Boom and Bust in Townley: Case Study of a Coal Mining Camp from 1920-1950 (pp. 58-73)

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Imagine working in a coal mine for fifteen to sixteen hours for a meager $2 per day. Coal miners and their families in the Townley, Alabama, area remember the days when working in the mines kept them from starving. Men, considered boys today, had to quit school and go into the mines on the same "man-trip" as their fathers and brothers. Coal miners and their families were poor and their dreams consisted of a cold drink from the company store for a child and a twelve-hour day for an adult. Unfortunately, dreams went largely unfulfilled, and life went on as people living in mining camps struggled to "get by." Coal mines provided a large portion of the jobs available in the Townley area during its era of economic prosperity. Many jobs outside of the mining industry revolved around the companies that owned the mines. When mines opened in a town, population, businesses, and industry steadily increased. Coal mining was the lifeblood of Townley. This essay suggests that the coal mining industry, which developed and thrived from 1920-50 in Townley, was directly responsible for unique socioeconomic effects.

The story of Townley largely involves the story of the mines located in and around the area. The town was incorporated in 1895, and it became a mining camp in the early 1900s. The Frisco railroad came through Townley in 1886, providing it with economic opportunities that surrounding communities did not receive. Townley, reincorporated in 1912, dissolved for a final time in 1923, due to being "pressed by the coal companies to avoid further payment of taxes." During the 1930s the approximate rural population in Walker County, Alabama, numbered 44,681, which included Townley. Today, Townley remains hidden from
the untrained eye due to its population of only 3,496. Only a few people remain who remember Townley's "red carpet years," a time when the economy boomed and the coal industry supplied new opportunities for residents.

The entrance of coal mining into this area fundamentally altered three main aspects of life for the residents: family, education and economy. Townley, a farming community, contained a small population that worked together growing food and picking cotton to make a meager amount of money. When coal companies arrived, families no longer worked together. School was only available to those with enough male support in the family. Hence, coal mines determined the level of education gained by many and the economy became insecure and oppressive.

Coal companies entered the Townley area following the arrival of the Frisco railroad. Corona Coal Company and Black Diamond Coal Company arrived first. Approximately six coal mines operated in the Townley area by the 1920s. These mines included Corona Coal and Iron Mine #1, Corona Coal and Iron Mine #2, Galloway Coal Company Mine of Holly Grove, Townley Coal Company Mine, Supreme Mining Company Mine and Cedrom Mine. Within a three mile radius of Townley three coal mines could be found during this big coal boom: Townley, Supreme and Holly Grove. Residents grew accustomed to the sights and sounds that accompanied coal mining during the 1920s and 1930s. Unfortunately, the so-called "Hoover Days," indicating the era of the Depression, hit the community hard in the mid-1930s. Between the years 1935-43, six mines closed in the area. The industry that supplied most of the community with employment for many years had to close. When the coal mines closed, devastation overwhelmed the population. Plummeting employment options resulted in monetary hardship. People began to work merely for food. This drastic drop in employment fractured the community. Families involuntarily left in search of employment. Most of the population relocated to northern cities, mainly for work in the industrial sector. The small number of residents that stayed continued to farm.

The unusual nature of this profession and its effects upon the lives of the miners needs exploration in order to understand the toll of the occupation. Mining coal in Townley consisted of long hours and
backbreaking labor, combined with low pay. The danger of rock-falls, explosions and unsafe machinery comprised the conditions that these miners experienced six days a week.\textsuperscript{11} Charles Patton, a miner for 46 years, saw many accidents and deaths occur inches from where he mined coal.\textsuperscript{12} Also, miners often supplemented their paltry wages by working small dirt farms to make ends meet.\textsuperscript{13}

During this era, electricity had yet to enter the mines. Miners loaded coal onto rail cars and subsequently pulled it above ground using mules. During the period of the 1930s and 1940s, miners went into the depths with a shovel, a pick and a carbide lamp. Furthermore, Alabama mines differed from the others because, "coal seams in Alabama were relatively thin and dirty, with the result that mining involved more labor per ton than in other coalfields."\textsuperscript{14}

