22¢	1¢				2 264.00 1200 #
meat	meat	20¢	1¢				2 115.20 2472 #
meat	meat	40¢	1¢				100 480.00 1200 #

Source: RG-68, U.S. C.C., Records of the Division of Investigation of Labor Facts Cost of Living and Retail Price Section Completed "Store Schedules" and Field Notes 1923, Entry 86, Box 50, Envelope: 66c (1) Low Moor Iron Co. (Store #9) Kay Moor, NA-Suitland.

3. Schedule of *per. in. 100* Continued.

June 11-9

Page 2. R.S.-1.

INCIPAL ITEMS IN STOCK CARRIED FOR MINING TRADE		Price, 1923.		Purchased from:		Other Identifying Information on Product	TOTAL SALES	
ARTICLE	BRAND	Per Small Unit	Per Large Unit	Name of Wholesaler, Jobber or Manufacturer	Address		1922.	Value
Dark Horn		85¢ 1#		Smith & Co	London		100	420.00 1200
Dark Horn	Strak	85¢ 1#				720# 1080# 720# net 360# 2088# 1080# 1152#	600	1980.00 7200
	Kate	25.50 1#	27.25	Shaw & Co	London			
	Hoising	2¢ 1#						
J. Extravagant		2¢ - 1#					100	1200
Fish	Turned Fresh Water fish	30¢ 25#					140	264.00 1680
Oysters	Salts	45¢ pts					100	388.80 4320
Crucibles	#750 - 10	60¢ doz				200#	4%	422.40 48%
Reminders		15¢ - 1#				200#	4%	360.00 48%
Thermometers	Working	1.00 - 1.25						
		150.63 4.125						
"	Overalls - Anchor	1.75						
"	Shoes	3.50 -						
"	rubber	5.00						
"	Cups	2.00						
"	Hats	8.50						
Ladies shoes		6.00						
Hose		75.00 2.50						
Coal		30¢ 10#					4000	120.00 4000#
Cracked Corn		2.40 100#					78000	1152.20 48000#
Middings		3.00 100					60000	1800.00

APPENDIX 17: KAY MOOR POSTMASTERS

Postmaster	Date (confirmed or assumed charge)
Edward M. Cabell	February 5, 1902
Frank H. Gill	December 30, 1909
Frank W. Rucker	April 14, 1915
Clarence E. Smith	August 3, 1916
H.G. Cottrell	April 21, 1921
Horace M. Swope (Poss Act)	May 6-25, 1926
Horace M. Swope	September 4, 1926
Opal Crouse Vinson (Poss Act)	January 1-11, 1927
Opal C. Vinson	May 3, 1927
Ralph H. Harmon	October 24, 1927
Bryant Rogers (Acting)	April 1, 1927
Bryant Rogers	December 8, 1932
Louis Frederick Antone Jr. (Acting)	November 16, 1943
Louis Frederick Antone Jr.	July 12, 1944
William F. Foy	January 27, 1947
Juanita L. Roark	December 15, 1949
Juanita L. Roark	August 2, 1950
Harry L. Beverage (Acting)	December 15, 1950
Harry L. Beverage	February 5, 1951
Charles R. Rogers (Acting)	December 31, 1951
Charles R. Rogers	May 1, 1952

Source: Taken from RG-28 Records of the Post Office Department, *Record of Appointment of Postmasters*, 1832 – September 30, 1971 Microcopy 841, roll 138 West Virginia Barbour – Greenbrier Counties, vol. 99 ca. 1940 – 1930; and vol. 77 ca. 1930 – September 30, 1971, NA.

APPENDIX 18: "HERBERTS GREATER MINSTRELS" KAY MOOR THEATRE JANUARY 19, 1917

THE FAYETTE TRIBUNE AND FREE PRESS.

Page Five

ROAD ENGINEER'S REPORT

Mr. Malloy Complete Nearly all Surveys in Falls and Sewell Mt. and Will Soon Ask For Bids

T. F. Malloy, engineer in charge of the bonded road work in Falls and Sewell Mt. districts makes the following report to the county court for December:

"We have completed the field work of our preliminary survey for Falls and Sewell Mt. districts with the exception of the Gauley Bridge and Summersville road from Gauley Bridge to Mahan's store. The measured length of the J. R. K. pike from the Kanawha county line to Gauley Bridge is 10.72 miles and the distance from Gauley Bridge to Mt. Cove district line is 3.79 miles.

"There are several matters in connection with the work in Falls district which I would like to take up with the county court in the near future. One of the most important of these is to try to arrange a conference with officials of the C. & O. Ry. for the purpose of eliminating a very dangerous grade crossing and to see how far these officials will co-operate with us with that end in view.

"Another matter requiring our prompt attention is to decide on the best method of removing obstructions, such as fences, coal tips and various kinds of buildings which have been from time to time erected within the limits of our roadway, thereby making it impossible for us to secure a proper width for the same.

"Rapid progress is being made on the plans and estimates for Sewell Mt. district and we should be able to advertise for bids sometime during the month of February.

"Mileage surveyed to date: Falls district, 14.55 miles; Sewell Mt., 17.23 miles; total 31.78 miles.

"Expenditures for month of Nov. and Dec., including office rent, auto supplies and transportation, \$1,446.61. Amount previously reported expended, \$1,873.82. Total to date, \$3,320.43. Distributed to Falls, \$978.96 and to Sewell Mt. \$2,341.47."

THE HUDDLESTON FUNERAL

The funeral of C. C. Huddleston, Huntington lumberman and financier, who was shot to death by Robert B. Franklin, Whitesburg, Ky., lumberman, on a train in a tunnel near Hazard, Ky., last week was held here Sunday afternoon, says the Huntington Advertiser.

Brief services were conducted at the Huddleston home, 1660 Sixth avenue, under the direction of the Rev. J. J. Cook, of the Twentieth street Baptist church. The knight Templars escorted the body to the cemetery, where the blue lodge of Masons conducted the formal burial ritual. A delegation of Elks, of which lodge Mr. Huddleston was a member was in attendance at the service.

The funeral was largely attended, but the respect Huntington bore to the local victim of the double tragedy was demonstrated in the lack of the usual morbidly curious at the funeral. Many friends of the family attended and offered solace to the family and relatives. There were several beautiful floral offerings. As far as could be learned no representative of the Franklin family of Kentucky were present at the funeral.

Herberts Greater Minstrels FRIDAY Jan. 19th at the Kay Moor Theatre

20 All-Star
Colored
Performers

Making the second engagement at this place. This is considered one of the cleanest and best colored minstrels on the road.

Own Band And Orchestra

SHOW STARTS PROMPTLY AT 8 O'CLOCK

Admission 35c and 50c.

SEWELL MT. ITEMS

Rev. G. W. Adams, wife and little daughter, Georgie, of Rupert, are visiting relatives at Corliss, Cliff Top and Russellville this week. He will preach at Minnie Belle church next Sunday night.

Loney Amick, Arthur Rogers, Rev. G. W. Adams and H. D. Adams are making the foxes live hard in Sewell mountains this week.

Pansy Proctor, who has been at the John Hopkins hospital for treatment, is expected home soon.

Mrs. Anderson Amick, and daughter, Miss Annie, are visiting friends and relatives in Charleston this week. Mr. Arch Armstrong is very low and there is no hope of his recovery. The trouble is cancer of the face.

The mercury is bobbing around zero over here.

Universal and permanent peace cannot be expected until there is but one King.

GRISSINGER-HOLSTEN

James Grissinger and Gerent Holsten, of Vanetta, were married in Charleston last week.

LITTLE PITTSBURG COAL

Shipments of coal from Pittsburgh during the past year has amounted to practically nothing, though a government report shows over 200,000,000 bushels have been loaded through Dam No. 4 on the Monongahela river above Pittsburgh. Practically all of the coal that is going to Cincinnati, Louisville and other points farther south at the present time is from West Virginia fields along the Great Kanawha river.

COUNTY CLERKS CALLED

Circuit Court Clerk R. S. Brown of Summers county, has been instructed to summons the county clerks of nine counties to testify in the judicial inquiry to be held before Judge Miller, Monday, Jan. 22nd, in the case of Wm. E. Clifton vs. Howard Sutherland. This proceeding is brought under the corrupt practice act, contesting the election of Sutherland to the United States senate. It is alleged that more money was spent by Sutherland in the election than the law allows. Each county clerk is required to bring registration and poll books of his respective county.

COST OF LIVING

FIFTY YEARS AGO

These are the days in which we are wont to talk of the high cost of living and complain that the purchasing price of the dollar is rapidly vanishing. But there were days within the memory of men still living and in active business, when the cost of most of the articles was much higher than today, and when wages paid workmen were exceedingly small as compared with the wages paid today.

John A. Cox established a store at Cox's Landing in Cabell county, on April 3, 1862. That store has continued in existence under the direction of John A. Cox and his son, William T. Cox, until the present day, and is the only store of its kind in Cabell county if not in the entire southern section of the state that has had a continuous existence thru the Civil war and until 1917.

The books kept during the first year of the store's existence have disappeared, but all the records from 1863 to the present time are still in evidence and in possession of William T. Cox of Cox's Landing. The prices which follow are a matter of record on those books:

Here are some of the prices that were paid by the residents of Cabell county for the common necessities of life in 1863, as shown by the books of the Cox store:

Common brown sugar, 16 2-3 cents a pound.
Brown muslin, 37 and 45 cents a yard.
Calico, 20 to 25 cents a yard.
Tallow candles, 20 to 25 cents a pound. There was no lamp oil.

Coffee, green or unroasted, 87 to 40 cents a pound.

New Orleans molasses, 75 cents a gallon.

Brooms, 20 cents each.
Blue check shirting, 30 cents a yard.

Tin, \$1.75 to \$2.00 a pound.
Gingham, 35 cents a yard.

Stick candy, 40 cents a pound.
Iron cut nails, 8 cents a pound.

Cooking soda, 10 cents a pound.
Apple cider, 40 cents a gallon.
Milk, 10 cents a gallon.

TIRED OF SERVICE

West Virginia Troops in Texas in Good Condition But Very Home Sick

Sergeant A. J. Loebig, a Parkersburg newspaper man who has been with the Second W. Va. Regt. at San Antonio, Tex., for several months, has returned home, his term of service having expired.

"The boys are all enjoying their service on the border," the sergeant stated, "but they are anxious to get back home. The members of the West Virginia regiment, who answered the call and took the federal oath, had no idea they were being called into the regular service, but they did understand they were called upon to defend the nation's honor and were to go to the Mexican border, where there was said to be a state of war existing."

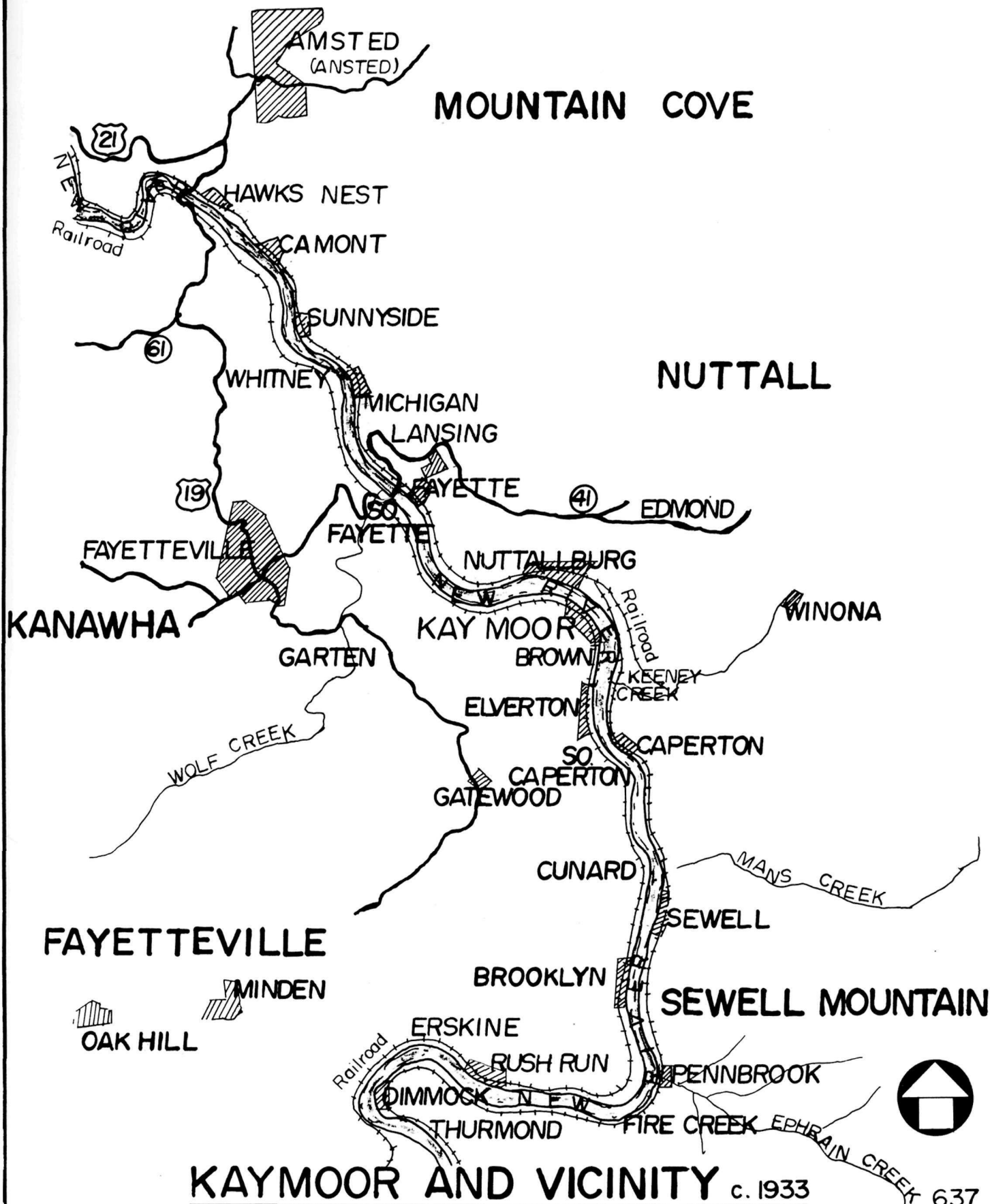
When asked as to whether or not the majority of the boys from this state will enlist again, Sergeant Loebig said, "There will be very few enlistments in the Second West Virginia, as well as in all regiments from every state that sent troops to back up demands said to have been made by the administration."

Continuing he said: "Sanitary conditions in the camps of national guardsmen in Texas and other border states is better at present than ever before in the history of the United States army. The national guard now in the actual service of the United States measures up to the standard of the regular army. The officers in all guard regiments, however, are not as efficient as those in the standing army, which has caused the degree of discipline in the guard to fall very low in some regiments. Many officers who rightfully held their commissions only through political influence, are very incompetent, and their services are detrimental to the safety conditions of the enlisted men under them."

Sergeant Loebig advocated the death of the state militia, holding that summer encampments, which were formerly the only source of training for boys who did not care to join the regular army, will no longer be considered sufficient by the war department at Washington.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Illustration 1. Kay Moor and Vicinity, c. 1933.

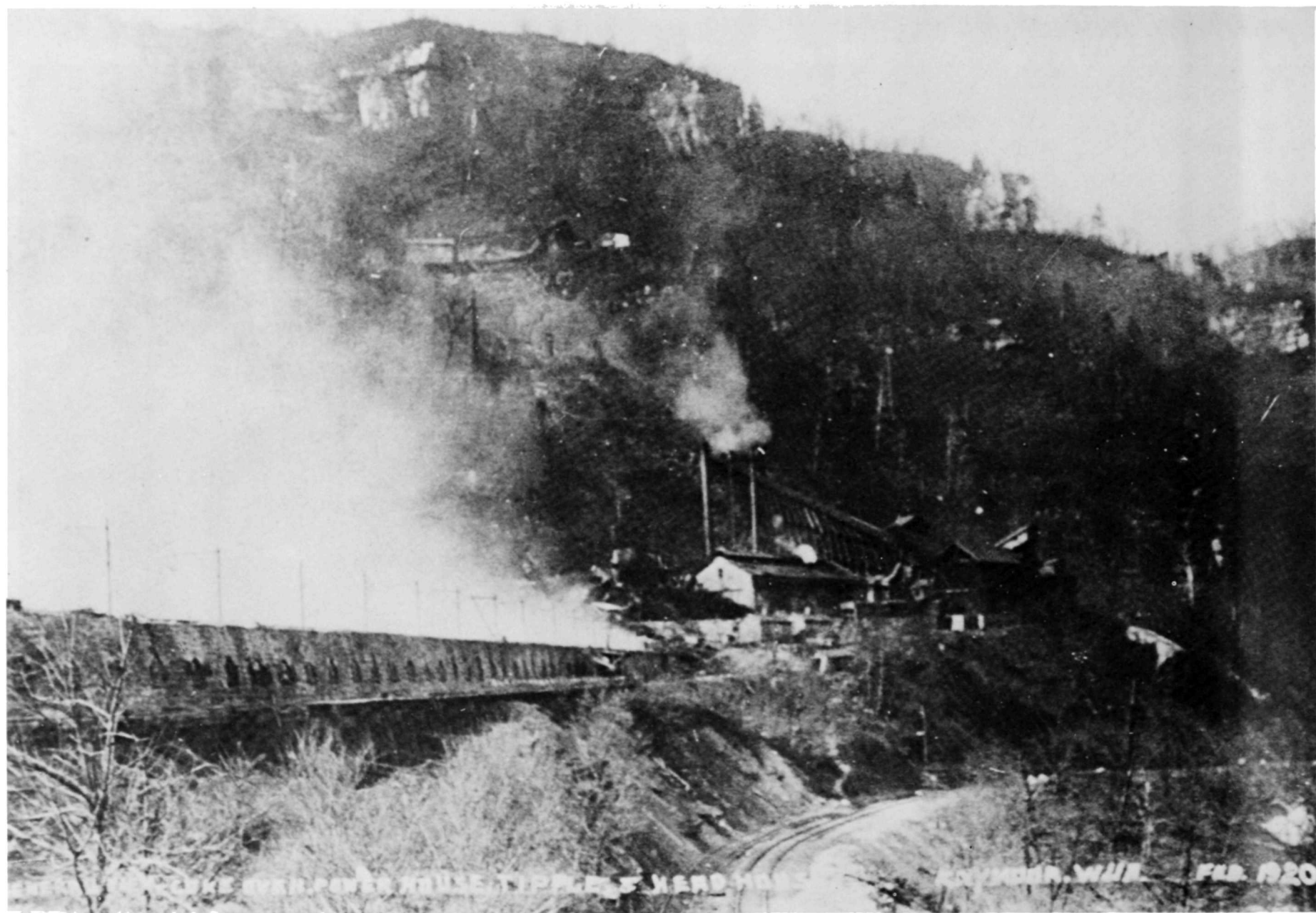


KAYMOOR AND VICINITY c. 1933

(Based on original of "Fayette County" in New Descriptive Atlas of West Virginia,
by Clarksburg Publishing Co.

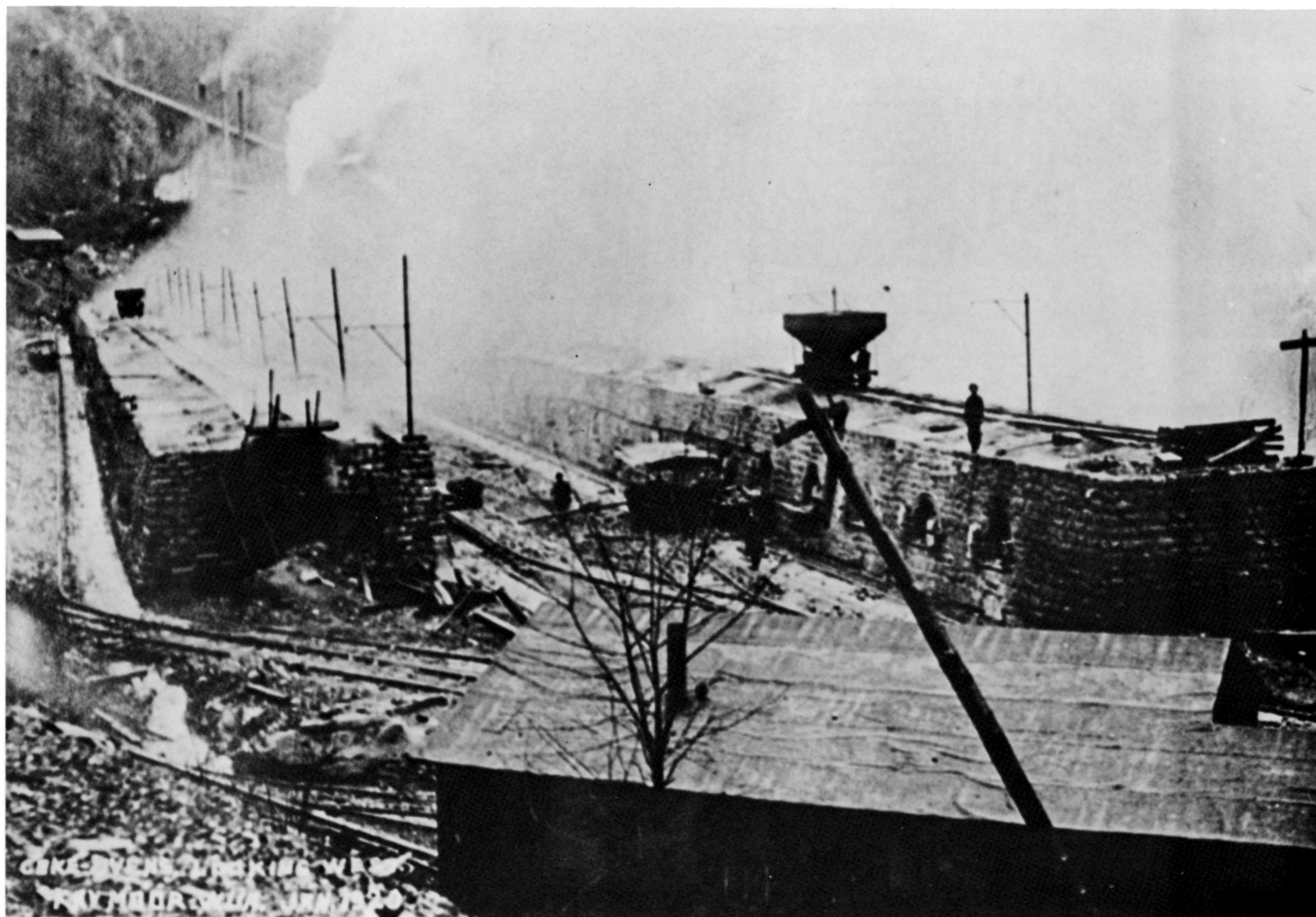
637
25,003
SHEET 1 OF 1

Illustration 2. Coke Ovens, Power House, Tipple & Headhouse Kay Moor W.Va., February 1920. NERI file.



COAL MINE OPERATIONS NEAR TIPPERS HARBOR, N.S. FEB. 1920

Illustration 3. Coke Ovens Looking West, Kay Moor W.Va., January 1920. NERI files.



CHAS. E. BROWN, JR. PHOTOGRAPHER
FEBRUARY 1940

Illustration 4. Kay Moor Mine No. 1, n.d., NERI files.



Illustration 5. Kay Moor camp from Mine No. 1, January 1920. NERI files.

Illustration 6. Coal Camp at Kay Moor Bottom, Coke Ovens Visible. NERI files.