In addition to the hours, the pay, and the constant fear of injury or death, long-term effects of coal mining proved to be as fatal as a rock-falls or explosions. Black lung, a lung defect caused by dust inhalation, affected almost everyone working in the mines. Breathing in the coal dust for long periods caused buildup in the lungs. During these trying times, no one understood the disease and the miners simply went to the company doctor for a remedy. Miners Charles Patton and Eugene Guthrie, who mined in Townley, found themselves stricken with its effects. There is no cure for black lung. Nevertheless, miners who ended their career only stricken by black lung were considered barely scathed. Those who toiled in the mines during the 1940s remember the many miners who parted with life and limb in order to make a dollar.

Education in the coal mining camps had a multi-faceted role. During the 1880s, Townley built its first school. Since that time, Townley has seen eight separate schools built in the area. The contributions of coal operators helped construct many of the later schools that Townley residents attended. For example, T.S. Hendon, a local coal operator "contributed liberally" to several of the structures that arose in the Townley area.\textsuperscript{15} Other coal companies, such as DeBardeleben Coal Company, saw fit to contribute to the "worthy cause" of education for the residents and future employees.\textsuperscript{16}

Examination of the reasons behind the coal operators’ construction of schools in the mining camps is imperative to examine the
mentality held by the coal companies. Education was not highly regarded in the mining camps of the 1930s and '40s. Many of the coal miners and their children went without much more than a grade school education due to their economic situation. Why, then, would coal companies construct schools in an area that residents could not afford to attend? Ruth Teaford Baker, a Townley resident during this time, stated that the coal companies “built boarding houses for the non-family men, and they built schools and churches. Every effort was made to make the workers settled, thus making production higher.” Townley’s school went only to the ninth grade. Children then had to travel to the high school located in nearby Jasper. Buses were not available to the children that attended, so many had to walk miles to get to school. However, those allowed the opportunity to attend school regarded themselves as lucky. Similar to other times in history, receiving an education ranked below eating a meal on the priority list of poor coal mining families. Poverty afflicted most families in the Townley area so that “the ‘family wage’ became the rule. A single head of family could not earn enough to support everyone; therefore, boys entered the mine as soon as they were able.” Some girls, such as Mary Guthrie, attended school through the ninth grade due to the male support in her family. Her father and brothers were not afforded the same advantages. Her father never attended school and was illiterate. Charles Patton, Mary’s brother, attended school only through the sixth grade. At the age of fifteen, he “had to work” to help the family “make a living,” at the expense of his education. A large part of the population, both men and women, lacked the means to get an education. Ruth Baker remembers that many of her twelve brothers and sisters were denied more than a grade school education. “Many rural parents saw no reason for schooling beyond a few years, and mine owners cared even less. The work, particularly in the early years of mining, required no reading or writing skills. A strong back and a weak mind sometimes constituted the ideal combination sought by the owners.” The phrase “a strong back and a weak mind” spoke volumes when considering the environment and opportunities available to the residents of Townley.

Limited education afforded to the children of Townley fed heavily into the mining workforce by closing off avenues that a high school education would have opened. As stated by Wayne Flynt,
"[L]ack of education often determined the occupation of the poor."\textsuperscript{23} Coal companies provided a school, but left residents without resources to attend, such as money and transportation. Therefore, the residents unwillingly entered into an occupation that required "no reading or writing skills:" coal mining. Miners, such as Eugene Guthrie, only gained a seventh grade education. He stated that he "wouldn't have never quit" had it not been for the financial need of his family.\textsuperscript{24} According to child labor laws, children worked in the mining industry with harsh restrictions on their hours. These labor laws attempted to undercut the usage of children as cheap labor for the coal companies. Nevertheless, desperation drove many young boys into the mines so that families could survive. Eugene Guthrie knew that he "wasn't suppose to be in the mines at that time but [he] went to work with him, [his father], so that we could eat."\textsuperscript{25} His experience as a child laborer was common among the residents. Most of the residents watched as their sons and husbands took the only opportunity available to them to help "make a living."\textsuperscript{26} They did not complain about child labor because survival largely depended upon the work of their children in the mines. Coal companies knew the importance of the industry in the community, and therefore, used schools to retain miners in the area, and subsequently used the miners' sons as an unending supply of workers with little education. As a result, the booming coal mining industry in Townley not only affected the level of education, but also the familial relationships.

The camp environment greatly affected the relationships formed in the family. According to Colin Davis and Edwin Brown, "most Alabama coal miners lived in company camps."\textsuperscript{27} Miners working in these camps usually followed the promise of a job in the coal mines and ended up in Townley. However, the job soon began to alter their ways of life. Mining "camps were central to corporate paternalism that aimed at delivering a stable and pliable workforce."\textsuperscript{28} This "stable and pliable workforce" consisted of husbands and sons with little or no choice other than mining coal. The men and boys became "bivocational, managing small dirt farms when the coal market was slack, and digging coal for cash income."\textsuperscript{29} The family labor known to these dirt farmers, prior to entering the mines, built strong relationships and cultivated
familial closeness. The encroachment of the mining companies upon these relationships took males out of the household, fathers away from children and husbands away from wives. Wayne Flynt states, "...mining was often an occupation passed on from one generation to the next." In Townley, as in other mining camps, the generational tendency toward mining rose from necessity rather than choice. Both Charles Patton and Eugene Guthrie remember working beside their fathers in the mines. Patton stated he "didn't really like it that much," however, his father could not support the entire family. Finding a coal miner living in this area who chose to enter the mining industry was difficult. As fathers taught their sons to farm, they also taught them to mine. Patton has two sons that mine coal today. Some have said that mining "gets in your blood" and you cannot escape the trade. Nonetheless, miners in Townley during the 1930s and '40s had no choice of escape.

Fathers working in the mines differed greatly from those that worked in other industries. Every part of the occupation affected their relationship with their children. Mary Guthrie remembered her father as a "hard worker and a good man" whom she felt close to in those days. She walked with her father to the mines in the morning and talked to him. After his shift was over, the family worked their fields together in order to grow their food. Many children lost the luxury of bonding with their fathers and many fathers became absentee breadwinners. This absenteeism and separation of the family resulted in many changes to the family structure. The family's time, once spent together, was now spent providing the necessary things to survive on low wages and farming. Eugene Guthrie states that he "seen daddy once a week in Hoover's days." He recalled that his father left their home at three o'clock in the morning and returned at nine o'clock at night. His father was so tired that recreational time was out of the question.

The mines operated on three shifts. Mary Guthrie's two oldest brothers worked in one mine together. She recalled that she hardly saw them after they entered mining. One of the brothers perished while mining in the same "room" as his brother. Ruth Baker remembered that her father and brother had to continue entering the same mine in order to survive. The psychological effects of having to work in an environment that claimed the life of a son or brother must have been devastating.
to these men. In addition, watching a son or husband continue in a profession that was renowned for its danger must have also been difficult for women.

Impoverished miners made difficult decisions concerning the small amount of money they received. Both Charles Patton and Eugene Guthrie remember the days when they had to decide between purchasing powder for shooting rock underground or food to eat during the shift. Most of the time purchasing powder held priority so that their families could survive. Mary Guthrie, as a little girl, watched her father enter the mines, then later watched as a young woman, as both her brother and future husband entered the same industry. Family responsibilities changed.