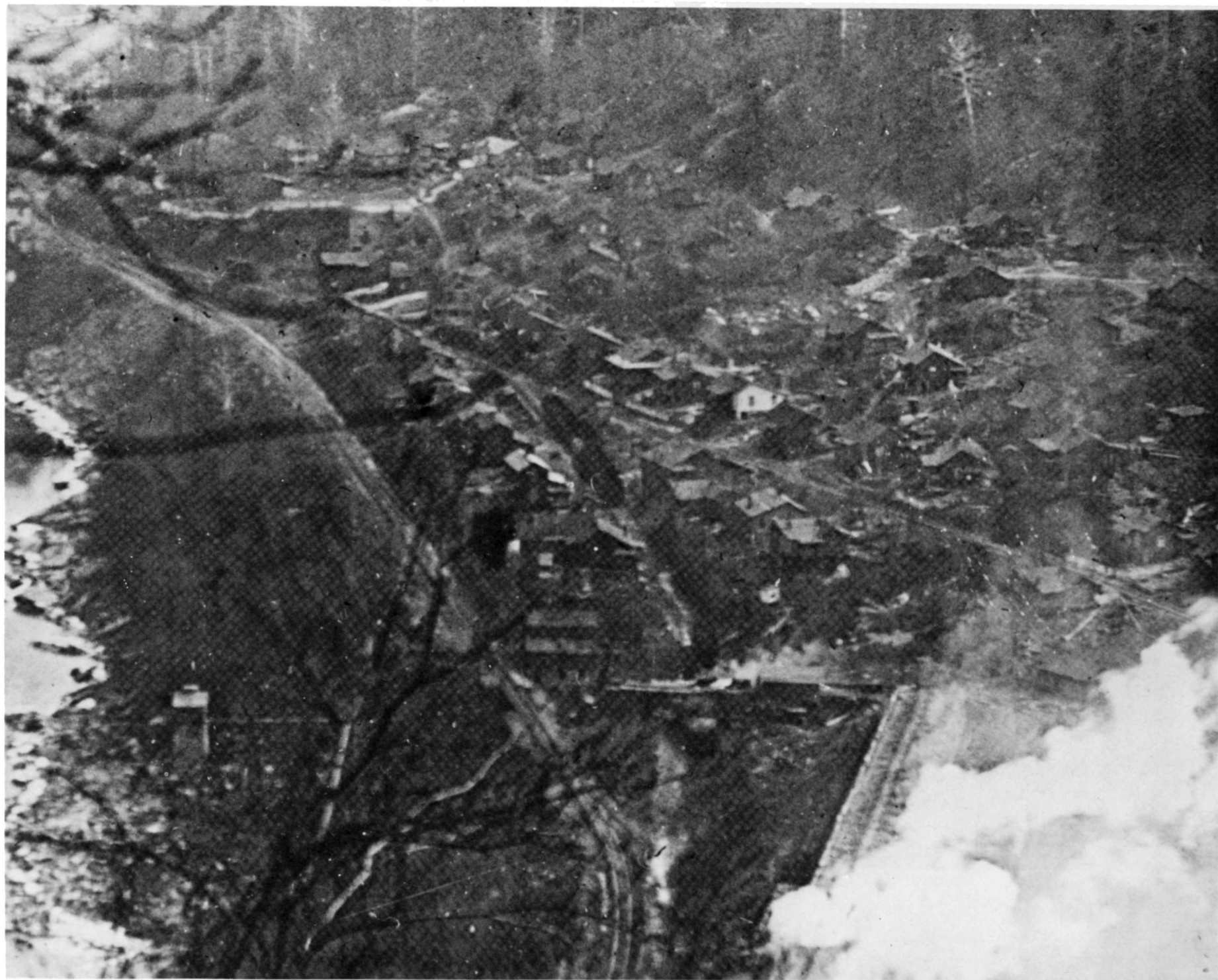


Illustration 7. Kay Moor "Bottom" Coal Camp. NERI files.



Illustration 8. New Camp at Top of Mountain, Kaymoor Mine No. 1, January 1920. NERI files.



NEW CAMP AT TOP OF MOUNTAIN
KAYMOOR MOUNTAIN

JAN 1920

Illustration 9. C&O H-8 #1612 with Coal Drag near Kaymoor, WV, 1947.
C&O Ry photo from C&O Historical Society Collection, Alderson, West Virginia.



Illustration 10. C&O Mallet with Coal Drag near Kaymoor, WV, 1947.
C&O Ry photo from C&O Historical Society Collection, Alderson, West Virginia.



Illustration 11. The New River Gorge near Kaymoor, WV, 1947.
C&O Ry photo from C&O Historical Society Collection, Alderson, West Virginia.



Illustration 12. Three People in Kay Moor Haulage Car 1946. NERI files.



Illustration 13. Mountain Haulage Kay Moor Mine No. 1, January 1920. NERI files.



MOUNTAIN HAULAGE

KAY MOOR MINE NO. 1.

JAN. 1920.

Illustration 14. Mike Pashion on Kay Moor haulage, 1954. NERI files.

Illustration 15. Mrs. Eades at her home located at Kay Moor Top. NERI files.



Illustration 16. Clifford Ward, Nana Watkins, Mary Ward at the Kay Moor haulage. NERI files.

Illustration 17. Adel Arnold Jones at Kay Moor Top. NERI files.



Illustration 18. "Wash" Langhorn at Kay Moor Bottom. NERI files.

Illustration 19. John Woodson at Kay Moor Bottom. NERI files.



Illustration 20. Aerial Photograph of Kay Moor, 1945.
DZC-7R-177, Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service,
Aerial Photography Field Office, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Salt Lake City.

DZC-7R-177

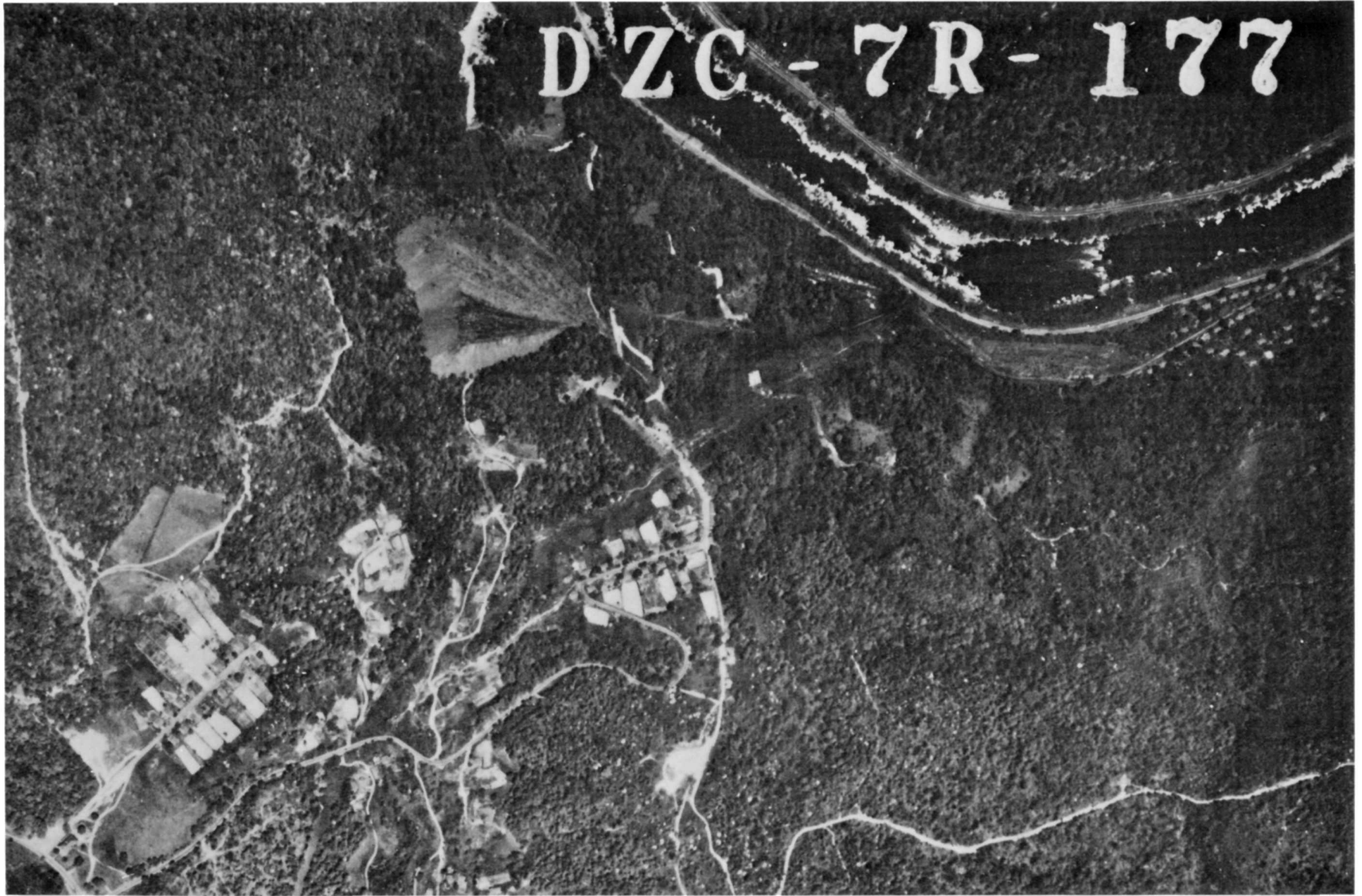


Illustration 21. Aerial Photograph of Kay Moor, 1957.
DDF-8-7, Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service, Aerial Photography Field Office,
U.S. Department of Agriculture, Salt Lake City.

DDF - 8 - 7



PERSONS CONSULTED DURING RESEARCH

Dr. Fredrick H. Armstrong, Associate Director, Archives and History, Department of Culture and History, The Cultural Center, Capitol Complex, Charleston, West Virginia.

Dr. Lou Athey, Franklin & Marshall University, Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

Jack Bergstresser, Historic American Engineering Record, University of Alabama, Auburn, Alabama.

Dave Kessler, Department of Energy, State of West Virginia.

Dr. Kenneth Sullivan, editor *Goldenseal*, Charleston, West Virginia.

REPOSITORIES VISITED DURING RESEARCH

LAKEWOOD, COLORADO
Rocky Mountain Region Library

WASHINGTON, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
Library of Congress
Social Science Reading Room

National Archives
Main Reading Room
Genealogy & Microfilm

SUITLAND, MARYLAND
National Archives
Cartographic and Architectural Branch

CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA
University of Virginia
Alderman Library
University Archives
Manuscripts Department

CHARLESTON, WEST VIRGINIA
Department of Culture and History
Archives and History

Department of Energy, State of West Virginia
Office of the Secretary of State, Capitol Building
Corporations Division

FAYETTEVILLE, WEST VIRGINIA
Fayette County Courthouse
County Clerk Office

OAK HILL, WEST VIRGINIA
New River Gorge National River, Headquarters
Library
History Files
Map Files
Photograph Files

Oak Hill Public Library

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PRIMARY SOURCES

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Alderman Library, University of Virginia
Low Moor Iron Company Papers Accession 662

Department of Culture and History
Archives and History
U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910, Population, West Virginia
Mine Inspection Reports, West Virginia

National Archives, Suitland, Maryland
RG-68 Records of the United States Coal Commission

National Archives, Washington, D.C.
RG-28 Records of the Post Office Department, Record of Appointment of Postmasters

West Virginia Secretary of State Office
Corporation Division
Low Moor Coal Company, Book H, p. 100

The manuscript sources provided a bulk of the detailed knowledge of the mine operation at Kay Moor. The Low Moor Iron Company records revealed details of mine construction, operation, and management. The post office records gave details of postmasters who served the Kay Moor community. The West Virginia secretary of state office contained the Low Moor Coal Company's incorporation papers. The unpublished U.S. Coal Commission investigator's notes were invaluable in their description of Kay Moor in 1922-1923. Details of physical layout, prices of goods in the company store and other topics could not have been obtained elsewhere. The mine inspection reports provided data on the Kay Moor mine's construction, ventilation and safety measures, among other topics. The 1910 census data divulged names, ages, addresses, relationships and home states of Kay Moor district residents.

Articles

Anderson, L.C. "Mine Labor Conditions in West Virginia." *The Outlook* 82, no. 16 (1906): 861-862.

Anderson's letter to the editor is a first-hand opinion of the field conditions in 1906.

Books

Jones, Mary Harris. *Autobiography of Mother Jones*. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Company, 1925; reprint ed., New York: Arno & The New York Times, 1969.

Tams, W.P. Jr. *The Smokeless Coal Fields of West Virginia*. Morgantown, West Virginia: West Virginia University Library, 1963.

These two texts, written by participants on either side of the mine fence, provided details of the West Virginia coal industry and labor disputes. Mother Jones' account is full of errors but provides a feeling for the emotions of the times. Tams' text is a rare coal operator's view on the coal industry.