The "family wage" mentioned earlier became unavoidable, as it forced families to group their abilities together in order to live. Eugene Guthrie recalled how lucky his family had been to have land to cultivate. Some families did not own land that allowed them to grow a profitable crop or food to eat. These families had the difficult task of making ends meet on a miner's pay. Economic survival on such low wages made the receipt of store-bought clothing, sodas, and toys an uncommon occurrence for those in Townley. Guthrie states that a family "bought what you had to have, you couldn't buy a lot of stuff back then." Most of the population, who were badly impoverished, largely went without the necessities of life.

Nevertheless, this type of economic hardship, rendering group effort necessary, did inspire some form of closeness for the family. Eugene and Mary Guthrie both recall that the family of that time seemed closer than families today. Mary Guthrie stated, "people helped others" at that time. Poor residents made up an overwhelming amount of the population in Townley, making it conducive for an environment in which people helped one another should they fall on "hard times."

Although Townley would not fall within the common definition of a mining camp, it can still be considered as such, because the majority of the population worked in the mines or in an occupation supported by the mining industry. Usually, "[a]s a company started a mine, it simultaneously started the town or the camp." The growth of Townley occurred this very way, even though settlement came about prior to the
arrival of coal companies. The railroad, coming through Townley in 1886, provided coal companies with the incentive to enter the area within a few years. According to Ruth Baker, "[e]ach company who built the mines built housing for the white and black workers." The houses differed between family dwellings for married miners and boarding houses for single miners. Considerable differences can be found between life in this poverty-stricken area where coal mines dominated the horizon and coal operators ruled the economic stability and areas where occupants did not depend upon this industry. Coal operators, during the coal boom in Townley, "...attempted to attract and retain labor by building inexpensive dwellings near the work site." Building houses to attract labor became a common action by the coal companies due to the transient nature of most coal miners during this period. Coal companies commonly owned most of the land and structures in a town, thus increasing their profits. Housing, dry goods stores, churches, schools, and medical attention furnished by the coal company gave it the ability to collect rent, grocery fees, church tithes, school fees and doctors' fees from a large portion of the population. Another benefit of owning the housing included the fact that "[d]iscontented miners were less likely to cause trouble when faced with the threat of eviction." Coal companies largely controlled the entire population's actions and economic status. Townley in the 1920s and '30s, a rising community, still resembled a small town. Most structures remained in close proximity to one another for easy access, since most of the population had to walk or travel by wagon. Company houses inhabited by the miners and their families were typically built close to the "mine site to maximize the ease, speed, and economy of the operation and to minimize the amount of land to be developed." These houses normally consisted of three rooms: a kitchen, a bedroom, and a family room. Eugene Guthrie's family of seven occupied a three-room house in the Townley mining camp. He remembers having to sleep on a pallet in the floor along with most of the family. Furthermore, these houses lacked the common niceties taken for granted today, such as running water, indoor plumbing and electricity. Typical miners and their families lived in a dwelling that would be considered uninhabitable today. The company supplied men
who worked directly for the company without any union affiliation with better housing. Even still, none of the coal miners' houses would have been considered decent.

Prior to the coal boom in Townley in the 1920s, the community was a rural area inhabited mostly by farmers, growing cotton and potatoes and raising hogs and chickens. When coal operators began to develop the area, industry seemed to pop up everywhere. Ruth Baker remembers Townley at its highest point with many businesses and a broad array of social activities. According to a local history of the area, by 1923 "[i]t has been estimated that there were more than thirty business establishments operating, including a post office, a bank, grocery stores, dry good stores, drug stores, furniture store, a hotel, Odd Fellows Hall, Masonic Hall, large commissary, several doctors, a jail, a cotton gin, a theater, a town band, three churches, and an excellent school." The small rural area of the early 1920s had now developed into a busy place with a wide range of activities for the population. However, the coal companies retained control of activities because they were the main source of income for residents. Many coal miners do not clearly remember the theater, bank or grocery stores. Coal companies built and offered activities to the population to supply a feeling of home and family within the community. However, operators knew that the wages paid to the miners did not allow them to participate in activities such as the picture show and purchase luxuries such as clothing in the dry goods stores.

The coal companies created an environment conducive to a high-production, profit-making industry. Ready-made housing and social activities attracted the kind of labor that coal companies sought: families. If operators could hire a family man, they had a greater chance of retaining his son. Every investment made by the coal companies amounted to just that—an investment. Wages stayed low enough that by the time the mines closed, the operators maintained a profit despite the numerous amenities provided to the miners and their families. Margaret Mulrooney explained the economic plan behind the coal industries in communities, "Operators deliberately limited the amount of their initial investment in order to minimize their losses when the mine closed." These companies did not concern themselves with the health and welfare of the miners and their families. Coal operators made provisions
for miners in order to gain the most out of their investment. Mulrooney came to this same conclusion in her article entitled “The Legacy of Coal” as she stated, “the purpose of miners’ housing was to increase productivity and profits by attracting labor, reducing job turnover, and establishing control over the labor supply.”

The coal companies that moved into Townley played a decisive role in the economic security of the town. Although most of Townley’s residents continued to farm on the side, coal mining provided a large portion of their income. As Eugene Guthrie stated, you “couldn’t live on just a miner’s pay.” People who lived on a miner’s pay simply “survived on what [they] got.” Those with land could supplement their income with cotton to sell and vegetables to eat. However, “even double jobs provided only a marginal income.” Guthrie recalled how their “good” shirts came from flour sack material and the shirts worn into the mines consisted of feed sack material. They had two pairs of overalls, one good pair and one pair for work, and one pair of shoes. Store-bought goods did not come into the household very often on the combined income of his family. “We didn’t have what we necessarily needed but we survived on what we got,” describes the wanton life of the residents of Townley during the 1940s.

Since mining became the only industry in the area that provided enough money for the residents with little or no education, it became the only option for a large portion of the population. Coal companies took advantage of being the largest employer in the area and drastically underpaid their laborers. Miniscule wages resulted in people having to stretch the dollar to make it last. Wayne Flynt stated, “[U]ntil the UMWM [United Mine Workers] organized the industry in the 1930s, miners were not paid portal-to-portal. Pay commenced when they arrived at the coal face and began loading coal into their car. And they were usually paid by the ton of coal.” Guthrie also remembered that miners had to purchase the powder used to shoot rock underground making their pay for the day little more than one dollar on some days.

The economics of the coal industry in an isolated area such as Townley largely involved the company store and “clacke,” a term used for credit given by the company store and taken out of the miner’s next paycheck. The company stores “were charged with maintaining a
monopoly by three techniques: forcing miners to buy at the store, issuing script [clacker], or imposing debt peonage. Both Eugene Guthrie and Charles Patton stated that the prices of independent dealers could be higher than the prices at the company store on some items. However, Eugene Guthrie claimed, "as it is today, you had to shop around to get the best deal." Although a miner could become indebted to the company by the use of clacker, most companies would only let him use the amount expected in his next paycheck.

This credit system became beneficial to the companies because a large portion of the miners shopped in the store that fully credited their clacker. Isolation caused some mining companies to take advantage of the situation and raise their prices. Townley had other stores prior to the arrival of the coal companies therefore, making it difficult for the operators to overprice their merchandise. The economic ventures by the coal companies did not extend only to the commissaries. Operators also brought in doctors to see miners and their families. Both Patton and Guthrie remembered Townley having one doctor, Dr. Shores, who "treated everybody for everything." Mary Guthrie recalled that the doctor charged patients one dollar to treat any illness.

Whenever discussing coal mining camps, the economy requires examination due to the fact that the coal market played such a large role in the survival of the mining camp and its occupants. Economic shifts in the coal market, economic survival by the miners, and economic stability in the community describe the decisive factors that determined whether a mining camp would endure. As mentioned earlier, Townley already existed before the coal mining industry entered the area. Most of the residents relied upon an agricultural economy, consisting primarily of cotton. When the coal companies developed mines in the area, mining became a large part of the economy very quickly. Due to the influx of population attracted by employment opportunities in mining and other industries that followed mining, such as general merchandise stores, Townley grew quickly and changed drastically from the small community of farmers that it had once been.