Gazetteers

West Virginia State Gazetteer and Business Directory. Detroit: R.L. Polk and Co., 1900, 1902, 1904, 1906, 1908, 1912, 1914, 1916, 1918, 1923

These gazetteers provided only limited data concerning Kay Moor's population and these figures are probably inaccurate.

Newspapers

Fayette Democrat 1916, 1919, 1937.

Fayette Journal 1902-1904, 1906-1907, 1925, 1933, 1937.

Fayette State Sentinel, 1960.

Fayette Sun 1911-1913

Fayette Tribune 1906, 1909-1912, 1914-1931, 1934-1940

These local newspapers contained much data concerning the people and operations at Kay Moor. Articles on strikes, closings, violence, accidental deaths, community affairs, and social events were all found in the newspapers.

Reports

West Virginia Annual Report of the Department of Mines, Charleston 1900-1962.

These reports provided information on the numbers and nationalities of miners working at Kay Moor, numbers and types of accidents, tonnage of coal and coke produced, and the mine managers. These reports can be found at the West Virginia Department of Culture and History, Archives and History.

Interviews

Burgess, Virgil by Paul Nyden. Oak Hill, West Virginia, March 30, 1982.

Chambers, Mrs. Celia by Jim Worsham. Minden, West Virginia, April 6, 1984.

Eades, Mrs. William (Nellie) by Lou Athey. Ansted, West Virginia, July 27, 1985.

Mathew, Russell by William E. Cox. Oak Hill, West Virginia, August 10, 1981.

Pashion, Mrs. Rosa by Ken Sullivan. Kaymoor, West Virginia, August 17, 1985.

Toney, William by James Worsham. Ansted, West Virginia, August 9, 1984.

Woodson, Dometrius by Paul J. Nyden. Beckley, West Virginia, November 7, 1980.

The transcripts of these oral interviews provided many details about the physical layouts and daily life in Kay Moor. Insight into life in the gorge can be obtained from these and others in the oral history collection at NERI.

Unpublished Material

"Journal of Baptist Minister S.J. Thomas." photocopy in NERI files, folder: "Religion New River"

The photocopy of pages of Reverend Thomas' journal provided details of church services held in Kay Moor. The pastor also performed marriages, baptisms and burials.

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Articles

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Ernst, Harry W. and Drake, Charles H. "Poor, Proud and Primitive." *The Nation* 188 (1959): 490-493.

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The Ernst, Ford, Ulack and Walls articles provided useful information concerning conditions in Appalachia from a general viewpoint. They set the context for both historical and present educational, economic, sociological and other aspects of Appalachia. The Gartin, Hadsell, Hammond, Harris and Norton articles yielded data on strikes, the UMWA and coal operators responses to events which occurred during unionization attempts. The "Woman" article was concerned with women and children's labor, and education opportunities for them in the coal towns. Higgins and the "Story" article were useful for general background information on the New River fields. Huebner and Munn contained data on "model" coal town planning. Laing and Simmons provided data on black miners in West Virginia. The New River symposiums provided excellent information on the New River gorge. The Gillenwater and Hill articles provided data on coal town morphology and population figures. Athey's article is excellent on the New River coke industry. The *Black Diamond* and *United Mine Workers Journal*, one a trade paper and the other the formal voice of the union, provided an inside look into the economic, technological, social and labor issues facing the coal operators and workers.

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These secondary sources provided much of the context within which to place the story of what occurred at Kay Moor. The UWMA unionization efforts, the mining wars, the leadership of John L. Lewis and the efforts of Mother Jones are all chronicled in Alinsky, Baratz, Carnes, Coleman, Fetherling, Lee, Long and McCormick. Conditions in the coal fields during the years of unionization efforts were discussed in the Hunt text. For general background information on West Virginia and Fayette County, see Ambler, Cavalier, Cohen, Cox, Henne, Peters, Rice and Robinson. Bailey, Barnum, Turner and Cabbell provided data on black miners in West Virginia. Very informative general texts on mining and miners were Conley, Corbin, the two Dix texts, Eller, Goodrich, and Graebner. The Miller and Sharpless text was an excellent treatment of anthracite mining in Pennsylvania. Writing on conditions, both historic and modern, in Appalachia were Caudill, Ford, Caventa, Lewis,

Raitz and Weller. Woodward's text is a classic on southern economics. For a discussion of company stores and scrip, see Dodrill and Johnson. Sparkmon and Turner contained data on the C&O. Lou Athey's book provided many valuable leads in searching for data on Kay Moor. His text filled in many gaps of information this author was unable to fill due to time limitations.

Dissertations

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- Posey, Thomas Edward. "The Labor Movement in West Virginia 1900-1948." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1948.
- Thomas, Jerry Bruce. "Coal Country: The Rise of the Southern Smokeless Coal Industry and Its Effect on Area Development, 1872-1910." Ph. D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1971.
- Wells, John Calhoun Jr. "Poverty Amidst Riches: Why People are Poor in Appalachia." Ph.D. dissertation, Rutgers University, The State University of New Jersey, 1977.

Several of these dissertations provided excellent data for the Kay Moor study. The Anson and Posey studies discussed West Virginia's violent labor history. Merrill's text provided general economic data on the West Virginia coal industry. Wells' text is a sociological and historical discussion of appalachian poverty. Gillenwater's dissertation provided data on coal camp settlement and layout, plus a discussion of housing architecture. Thomas' text was the most useful, supplying much valuable data on topics concerning the New River coal fields.

Theses

- French, Jack Jr. "Segregation Patterns in a Coal Camp." M.A. Thesis, West Virginia University, 1953.
- Morris, Thomas J. "The Coal Camp A Pattern of Limited Community Life." M.A. Thesis, West Virginia University, 1950.

Both of these theses provided general data concerning life in coal camps. French studied an unnamed southern West Virginia coal camps segregation patterns, while Morris' analysis of Wad, West Virginia, provided comparative social data for the Kay Moor study.

Dictionary

Dictionary of American Biography. vol. V, 1933 ed. S.v. "Huntington, Collis Potter," by Stuart Daggett.

_____. vol. VI, 1933 ed. S.v. "Low, Abiel Abbot," by Richard B. Morris.

This dictionary provided excellent biographical information on two of the industrialists who influenced Kay Moor's development.

Government Documents

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U.S. Department of Labor. Children's Bureau. *The Welfare of Children in Bituminous Coal Mining Communities in West Virginia*, by Nettie McGill. Children's Bureau Publication No. 117. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1923.

_____. Women's Bureau. *Home Environment and Employment Opportunities of Women in Coal-Mine Workers' Families*, Bulletin of the Women's Bureau, No. 45. Washington, D. C. Government Printing Office, 1925.

U.S. Senate. 68th Congress, 2d Session. *Report of The United States Coal Commission* (Doc. 195, Part I) Washington: Government Printing Office, 1925 (Serial Set 8402, pt. I).

U.S. Senate. 68th Congress, 2d Session. *Report of The United States Coal Commission* (Doc. 195, Part III) Washington: Government Printing Office, 1925 (Serial Set 8402, pt. III).

The U.S. Coal Commission published data was very helpful in determining the economic health of the coal industry and the living conditions in the coal mining towns. Comparative data with other coal regions was provided. The Department of the Interior and Department of Labor texts discussed conditions in the coal fields during the years of unionization efforts.

Unpublished Materials

Marowitz, Matthew, P. et al., "Guide, The Low Moor Iron Company Papers #662 in the Manuscripts Department of the University of Virginia Library." Typescript collection guide, available from Manuscripts Department, Alderman Library, University of Virginia.

The Marowitz guide provided an overall general history of the Low Moor Iron Company, in addition to a very general index to the collection.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Registration Form

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations of eligibility for individual properties or districts. See instructions in *Guidelines for Completing National Register Forms* (National Register Bulletin 16). Complete each item by marking "x" in the appropriate box or by entering the requested information. If an item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, styles, materials, and areas of significance, enter only the categories and subcategories listed in the instructions. For additional space use continuation sheets (Form 10-900a). Type all entries.

1. Name of Property

historic name Kay Moor; Kay Moor No. 1 Coal Mine
other names/site number Kaymoor

2. Location

street & number _____ ☐ not for publication
city, town Fayetteville ☒ vicinity
state West Virginia code WV county Fayette code 019 zip code 25840

3. Classification

Ownership of Property

- ☐ private
☐ public-local
☐ public-State
☒ public-Federal

Category of Property

- ☐ building(s)
☒ district
☐ site
☐ structure
☐ object

Number of Resources within Property

Contributing	Noncontributing
<u>9</u>	_____ buildings
<u>1</u>	_____ sites
<u>31</u>	<u>1</u> structures
<u>1</u>	_____ objects
<u>42</u>	<u>1</u> Total

Name of related multiple property listing:
N/A

Number of contributing resources previously
listed in the National Register N/A

4. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this
☐ nomination ☐ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the
National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60.
In my opinion, the property ☐ meets ☐ does not meet the National Register criteria. ☐ See continuation sheet.

Signature of certifying official _____

Date _____

State or Federal agency and bureau _____

In my opinion, the property ☐ meets ☐ does not meet the National Register criteria. ☐ See continuation sheet.

Signature of commenting or other official _____

Date _____

State or Federal agency and bureau _____

5. National Park Service Certification

I, hereby, certify that this property is:

- ☐ entered in the National Register.
☐ See continuation sheet.
☐ determined eligible for the National
Register. ☐ See continuation sheet.
☐ determined not eligible for the
National Register.
☐ removed from the National Register.
☐ other, (explain:) _____

Signature of the Keeper _____

Date of Action _____

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions (enter categories from instructions)

Industry/Processing/Extraction
extractive facility
processing facility
company town

Current Functions (enter categories from instructions)

not in use
not in use
not in use

7. Description

Architectural Classification

(enter categories from instructions)

Other: mining structures, town site

Materials (enter categories from instructions)

foundation Stone
walls Stone, Metal (tin, iron)
roof Metal (tin)
other Concrete

Describe present and historic physical appearance.

Kay Moor consists of an abandoned coal mine, associated extractive and processing machinery, and the site of the accompanying coal town. The town was in two locations, one on top of the New River Gorge, the other alongside the New River at the bottom of the gorge. Kay Moor's major physical characteristics include extant mining machinery, buildings and other features located along the Sewell Bench, 560 ft. vertical above New River. These include openings in the gorge wall for electrical service and ventilation, fan houses, headhouse, three main drift openings, car repair shop, lamp house, superintendent's office, stairway to Kay Moor Top, mountain haulage, powder house, and electrical repair shop. Leading down the gorge wall 1,000 ft. over a 30 degree slope to the railroad track and river level are monitors, conveyor, processing plant, power house, and two batteries of coke ovens at the bottom. Only the shell of one gutted and one collapsed house, and foundations remain of the Kay Moor Bottom town site, located next to both the river and coke ovens.

The integrity of the mine site and machinery proper is good in terms of the mine's relatively undisturbed state, protected by its isolated location within the New River Gorge. Individual structures are disintegrating due to weather and vegetation. Caustic deterioration of wood and metal is occurring because of rainwater mixing with the coal dust in the structures and on the ground. It is difficult to envision the mass and scale of the mine and its auxiliary buildings because of the foliage overgrowth, but close inspection does reveal the technological nature of the materials and workmanship involved with mining and processing of the Sewell Seam "smokeless" coal. Even though only a few structures remain at the Kay Moor Bottom townsite, including the company store ruins, the site itself provides the feeling of a company town whose access to the outside world lay only in the nearby Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad tracks. Many industrial artifacts are strewn about the mine site and side of the gorge wall; these have historical value in and of themselves, but are not counted as contributing for the purposes of this nomination.