Although the mining companies arrived shortly after the Frisco railroad in 1886, the 1920s brought the largest increase in companies located in the Townley area. During this period, approximately six
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mines operating in this area. This “boom” in the economy of Townley lasted until the middle of the 1930s, then steadily began to decline. The Depression hit the coal industry hard. Furthermore, “natural gas, combined with the financial crisis, caused the devastation of the coal industry in Walker County...” Railroads also furthered the downturn. Demand for coal drastically dropped when railroads switched to diesel power. A lull spread throughout Townley until the beginning of World War II, when coal once again was demanded by Europe. This upward climb in the industry resulted in Walker County miners working “with no time off, ten hours a day, six days a week during the war effort.” However, this second boom did not last very long. By 1950, production had dropped to a minimum again. The coal industry in Townley never fully recovered from this “bust.” By 1954 there were 19,083 children of out-of-work coal miners...there were 6,361 miners unemployed! During the 1950s, Townley drifted into the backdrop and became a ghost town.

Beginning with the Depression and continuing with the economic drop of the coal industry in the 1950s, Townley drastically shifted from a growing city with a large population to a small rural community that survived once again on agriculture. When the coal companies began closing, jobs began to disappear and the population started to seek out other options for employment. Some Townley citizens traveled north after the “bust” in search of jobs in the automotive industry, steel mills, etc. The residents who stayed through the decline of the coal industry barely survived. Eugene Guthrie stayed in the Townley area after the mines began to shut down and recalls that, “...people went hungry when the mines shut down.” He also concluded, “Townley was a boomin’ place until the mines shut down. When the mines shut down it [Townley] just went to the bottom.” Both Eugene Guthrie and Charles Patton remembered the 1950s as a time when people begged to merely work for food.

Townley differed in one essential way from other coal mining camps of the era. Most of its families were not transient and had inhabited the area prior to the coal “boom.” These roots made it very difficult for unemployed miners to leave their home in search of a job elsewhere. Ruth Baker remembers the day when her sister left Townley
for Chicago because her husband could not get a job in the area. The coal mining industry severely altered the family structure when it entered the Townley area in the 1920s. By the late 1940s, the family became dependent on its survival, and by the 1950s, the “bust” tore these families apart. Coal companies became the glue that held the family together. Most of the people who left never returned to Townley, leaving a small population barely surviving.

Townley could have easily been altered by any economic “boom” such as factories instead of coal mines. This alteration distinguishes itself from others in the differing effects that it has on all facets of life in the community. Inhabitants became dependent on the wages earned in the coal mines. When the coal mines began moving out of the area, people realized their dependence, but could find nothing to fill the void. Most of the miners grew up in the mines and knew no other trade, having only a limited education. This lack of education left many avenues closed to unemployed residents and their families. Also, coal mines forever changed the environment in which people lived in this area. As stated by Raymond Murphy:

The investigation of mining regions reveals the interplay of the mining process with other elements of the local setting, including the people who work in the mines, the houses they live in, the transportation pattern, the other industries that are present, and the other items that go to make up the unique character of the region.

Even after the coal mines left the area, the idea of coal and mining still remained in the inhabitants. The people that lived during this time remember how coal mining changed their lives and their hometown. Coal mining has been proven to have “...shaped not only the physical landscape but also the cultural identity of the region.” This shaping involved the changing of familial relationships, involving the absence of males in the household, the sons that followed the fathers and brothers into the mines generation after generation and the decline of agricultural family economy as the main source of income. Coal companies also “shaped...cultural identity” by
both providing and depriving residents of an education. Coal operators contributed funding for schools and simultaneously made it impossible for some to attend.