THE MINE

Kay Moor Coal Mine No. 1 operated from 1900 until 1962. It was located within the New River Gorge, in the New River coalfields, famous for low volatile coal known as "smokeless" coal. The mine entry was made into the Sewell Seam, 560 ft. above the floor of the gorge and the southside branch of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad which ran along New River. Abiel Abbott Low, a founder of The Low Moor Iron Company of Low Moor, Virginia, purchased the property just after the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad's entry into the New River Gorge in 1873. The Low Moor Iron Company kept the coal property in reserve until 1899, when it opened the Kay Moor coal mine as a source of supply of coal and coke to fuel the company's blast furnaces. The first shipment of coal was made in 1900. This company sold the Kay Moor complex in 1925 when the merchant pig iron industry waned and beehive coke ovens fell into disuse. Kay Moor was sold to

8. Statement of Significance

Certifying official has considered the significance of this property in relation to other properties:

☐ nationally ☐ statewide ☐ locally

Applicable National Register Criteria ☒ A ☒ B ☐ C ☐ D

Criteria Considerations (Exceptions) ☐ A ☐ B ☐ C ☐ D ☐ E ☐ F ☐ G

Areas of Significance (enter categories from instructions)

Industry
Engineering

Period of Significance

1900-1940

Significant Dates

1900

1925

1928

Cultural Affiliation

N/A

Significant Person

Low, Abiel Abbott

Architect/Builder

Low Moor Iron Company, James Kay
New River & Pocahontas Consolidated Coal
and Coke Company

State significance of property, and justify criteria, criteria considerations, and areas and periods of significance noted above.

Kay Moor includes a coal mine, associated machinery and physical plant for processing coal, administrative structures, and a town built for housing mine workers and their families. The mine's headhouse and incline systems illustrate the special techniques employed by early 20th century American miners to extract coal from outcrops on steep slopes. Kay Moor's fan house, power house, drift openings, rail lines, and other integral elements survive, providing examples of typical mining practice of the era. The two extant inclines and headhouse are examples of specialized engineering adaptations to mining coal from the steep sloped outcrops. The processing plant with its Baum jig washer patented by Simon-Carves of England, shaker screens and other equipment, is exemplary of the move in the 1920s to produce mechanically cleaned coal for a general market. Kay Moor's coal was produced more cheaply because of the easier slope mining and the low labor costs associated with the absence of an established United Mine Workers of America local until 1933. The beehive coke ovens were an integral part of the captive operation. Kay Moor Top and Bottom are significant for being representative of coal towns associated with bituminous coal mining in West Virginia. Company towns were a visible symbol of the new industrial order in West Virginia, and they were the dominant institution in miners' lives. Kay Moor represents the best extant remains of a turn-of-the-century operation in the New River "smokeless" coal fields of central West Virginia.

During its lifetime the coal town of Kay Moor, Top and Bottom, exhibited general characteristics of West Virginia coal town social history. In the 1920s four-fifths of West Virginia mine workers lived in company towns, which were built immediately after a mine opened to house workers as no established communities were usually nearby. Construction of houses in Kay Moor Top and Bottom began within a year of the mine's opening. The history of coal town society involved the following issues focusing on the control of almost all aspects of miners' lives by the coal town owners: the instability due to the lack of home ownership; the economic health of the town being directly related to the economic health of the mine; and the quality and availability of schools, recreation facilities, stores, churches, and sanitation being directly under the control of the operators.¹⁵

Kay Moor was generally typical of this pattern. The town was built within a year of the mine opening. Like most West Virginia coal towns, it was located on a railroad which offered a market for the coal and was the

¹⁵Ronald D. Eller, Miners, Millhands, and Mountaineers (Knoxville, University of Tennessee Press, 1982), pp. 162-163.

9. Major Bibliographical References

Previous documentation on file (NPS):

- ☐ preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested
- ☐ previously listed in the National Register
- ☐ previously determined eligible by the National Register
- ☐ designated a National Historic Landmark
- ☐ recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey # _____
- ☒ recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # WV-38

☒ See continuation sheet

Primary location of additional data:

- ☐ State historic preservation office
- ☐ Other State agency
- ☐ Federal agency
- ☐ Local government
- ☒ University
- ☐ Other

Specify repository:

University of Virginia Library
Charlottesville, VA

10. Geographical Data

Acreage of property 71.84 acres more or less

UTM References

A

Zone	Easting	Northing
------	---------	----------

B

Zone	Easting	Northing
------	---------	----------

C

Zone	Easting	Northing
------	---------	----------

D

Zone	Easting	Northing
------	---------	----------

☒ See continuation sheet

Verbal Boundary Description

☒ See continuation sheet

Boundary Justification

☒ See continuation sheet

11. Form Prepared By

name/title Sharon A. Brown

organization Denver Service Center National Park Service date 7/13/90

street & number 12795 W. Alameda Parkway telephone (303) 969-2419

city or town Denver state CO zip code 80225

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the New River and Pocahontas Consolidated Coal Company, a subsidiary of Berwind-White Corporation of Philadelphia.¹

Miners, equipment and townspeople were transported from the company towns located at the top and bottom of the gorge by a mountain haulage, a single track incline with a steam powered cable hoisting drum. Coal was lowered to the processing plant and beehive coke ovens located near the railroad tracks at the bottom of the gorge. This was a two-track gravity incline. Both of these systems operated, with few modifications, from 1900 until 1962.²

Kay Moor miners worked the mine in small rooms, known as the "room and pillar" system, to pick and blast the Sewell Seam coal face. They loaded the coal into cars, which were hauled to the main locomotive track and transported out of the mine. Mules were used at first to pull the cars, but were soon replaced by locomotives. Main haulage locomotives picked up the coal cars and pulled them to the surface. The mine cars were disconnected from the locomotive, which reentered the mine, and were either rolled to the headhouse or, if filled with slate, were hauled off on another incline to be dumped at the top of the gorge. Repairs were performed on the locomotives at the electrical shop while damaged coal cars and slate cars were sent to the car repair shop.³

The drift opening at Kay Moor was more than 500 vertical feet above the level of the processing plant. Coal was lowered 1000 feet down the 30 degree slope from the headhouse so it could be loaded into coke ovens or railroad cars. A two track gravity incline and two eight-ton monitor cars carried the coal down the slope. The two monitors were attached by wire rope cable to an eight-foot diameter drum in the headhouse at the mine opening. The cable was wound so that one monitor could be loaded at the top of the slope while the other was dumped at the bottom. The system was balanced so the loaded monitor rolling downhill turned the

¹Jerry Bruce Thomas, "Coal Country: The Rise of the Southern Smokeless Coal Industry and Its Effect on Area Development, 1872 - 1910" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1971), p. 101; Fayette Tribune, June 21, 1917; Lou Athey, Kaymoor A New River Community (n.p.: Eastern National Park & Monument Association, 1986), p. 2; Fayette Tribune, February 25, 1925. A major source of primary documentation on Kay Moor from 1900-1925 is the Papers of the Low Moor Iron Company, Accession 662, Manuscripts Division, Special Collections Department, University of Virginia Library.

²U. S. Department of the Interior. National Park Service. Historic American Engineering Record. "Kay Moor Coal Mine -- 1900 Fayetteville Vicinity West Virginia." HAER No. WV-38. Sheets 1 and 2.

³Ibid., Sheet 3; Keith Dix, Work Relations in the Coal Industry The Hand-Loading Era, 1880-1930 Institute for Labor Studies (Morgantown: West Virginia University, 1977), pp. 4-5.

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drum which pulled the empty monitor to the top. An operator controlled the rate of descent by working a brake. Thirty trips an hour could be made.⁴

The coal was moved from the drift opening to the railroad track level through a highly organized route. When the coal was taken from the mine it was taken to the headhouse, weighed, and dumped into a storage bin where it was fed directly into the monitor cars through two chutes. At the base of the monitor incline, the coal was discharged into a 100-ton capacity storage chute. A reciprocating feeder distributed the coal onto a horizontal belt conveyor which led into the processing plant. Up until 1924 a wooden tippie stood at the site; this burned and was replaced with more technologically efficient equipment. Berwind installed a new processing plant in 1925, and a Simon-Carves Baum Jig Washer around 1928, both built by Link Belt Co. of Chicago.⁵

Inside the plant the coal was either screened, or washed and then screened. The screening sorted the coal by size before it was loaded into railroad cars. The washing and screening process served to remove impurities from the coal before being sorted by size and loaded into the cars. When the Low Moor Iron Company owned Kay Moor the finer coal was coked in the beehive coke ovens located a short distance from the processing plant. After Kay Moor was purchased by the New River and Pocahontas Consolidated Coal Company the beehive coke ovens were shut down and the coal was shipped by rail to customers.⁶

The processing plant screening process involved the coal being sorted by shaking screens which sorted the coal into appropriate sizes to be transported to different parts of the processing plant for storage, washing, or loading. Screens measuring 9/16" and 5/8" were used to gather the slack coal which was fed through chutes into the slack storage tank, from where the coal could be loaded into railroad cars. Larger sizes of coal were sent one of two ways. Sizes passing through 3 and 3/4" screens were sent to the washer room by a conveyor fed by chutes which led off the main shaking screen. This coal was washed and sorted into various sizes for shipment. The largest sizes of coal, which did not pass through the 3 and 3/4" screens, were passed onto an apron conveyor loading boom. The large coal could also be sorted into lump and other sizes. A chute located under the large screens collected spillage to be transported by a chain conveyor to an unloading chute.⁷

Coal to be washed passed from a conveyor to the washbox of the Simon-Carves Baum Jig Washer. As coal passed across the washbox water pulsations produced in the agitator by four air piston jigs kept the coal suspended in water. Heavier articles of refuse dropped to the bottom of the washer where it was removed. As the coal reached the far end of the wash box it moved into sluices which carried it to sizing screens. These two shaker screens carried the fine and slack coal onto a flight conveyor leading back to the main screening room and to the railroad cars or the slack storage tank. The screens sorted the coal into 1/2" x 5/6" pea, 5/6"

⁴U. S. Department of the Interior. National Park Service. Historic American Engineering Record. "Kay Moor Coal Mine - 1900 Fayetteville Vicinity West Virginia." HAER No. WV-38. Sheet 2.

⁵Ibid., Sheets 2 and 9.

⁶Ibid., Sheet 2.

⁷Ibid., Sheets 9 and 11.

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x 1 and 3/4" nut, 1 and 1/4" x 3" stove, and 3" by 3 and 3/4" egg coal. These sizes could be run through a crusher, loaded separately, or mixed into combinations.⁸

Kay Moor, named for its builder James Kay, a Low Moor Iron Company employee, was a captive mine from 1900-1925. The mine and its accompanying coal town were self-sufficient. A workforce was housed in the company town, a steam powered generating plant located next to the processing plant supplied power, and coal was coked before being shipped to Low Moor. Additional surplus coal was sold on the open market.

The making of coke began at Kay Moor soon after the mine opened. In June 1901 a battery of 120 coke ovens were completed near the processing plant next to the railroad. These ovens were beehive ovens made of firebrick. Each was a circular, vaulted chamber with a flat tile bottom. The ovens had an opening at the top and an arched door at the bottom. A fire was built inside the oven to heat the firebrick, and the coal was added from the top from a "larry" car, which ran on tracks on top of the ovens. The coal was then burned for forty-eight or seventy-two hours with low oxygen. Workers then opened the door, watered down the fire, and withdrew the brittle, grey coke. Fifty-nine more ovens of the same size, shape and dimensions were built in 1917 by the Janutolo Construction Company of Fayetteville, West Virginia. A total of 202 coke ovens operated during World War I. These ovens were closed in the 1930s.⁹

The present condition of the mine site has been altered from its condition during the mining operation because of the growth of trees and foliage. Adverse weather had deteriorated some of the buildings onsite. Trees have also grown in and among the coke oven batteries. Caustic action of water mixing with the coal dust has deteriorated both wood and metal. Otherwise, the site is relatively physically intact. The site's bench level was salvaged in 1981-1982. The presence of the Sewell Seam dictated the location of the mine entry, while the steepness of the gorge slope determined that the mine be a drift mine, and the use of conveyor and incline systems to move both coal and people up and down the gorge wall to the mine and town sites. Springs, wells and the river provided water for both the coal processing and the townspeople, while the railroad guaranteed transportation of both coal and people. The current physical environment continues to determine general characteristics of not only West Virginia coal mining, but the nature of the industry in mountain areas -- isolated, and located next to railroads and rivers or streams.

All of the mine entries and auxiliary coal processing and administrative structures contribute to the district's significance. Many industrial artifacts associated with the mining and processing tasks are strewn over the site. Most of these are in a rusted, deteriorated condition, but many are salvageable and appropriate for interpreting the coal mining industry.

⁸Ibid., Sheet 9.

⁹Athey, Kaymoor, pp. 14-16; Thomas, "Coal Country," pp. 116-117.

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THE TOWN

The coal town of Kay Moor consisted of two sections; Kay Moor Top, located at the top of the New River Gorge, and Kay Moor Bottom, located at the bottom of the gorge next to the river and the south side main line of the C&O. (Only a small portion of Kay Moor Top is located within the boundary of the New River Gorge National River; therefore, the town site will not be included within this nomination. Any change in its status will be dealt with in a later nomination. The CSX tracks next to the New River are also not included in the nomination.) The settlement of Kay Moor was an adaptation to the environment. The layout of mines and town in New River Gorge was dictated by geography, with mine workings and housing being placed as close as possible to the drift mouth wherever flat space existed. The railroad imposed a linear pattern to the settlement, which was also affected by the narrow valley and the river front. The gorge forced settlement into a linear pattern, which in Kay Moor's case, was a two-tiered effect; top and bottom of the gorge, in addition to the vertical mining operation. Kay Moor Bottom was blessed with more level space than most West Virginia coal towns.¹⁰

The first houses were constructed in Kay Moor in 1901. Fifty were built that year, with 45 more in 1902, and 17 in 1905. An additional settlement, called "New Camp" or "New Town," of 19-24 houses was built a short distance from Kay Moor Top in 1918-1919. Although it is located outside the New River Gorge National River boundary, New Camp represents the only extant town site connected with Kay Moor. It is not known how many houses were built at the top and bottom of the gorge during the years of house construction. Maintenance on the houses was done by the Low Moor Iron Company and presumably by the New River and Pocahontas Consolidated Coal Company.¹¹

In 1923 there were 131 houses at Kay Moor. Eighteen were on the public road, 48 were located on the company road, 65 were not located on a road. All of the houses in 1923 were single family dwellings. All had four rooms, fireplaces or stoves, single floors, and were made of wood with a ground floor size of 34 ft. x 34 ft. The outside finish of the houses was board and batten, the exceptions being 17 of the 1902 houses and all of the 1918 houses being covered with weather board. The inside finish of most of the houses was wood sheath, with the 1918 houses having plastered lathe. Electricity was available in all 50 of the 1901 houses, but only in 28 of the 1902 houses. Only 25 of the 1901 houses had inside running water. All of the houses, regardless of construction date, had roofs of composition paper, rock post foundations, privy and a coal shed, but no cellars. In 1923 the Kay Moor houses were all bungalows.¹²

¹⁰R. T. Hill, "Line Villages in Southern West Virginia: Examples in the New River Gorge," Proceedings New River Symposium Pipestem, West Virginia, April 11-13, 1985, pp. 123-124.

¹¹Athey, Kaymoor, p. 32.

¹²Record Group-68, United States Coal Commission, Records of the Division of Investigation of Labor Facts, Living Conditions Section, Completed Mining Community "A" Schedules, (Form LC-12), with Camp Ratings 1922-23. (Logan District, W.Va. - New River District W. Va.), Entry 62, Box 31, National Archives, Suitland, Maryland.

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In 1923 inhabitants were supplied with drinking water from nine hydrants, eight drilled wells, four springs, and river water. This amounted to 21 supply points for 106 houses, while 25 others had indoor plumbing. The sewage system consisted of surface privies for all 131 houses. The privies were not flyproof and had no covers or screens. Each family had its own privy, located anywhere from 20 to 100 feet from the house. Most garbage was thrown to the animals. Waste water was thrown out onto the ground or disposed of through 25 piped drains.¹³

Kay Moor's appearance in 1923 personified the typical West Virginia coal town. There were no streetlights in Kay Moor in 1923. There were no sidewalks, but hard paths led from house to house. Fences were around each house, and were generally well kept. Most families grew gardens and kept chickens, pigs and cows. There was no bank, no churches and no saloons in Kay Moor Top and Bottom proper. There was a theatre and a tennis court at Kay Moor Bottom. Other recreational facilities included a ball field and pool hall. There was no union hall or other public hall. Because the facilities at Kay Moor were segregated, there were two grade schools at Kay Moor Top and two at Kay Moor Bottom. These were segregated schools for black and white students. The post office was located in one of the company stores.¹⁴

Kay Moor Bottom was abandoned in 1952 and most of the inhabitants moved out. In April 1960 most of the vacant structures were destroyed by fire. Most remaining houses were dismantled. The present site of Kay Moor Bottom is intact and discernable. It is partially overgrown with brush, kudzu, and trees. Only sections of one house remains standing, while an adjacent house has collapsed. Foundations of houses are visible, with a few chimneys in ruins. The major ruin is of company store #9, located between the C&O tracks and the river.

CONTRIBUTING RESOURCES**Kay Moor Mine No. 1**

1. Mine – Kay Moor No. 1, opened in 1900 and closed in 1962, was mined by the room and pillar system. The main opening is a double drift entry with two parallel openings and side openings at a 90 degree angle. Side entries were spaced at 450-foot intervals. Running parallel to the main entry were rooms, opened backward toward the main entry. The rooms were not spaced far apart, and openings into them facilitated air circulation. In 1902 the openings, or break-throughs, were 45 to 50 feet apart. The pillars, left between the rooms and break-throughs, were spaced 45 to 50 feet apart. The pillars served to support the roof. At the time Kay Moor No. 1 was opened a transition in mining techniques was occurring, from pick mining to the use of compressed air punching machines which would undercut the coal seam. By 1905 more efficient chain breast cutting machines were being used. By the 1930s conveyors were used, eliminating much of the handloading, although some handloading remained until the mine closed. The intent of the nomination is to protect what is visible at the mine openings, and to include at least first cross side openings to illustrate the room and pillar mining technique.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Ibid.

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2. Drift Opening with Roof Bolts – n.d., Located north of the main mining complex along the Sewell Bench, this opening was cut into the rock face of the gorge, 13 ft. wide and 6 ft. high at some points. The opening is oval in shape, but much material has sloughed off which prohibits an accurate idea of its former size. Metal roof bolts extend down from the natural rock roof. Much rock roof material has fallen, yet the coal seam is visible on the sides of the opening. A low concrete retaining wall extends along the right side, and timbering is visible. The Office of Surface Mining placed an iron bat gate over this opening during reclamation efforts in fall 1987-spring 1988.

3. Fan House Drift Opening – Built by New River and Pocahontas Consolidated Coal Company after 1928, located 200 ft. north of Butcher Branch. Main opening was cut into the gorge in a westerly direction. A steel channel frame is on the opening exterior, 9.8 ft. wide and 10.3 ft. high. Concrete walls, 6 inches thick, are connected to the frame and extend 6 ft. back into the opening. The walls were originally tied into the excavated rock sides, but have broken off. The roof was once lined with concrete for 20 ft., but much has fallen. The opening is visible for 50 ft. before it bends, and has a height of 15 ft. Steel beams placed perpendicular to the drift form the floor and are tied into the rock wall on each side. Rails laid on top of the beams are visible. The coal seam, 4 ft. thick, is visible. Water flows out of the opening 10 ft. beneath the steel beams. The fan house remnants consist of the corners of two walls with three window openings and a section of a concrete roof. This sits on top of a concrete slab spanning a drift opening filled with water. This opening is 6 ft. wide and 5 ft. high, with steel beams supporting the concrete roof, which also serves as a floor of the fan house. The Office of Surface Mining placed an iron bat gate, with a door for access, over this opening during reclamation efforts in 1987-1988.

4. Right Main Drift Entry – n.d., Northernmost of a three entry drift complex, cut directly into layered, weathered rock located on the Sewell Bench. The opening is 12.5 ft wide and 6 ft. high. Material from the roof has sloughed and partially covers the opening floor. Many timbers stand up from the floor but no longer support the roof. The Office of Surface Mining placed an iron bat gate over this opening during reclamation efforts in 1987-1988.

5. Right Main Drift Entry – n.d., Middle drift entrance, 12 ft. wide and 11 ft. high, the opening is visible for 18 ft., thereon it is caved in. Surrounding rock is layered and weathered. The Office of Surface Mining filled in this opening with a form core covered with soil, during reclamation efforts in 1987-1988.

6. Right Main Drift Entry – n.d., Southernmost drift entry, was cut into the gorge in a westerly direction, and is 8.5 ft. wide and 6 ft. high. Concrete blocks are placed above the opening about 5 ft. high and along the right side to retain the slope. Concrete lines the left wall for 10 ft. The right wall and roof are lined with rock for 6 ft. Beyond the opening the entry is filled with timber and caved rock. The Office of Surface Mining filled in this opening with a form core covered with soil, during reclamation efforts in 1987-1988.

7. Fan House and Shop – Built c. 1919, the first fan houses on this location were wooden, all destroyed by fires. This concrete and brick fan house adjacent to the right main drift entry complex was built by the Low Moor Iron Company. The replacement fans forced air into the mine, a change from the previous exhaust system which drew air through the main drift entry. Abandoned, allowed to deteriorate, only one wall and a portion of another remain. The foundation is of natural stone. Attached to the fan house are three extant walls of a shop building, made from natural stone. No roof remains for either building. Extending above the fan house

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is a concrete exhaust chimney 10.2 ft. long and 7.4 ft. wide, with walls 14 inches thick. The concrete roof, 6 ft. high, serves as a base for a coal bin, 20 ft. above the floor of the mine opening. A concrete slab roof extends from the base of the fan exhaust to the drift opening. The slab roof is supported by steel I-beams. As this nomination form was being updated, work was underway to demolish part of the fan house because its deterioration posed a safety threat to visitors on the Mary Ingles Trail.

8. Tipple or Car Dump – n.d., Constructed of large wooden timbers and corrugated tin roof, used as a loadout facility. The structure is in very poor condition and is collapsing.

9. Electrical Substation – n.d., This structure is partially demolished, only remnants of concrete foundations remain.

10. Headhouse – c. 1899., Located at the main drift opening, served as a tipple and cable drum room for the monitor incline. Approximately 100 ft. long and 25 ft. wide, constructed primarily of wooden timbers, 18 to 24 inches in thickness. Steel plates are used as brackets and braces to join the timber framework. The roof was of wood sheathing, covered with asphaltic roofing material. The structure has been modified, including replacement of coal car dumping equipment, but it probably is the original structure built in 1899-1900. The scales are missing. The first car dumpers in the headhouse were probably cradle or side dumps that tipped coal cars sideways. The headhouse is in poor condition; much of the timbering is rotted. Salvors pulled the roof off between 1981-82. In 1989 stabilization efforts were undertaken to prevent the headhouse's collapse.

11. Left Drift Entry – n.d., Located immediately across the bench level from the headhouse and upslope. The roof of the entry was falling in, rail headers were visible, and much fallen slate was visible. Most of the approximately 18-20 ft. entry was filled in, yet the back portion was intact. The Office of Surface Mining filled in this opening with a form core covered with soil, during reclamation efforts in 1987-1988.

12. Left Drift Entry – n.d., Located upslope from the bench level, this entry has minimal cave in and the entrance is clear. Remnants of railroad ties can be seen. The Office of Surface Mining filled in this opening with a form core covered with soil, during reclamation efforts in 1987-1988.

13. Main Left Drift Entry – n.d., One of the main openings of the Kay Moor complex. A concrete headwall, inscribed "1927," is on top of the opening, supported by a steel I-beam. The opening is 17 ft. wide, and 8 ft. high. Other steel I-beams are spaced 15, 14, and 12 feet apart back into the opening for 41 ft. The I-beams support the concrete roof. The concrete area was used as a waiting room for the miners. Wooden ties are on the entry floor, along with a steel hopper. Visible distance in the entry extends 60 ft. The Office of Surface Mining placed an iron bat gate, with a door for access, over this opening during reclamation efforts in 1987-1988.

14. Lamp House/Superintendent's Office – Built c. early 1950s, cinder block building, 56 ft. long and 17 ft. wide, with walls of 9 ft. high, held lamp house where miners would store their lamps, and offices. The northern and a portion of the eastern walls are missing; the roof is missing but steel I-beams are used for roof trusses. Miners once hung their lamps on the extant racks. Much iron debris and racks were strewn about, and salvaged as artifactual evidence.

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15. Concrete Staircase – n.d., Led from the bench level to a 30-40 foot stone escarpment, and continued up to the hoisthouse/haulage waiting area at the top of the gorge. The stairs served as an alternative to riding the mountain haulage. Extant remains include the steps, made of concrete, and sections of metal railing. The steps are covered with lichens, but were cleared of leaves and other vegetation in 1989.