Furthermore, economically, coal companies became the only opportunity present in mining camps, with Townley as no exception. When coal companies boomed in the 1920s and early '30s, jobs were available in excess. Population grew at staggering rates and Townley profited greatly from the attractiveness of the coal mines. However, by depending so heavily upon one industry, Townley failed to survive after the coal companies vacated the area, leaving a large portion of the area unemployed. Population dropped and the town no longer had the number of people that it took to support the businesses and other industries that had developed alongside the coal mines.

The population decrease resulted in the basic deterioration of the town and its economy. By the mid-1950s, most of the population had left for "greener pastures" and the businesses had either closed down or relocated to a more profitable area. The environment also changed after the coal companies left. Houses, once filled to the brim by miners and their families, are now abandoned. Eventually, these and other places, such as stores, churches and town halls, were demolished.

In conclusion, the coal mining companies that inhabited Townley during the period from 1920-50 played a crucial role in the low education received by Townley residents, the drastic familial changes that occurred and the economic rise and fall of the area. An industry that provided much for the families of Townley, stripped them of much more.

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1 This device was used to transport the miners from the surface to their work stations underground.
3 Ruth Teaford Baker, interview by author, 15 March 2007, Townley, AL, tape recording.

7 Ibid, 13.

8 Ruth Teaford Baker, interview by author, 15 March 2007, Townley, AL, tape recording.

9 Karrh, History of Townley and Townley Junior High School, 11.

10 Eugene Guthrie, interview by author, 21 February 2007, Jasper, AL, tape recording.


12 Charles Patton, interview by author, 15 March 2007, Kansas, AL, tape recording.


14 Davis and Brown, It Is Union and Liberty, 72.

15 Mines and Mining in Alabama Vertical Files, Special Collections, Carl Elliott Regional Library, Jasper.

16 Mines and Mining in Alabama, Carl Elliot Regional Library, Jasper.

17 Ruth Teaford Baker, tape recording.

18 Eugene Guthrie, tape recording.

19 Wayne Flynt, Poor but Proud: Alabama's Poor Whites (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1989), 126.

20 Charles Patton, tape recording.

21 Ruth Baker, tape recording.

22 Flynt, Poor But Proud, 125.

23 Ibid, 124.

24 Eugene Guthrie, tape recording.

25 Ibid.

26 Charles Patton, tape recording.

27 Davis and Brown, It Is Union and Liberty, 64.

28 Ibid, 64.

29 Flynt, Poor But Proud, 115.

30 Ibid, 126.

31 Charles Patton, tape recording.

32 Mary Guthrie, interview by author, 21 February 2007, Jasper, AL, tape recording.

33 Eugene Guthrie, tape recording.

34 Ruth Baker, tape recording.

35 Charles Patton and Eugene Guthrie, tape recording.

36 Mary Guthrie, tape recording.

37 Eugene Guthrie, tape recording.

38 Ibid.


40 Ruth Baker, tape recording.


42 Ibid.
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43 Ibid, 131.
45 Eugene Guthrie, tape recording.
46 Mulrooney, "A Legacy of Coal", 132.
47 Girten, "The History of Coal Mining in Walker County," 22.
48 Karrh, 9-10.
49 Mulrooney, 131.
50 Ibid, 130.
51 Eugene Guthrie, tape recording.
52 Flynt, 124.
53 Eugene Guthrie, tape recording.
54 Flynt, 127.
55 Eugene Guthrie, tape recording.
56 Price V. Fishback, "Did Coal Miners 'Owe Their Souls to the Company Store'? Theory and Evidence from the Early 1900s," The Journal of Economic History 6 (4), (1986), 1021.
57 Charles Patton, tape recording.
58 Ibid.
59 Mary Guthrie, tape recording.
60 Karrh, 13.
61 Ruth Baker, Up and Down, 4.
63 Ibid, 27.
64 Ibid, 28.
65 Charles Patton, tape recording.
66 Eugene Guthrie, tape recording.
67 Ruth Baker, tape recording.
68 Mulrooney, 130.
69 Ibid.
70 Ibid.