16. Arched Drift Entry – n.d., Entry topped by a stone arch, 5 ft. high and 16 ft. wide. A concrete headwall sits on top of the opening. A concrete and stone wingwall retains the right side slope. A 76 ft. concrete retaining wall connects to the arch on the left side. The entry walls are lined with concrete block for 15 ft. The concrete roof is racked, broken, and supported by rails and timber. Some railroad ties remain on the floor. Visible distance in the entry is 30 ft. The Office of Surface Mining placed an iron bat gate, with a door for access, over this opening during reclamation efforts in 1987-1988.

17. Water Tank – n.d., Located up gorge wall above arched drift entry, and can be reached by stairs. The tank, approximately 20 ft. high and circular in shape, is steel and sits on T-rails and 4 sections of concrete foundation. Appears to be in good condition.

18. Mountain Haulage or Tram – n.d., Built to haul miners, townspeople, and equipment up and down the gorge. Extant remains include concrete foundations I-beam steel tracks, wooden structures with rollers, wooden ties, and bolts. Remnants of a hoist house is at Kay Moor Top.

19. Kay Moor Safety Board – n.d., Wooden bulletin board once displayed mine safety and other notices. It had fallen down and was rotting in 1986; however, in 1989, clearing and stabilization crews working at Kay Moor reconstructed the safety board by standing it up, painting it, and placing it alongside the Mary Ingles Trail. The board was moved about 25 ft. upslope due to ongoing stabilization efforts.

20. Coal Car Repair Shop – n.d., Wood frame two-story structure, bottom floor served as a repair shop for coal cars, top floor was office and storage space. Abandoned, and in very deteriorated condition. Numerous abandoned mine cars are strewn on the slope below the bench. Remnants also include a concrete platform, 61 ft. long and 28 ft. wide, with thickness of four inches, located on the downslope side of the bench between the car repair shop and the lamp house. A concrete retaining wall, seven ft. high is connected to the platform, which is supported by I-beam stringers, 12 inches deep on two ft. centers. Platform is in good condition.

21. Steel I-beam – n.d., Erected over bench level, main beam is 28 ft. long, 2.2 ft. deep with height of 15 ft. above the bench. A partial painted message is readable, "YOUR FAMILY WANTS YOU TO WORK SAFELY."

22. Powder House – n.d., Located along the Sewell Bench, south of the major drift openings, excavated into the hillside above the bench. Main building is 20 ft. x 19 ft., with walls of stone 1 ft. thick placed on a natural rock foundation, 3 ft. high. This is one of the best preserved structures, reflecting quality workmanship and materials. Black powder and fuses were stored here, later became a storage room for detonator caps and dynamite. The main building has a steel door with a circular opening for storing explosives. The ceiling is concrete supported by steel rails which extend to the walls. Wooden rafters form the roof pitch, which has a wooden subroof covered with tin shingles and corrugated metal. The north and east walls are stone, the south wall is concrete with wooden timbers and the west wall is concrete to a 3 ft. height with stone on top. The

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floor consists of wooden planks. An added room, which served as a detonator storage room, about 10 ft. square, has stone walls and a flat roof installed in 1989. Outer portions of the structure are relatively intact. A temporary roof was placed over the structure in 1989.

23. Cap Magazine – n.d., Located immediately adjacent to the north, but not attached to the powder house, is this structure of brick, 4 ft. x 3.5 ft., with a steel door. Probably used as a cap magazine. The structure was stabilized in 1989.

24. Twin Drift Openings – n.d., Located 500 ft. south of the powder house on the bench level, the openings are 30 ft. apart. Loose rock has filled in so that no significant openings remain. The easternmost opening has loose rock with old mine cars and debris. Southeast of it are the remains of a wooden loadout, built by punch miners in the 1950s. The westernmost opening contained loose rock with an excavated area above it. Opposite stands a concrete retaining wall, 4 ft. high and 75 ft. long.

25. Electrical Shop – n.d., Electric locomotives were repaired in this shop. No extant remains except for a concrete slab with a rectangular concrete well recess, or trough, 24 ft. long, 6 ft. wide, which was infilled in 1989, debris, and a stone wall on the bench slope. The trough probably served as a motor pit.

26. Slate Disposal Incline – Built as early as 1919, replaced earlier system of dumping slate down the slope near the electrical shop. The only evidence remaining are two tunnels, cut through the cap rock at the top of the gorge, through which the slate car tracks passed.

27. Cap House – Built prior to 1932, located halfway down haulage on gorge wall. The house is brick on a concrete foundation, with an iron door, handle and peephole. The roof is corrugated tin with a wooden ceiling and metal grates on 2 side vents. The house is 8 ft. tall and 15 ft deep, and is in excellent condition.

28. Water Tank – n.d., Located halfway down the gorge wall from the Sewell Bench to the conveyor, the tank is 20 ft. high. It sits on 8 "T"-rails across 4 concrete slabs and is in good condition.

29. Monitor Incline – n.d., Built by New River and Pocahontas Consolidated Coal Company, consisted of two sets of parallel tracks. The drum cable on the monitor incline lowered rather than raised coal; thus the workings inside the headhouse consisted of only the cable drum and cement moorings. The two monitors were on cables precisely wound to take advantage of the gravity. Extant remains include two sets of tracks, ties, stone support walls and support timbers. Strewn debris consists of rails and cables.

30. Monitors – n.d., Four of these remain on the site, one on the slope, one in the ruins of the conveyor house, and two at Kay Moor bottom, on a side track near the oil tanks. Each monitor carried 8 tons of coal, with a 45 degree angle open loading chute at one end, a chute on the other end, all riding on wheels. The cargo boxes are 12 ft. long 4 ft. wide, made of sheet steel with bolts. The monitor in the conveyor house ruins remains hitched onto cable.

31. Conveyor – n.d., Built by New River and Pocahontas Consolidated Coal Company, consists of house and conveyor. Monitors emptied coal into the house where it was fed onto covered conveyor. The wooden house

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is in ruins, with a collapsed roof. The extant conveyor, in good condition, has rollers, corrugated tin roof, side railings, and stands on steel frames.

32. Sand House – Built c. 1950s, located west of the processing plant, the house is of concrete block with a corrugated tin roof, and is supported by steel rails and wooden beams. Much rail and machinery debris is strewn about the structure, along with a sand dryer inside. A sand car remains on rails next to the house. Sand was used for traction on the rails for the electric locomotives.

33. Oil Tanks – Built prior to 1932, located next to sand house, is small wooden pumphouse with two oil storage tanks. Both tanks sit on concrete platforms and are approximately 25 ft. long and 5 ft and 6 ft. in diameter. They are railroad tanker cars with their carriages removed.

34. Car Dropper – n.d., Located northwest of oil tanks on railroad tracks. Ruins are of a wooden shelter used to haul or drop cars into the processing plant.

35. Tin Shelter – n.d., Located next to processing plant, consists of 4 walls and roof, all corrugated tin. The structure contains wooden benches, with front and back door, a small back room, metal screens on windows, and is approximately 10 ft. wide, 15 ft. long. The shelter served as the "tipple" boss' office.

36. Processing Plant – Built c. 1925, the extant structure is a totally different one from the original. The first feed system of coal from the monitors to the processing plant is difficult to document; however, the original plant probably consisted of facilities and equipment for recovering, storing and transferring slack to the coke ovens. These facilities were dismantled after the coke ovens were abandoned. Because most of Kay Moor's output was run-of-mine coal intended for blast furnaces, no elaborate preparation, or processing equipment was probably needed. The limited number of coal sizes needed required only three loading tracks. The first track, nearest the slope wall, loaded slack, the second loaded nut and egg, while the third loaded lump. The tipple burned in 1924 and the extant structure, a corrugated metal, brick and concrete five-track processing plant, was built soon after. The Link Belt Company of Chicago supplied the belt conveyor from the monitor track, the main shaker screens and two loading booms. The facility also contained a large flight conveyor and slack storage tank. An exact date of construction is unknown. It is not known if the coal washing plant is part of the original plant or was added, no earlier than 1928. The Simon-Carves Baum Jig Washer is the most significant piece of machinery extant at Kay Moor Mine No. 1. The processing plant contains three major systems: the screening system, the slack recovery and storage system and the coal washing and sorting system. The screens could be changed to suit customer demands for different size coals.

37. Power House – Built 1900, to produce compressed air needed to power the ventilation fan and compressed air coal cutters, located next to processing plant. Steam was supplied by three 72" diameter 18-foot Erie City boilers, with a capacity of 150 horsepower each. Between 1902-1903 the power house was enlarged for a new steam engine and dynamo. An additional Erie City Boiler was installed. Electricity was produced for the mine locomotive, the mountain haulage motor, electric lights and other purposes. By 1915 an Atlas Water Tube boiler was installed with two generators. In 1916 a rotary convertor for transforming AC to DC power was installed. By 1919 a new turbine and Sterling boiler was installed. The power house also contained a Ballwood steam engine and Buckeye and Exciter engines. However, the plant never produced adequate power. After 1927 electricity was purchased from the local power company. Abandoned, and allowed to deteriorate, with 3 rooms,

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and partial roof. The structure contains arched entrances, screened and open windows, and the roof in the middle room is supported by steel girders. Much debris is strewn around the building, including machinery, turbines, coal screens, rope wheels, links, and other equipment. There is high probability that toxic materials are on the site.

38. Coke Ovens – Built 1901 and 1917, stand in two batteries of 101 ovens each, built of firebrick and stone, with arched stone doorways and iron handles. The ovens are located on both sides of each battery. Several ovens are numbered. Railroad tracks are no longer located beside or on top of the ovens. Abandoned, allowed to deteriorate with foliage growing around them. Some ovens are in good condition while others are almost in ruins. Cut stone sleepers survive on top of the ovens.

NONCONTRIBUTING

39. Truck Road, built c. 1950s by unknown persons, was used to haul coal from the site by truck, rather than use the railroad. The road extends from Fayette Station Road underneath the New River Bridge, along the Sewell Bench level past the Kay Moor complex and up to the top of the gorge. The road is unpaved. The Mary Ingles Chapter of the West Virginia Scenic Trails Association of Fayetteville wishes to use the road as part of a trail system. The section of road from the Kay Moor bench level to the top of the gorge was used daily by the stabilization crew in 1989.

Kay Moor Top

CONTRIBUTING

40. Hoist House/Haulage complex – n.d., Located directly above the Kay Moor complex on top of the gorge, consists of concrete foundation and partial stone and brick walls shaped as an oblong room. Timbers and iron rails are also visible. Used as part of the haulage system, containing a hoist and rope to carry people and machinery up and down the gorge wall. The structure is in a very deteriorated condition. The haulage waiting room presently consists of a tunnel and remnants of the waiting area. Also remaining are sections of a wooden trestle over the rock escarpment, the haulage bull wheel, and stone foundations of an early hoisthouse, all located at the bottom of the steps at the cliff.

Kay Moor Bottom

CONTRIBUTING

41. Company Store #9 – n.d., Located between the railroad tracks and river, two-story stone building used as mercantile establishment. Ruins include partial walls, stone foundations and adjacent ice house.

42. Kay Moor Bottom town site – Originally built 1901, 1903, and 1905, the town site is located next to the railroad tracks and coke ovens. Stone foundations and chimneys are scattered throughout the trees at the west

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end of the site. Kudzu covers remaining foundations at the east end of the site which burned in 1960 and is still largely clear of trees. Railroad tracks run through the site. Future vegetation removal and archeological work could result in the gathering of more information on the town site, i.e. placement of houses, orientation of pathways, gardens, fences, and outbuildings. Also remaining are various railroad-associated features, such as side tracks, retaining walls, and trestles.

43. Kay Moor Bottom houses – n.d., ruins of two houses remain in the trees above the railroad tracks, west of the Kay Moor Bottom town site. Both are in very deteriorated condition and one has fallen over.

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Berwind, Charles F.

reason for the town's existence. Residents had easy access to outside communities and cities, but Kay Moor offered no stability in terms of property ownership or job security. Control was the key to life in a company town, and certain aspects of life were dictated by the coal mine owners. Miners were not allowed the right to join a union for many years, and the town died when the mine was closed.¹⁶

The Kay Moor site was part of a larger economic picture; the coal and coke produced at the site fueled the Virginia iron industry from 1900-1925 and was subsequently shipped nationwide as part of the larger national and international market supplied by the New River and Pocohontas Consolidated Coal and Coke Company. The Kay Moor mine and town are examples of the coal mining system which dominated in West Virginia after the 1870s. This system was composed of mines located on a railroad, supported by a company town built and controlled by the coal operator. Few true company towns exist in West Virginia today. Private ownership, automobiles, and roads all contributed to the demise of company-owned towns.

The story of Kay Moor's mine and town history is representative of West Virginia's coal mining history. The traditional ways of mountain life were transformed with the coming of the railroad and coal industry. New ways of thinking and value systems were introduced by industrialists who controlled not only the coal companies and labor, but owned the land. Labor was provided by southern blacks and European immigrants who came to work the railroads and mines. In Kay Moor's case, capitalists such as Abiel Abbott Low founded the Low Moor Iron Company and purchased the New River property while Collis P. Huntington helped push the C&O through the New River Gorge, which resulted in the coalfields being opened. Charles F. Berwind, president of the Berwind-White Corporation of Philadelphia, owned Kay Moor after 1925, through the New River and Pocahontas Consolidated Coal and Coke Company, a subsidiary.¹⁷

Coal was very important to the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The growth of the bituminous coal industry occurred after 1850 to fuel steam locomotives and river steamers, and to power the burgeoning industrial order. Bituminous coal was cheaper than anthracite, more abundant, easier to mine,

¹⁶Ibid., p. 162; Morton S. Baratz, The Union and The Coal Industry (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955; reprint ed., Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, Publishers, 1983), p. 69.

¹⁷ David Alan Corbin, Life, Work, and Rebellion in the Coal Fields: The Southern West Virginia Miners 1880-1922 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981), pp. 6-7; Kenneth R. Bailey, "A Judicious Mixture: Negroes and Immigrants in the West Virginia Mines, 1880-1917," in Blacks in Appalachia, ed. William H. Turner and Edward J. Cabbell (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1985), p. 117; Athey, Kaymoor, p. 47.

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and soon became a more important fuel source. Another major factor influencing the development of a West Virginia coal industry was the belief that an iron boom was beginning in Virginia in the 1880s. Virginia's blast furnaces were fed by West Virginia coals. In 1910, 75 percent of the energy used in the United States was supplied by coal. Within a few decades West Virginia's cheaper and superior coals outsold the midwestern fields. These coals were cheaper in part due to the easier slope mining and the low labor costs associated with the absence of the United Mine Workers of America on any significant scale until 1933.¹⁸

The Kay Moor complex is unique as a district because it has been relatively isolated and its mining features are intact, although deteriorated. The pattern of events which occurred at Kay Moor -- including the mine's opening and town construction by outside industrial interests, its clearly identifiable solutions to the problems of coal mining within steep gorge walls, its economic contribution to both coal and coke use, the use of immigrant and black labor, the fierce struggle to keep out the United Mine Workers of America, the observable transition from hand loading to mechanical processing from the extant equipment, and the legacy of coal town society which influenced West Virginia history to a great extent -- are all nationally significant due to the impact West Virginia coal mining had upon the national scene in economic, social, industrial, and labor terms. These events reflected the fortunes of the coal mining industry in America as well as the pig iron industry in Virginia. Events involving union issues reflected the broader national struggles. The mining technology used both inside and outside the mine reflected prevalent useage in drift mining in the New River coalfields.

Very little data exists on West Virginia coal mines, even within the New River Gorge, against which to compare Kay Moor. The only other known extant coal mine within the gorge which has relatively intact support structures is located at Nuttallburg. The extant mining facilities associated with this mine are of a completely different type than that associated with Kay Moor. The conveyance system is of primary importance; there was no monitor system for transporting the coal from the seam to the river, but there was a button and string operation. It is not understood how many processes were developed to overcome the 630 ft. drop from the coal seam to the river; these two conveyance systems are the only two known within the New River Gorge National River even though at one time there were more than 40 mines operating within the gorge. There is no town left at Nuttallburg. It is not known where people lived, or if there was a similar haulage system, as at Kay Moor.

The state of West Virginia has no survey of coal mines in the state. There is also no cultural resource inventory of features located within the New River "Smokeless" coal fields. It is known that Kay Moor is the most intact coal mining site within the boundary of the New River Gorge National River. Dr. Kenneth Sullivan, author of "Coal Men and Coal Towns: Development of the Smokeless Coalfields of Southern West Virginia 1873-1923," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1979, is editor of Goldenseal and Folklife Director for the Department of Culture and History, Charleston, West Virginia. In his opinion, no other comparable site to Kay Moor exists in Fayette and Raleigh counties, West Virginia. According to Dr. Sullivan, Kay Moor is representative of West Virginia coal mines; topographically the entire mining site is undisturbed and is unlikely to be disturbed.

¹⁸Thomas, "Coal Country," pp. 2-5; Eller, Miners, p. 128.

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Dr. Emory Kemp of the Department of History, Program for the History of Science and Technology, West Virginia University, has been involved with numerous projects regarding industrial archeology in West Virginia for the past 20 years. In his opinion:

the Kay Moor Mining Complex is the finest example of a coal mine operation in the great southern West Virginia-Virginia Coal Fields that [he has] discovered over the past two decades. It represents a unique historical resource epitomizing both the technical and social history of coal mining in the middle Atlantic Region. Other examples of mining . . . exist but none of them represent the history of coal mining from the 1870s to the Second World War, because of the extensive surviving structures which represent nearly all aspects of coal mining over more than a century.¹⁹

Even though no survey of coal mine properties is available against which to compare Kay Moor, it is believed to be the most representative, relatively intact, coal mine complex remaining in the New River region of West Virginia.

¹⁹Correspondence, Emory L. Kemp to Sharon A. Brown, December 5, 1989.

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UTM References

USGS 7.5' Series Fayetteville quadrangle
UTM locations:

A 17 E 493 900 N 42 10 800
B 17 E 494 140 N 42 10 580
C 17 E 494 340 N 42 10 680
D 17 E 494 280 N 42 10 880
E 17 E 494 470 N 42 10 960
F 17 E 494 700 N 42 10 860
G 17 E 495 400 N 42 10 940
H 17 E 495 410 N 42 11 240
I 17 E 494 400 N 42 11 160
J 17 E 494 380 N 42 11 000
K 17 E 494 200 N 42 10 920
L 17 E 494 140 N 42 11 020
M 17 E 493 740 N 42 11 300
N 17 E 493 690 N 42 11 300
O 17 E 493 700 N 42 11 200
P 17 E 494 060 N 42 11 000
Q 17 E 494 090 N 42 10 880

Verbal Boundary Description

All that certain tract or parcel of land lying and being situated in Plateau District, Fayette County, West Virginia, consisting of the following three (3) parcels, and being more particularly described as follows:

Parcel 1: BEGINNING at a point on the centerline of a trail, said point having West Virginia State Plane Coordinates (South Zone) of N 382,880 and E 1,979,400; thence, leaving the centerline of said trail,

South 72 degrees 16' 19" West 15.00 feet; thence

North 87 degrees 15' 56" West 95.82 feet; thence

South 00 degrees 00' 00" West 300.00 feet to a point on Butcher Branch; thence, leaving said

Butcher Branch,

North 88 degrees 11' 26" East 98.29 feet; thence

North 06 degrees 44' 24" East 15.00 feet to a point on the centerline of said trail; thence,

leaving said centerline,

North 51 degrees 20' 25" East 19.21 feet; thence

North 11 degrees 46' 06" West 122.58 feet; thence

North 12 degrees 30' 24" East 158.33 feet; thence

South 72 degrees 15' 19" West 15.00 feet to the centerline of said trail and the point of

beginning.

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The above parcel of land contains 0.71 of an acre, more or less.

Parcel 2: BEGINNING at the aforementioned point on the centerline of said trail, said point being on or near the center of Butcher Branch and having West Virginia State Plane Coordinates (South Zone) of N 382, 598 and E 1,979,390, said Parcel 2 to consist of a strip of land fifteen (15) feet to each side of a trail described approximately by the following centerline bearings and distances:

South 83 degrees 15' 36" East 110.77 feet;
South 48 degrees 20' 18" East 169.99 feet;
South 82 degrees 58' 38" East 139.04 feet;
North 59 degrees 44' 37" East 208.39 feet;
South 59 degrees 02' 10" East 87.46 feet;
South 15 degrees 45' 04" West 121.57 feet;
South 25 degrees 05' 53" East 384.28 feet;
South 86 degrees 45' 54" East 230.37 feet;
South 45 degrees 00' 00" East 193.75 feet to the end of said Parcel 2.

The above parcel of land contains 1.13 acres, more or less.

Parcel 3: BEGINNING at a point on the centerline of a trail, said point being the end point of the above described Parcel 2, having West Virginia State Plane Coordinates (South Zone) of N 381,900 and E 1,980,517; thence, leaving said centerline

South 45 degrees 00' 00" West 15.00 feet; thence
South 72 degrees 17' 28" West 80.19 feet; thence
South 22 degrees 37' 12" East 455.00 feet; thence
South 66 degrees 25' 06" West 687.41 feet; thence
South 48 degrees 44' 40" East 1,073.99 feet; thence
North 66 degrees 53' 35" East 732.82 feet; thence
North 20 degrees 22' 10" West 765.47 feet; thence
North 65 degrees 45' 08" East 652.57 feet; thence
South 63 degrees 44' 59" East 813.94 feet; thence
North 83 degrees 00' 00" East 2,325.00 feet; thence

North 10000.00 feet, more or less, to a point on the southerly edge of New River, said point also being on the westerly boundary line of that same land upon which a "flowage" easement was acquired by The Franklin Real Estate Company from the Electro Metallurgical Company by deed dated December 20, 1930, and recorded in Deed Book 72, page 277, in the Office of the County Clerk of Fayette County, West Virginia; thence along said southerly edge of New River westerly downstream 3,500 feet, more or less, to a point on the northeast extension of a line, said line referred to as "South 40 degrees 36' 05" West 230.49 feet" in that certain deed showing land acquired by Berwind Land Company from New River and Pocahontas Consolidated Coal Company, dated January 1, 1930 and recorded January 27, 1930 in Deed Book 70, page 262, in the Office of the County Clerk of Fayette County, West Virginia; thence South 40 degrees 36' 05"

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West 180.00 feet, more or less, to a point on the westerly or southerly right-of-way line of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway Company's (CSX) South Side Branch; thence continuing;

South 40 degrees 36' 05" West 230.49 feet; thence

South 48 degrees 34' 35" East 340.07 feet; thence

South 65 degrees 33' 22" West 749.15 feet; thence

North 21 degrees 55' 24" West 436.57 feet; thence

South 72 degrees 57' 11" West 185.55 feet; thence

South 45 degrees 00' 00" West 15.00 feet to the centerline of aforementioned trail and the point of beginning, excepting the reserving from the above described parcel those lands of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway Company's (CSX) right-of-way.

The above parcel of land contains 70.00 acres, more or less.

The above bearings and distances are based upon the "West Virginia State Plane Coordinate System, South Zone."

Boundary Justification

The Kay Moor boundary includes all lands owned by the New River Gorge National River, National Park Service, containing extant features relating to the Kay Moor Coal Mine No. 1 complex. Features which visually tie together the mining operation are included. This includes remnants of the hoist house used to operate the mountain haulage at the top of the gorge, all of the mine entries and related structures located on the Sewell bench level, the monitor/conveyor systems leading down to the river level, the processing plant, power plant and coke ovens, and the Kay Moor Bottom town site. The active CSX Railroad tracks located at the bottom of the gorge between the site and the New River are not owned by the National Park Service and thus are not included in this nomination.



As the nation's principal conservation agency, the Department of the Interior has responsibility for most of our nationally owned public lands and natural and cultural resources. This includes fostering wise use of our land and water resources, protecting our fish and wildlife, preserving the environmental and cultural values of our national parks and historical places, and providing for the enjoyment of life through outdoor recreation. The department assesses our energy and mineral resources and works to ensure that their development is in the best interests of all our people. The department also promotes the goals of the Take Pride in America campaign by encouraging stewardship and citizen responsibility for the public lands and promoting citizen participation in their care. The department also has a major responsibility for American Indian reservation communities and for people who live in island territories under U.S. administration.

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NPS D-47 July 1990.

