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THE UTAH COUNTY LABOR MOVEMENT

ABSTRACT OF
A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS
OF
BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF SCIENCE

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By
JOSEPH KENNETH DAVIES

1950

ABSTRACT

THE UTAH COUNTY LABOR MOVEMENT

This thesis was begun as just a history of the labor movement in Utah County, but as the research for data proceeded it became more evident that the factors influencing the retardation and development of the movement were the important things to consider. As a consequence, the greater portion of this work is so devoted.

Research began by questioning several college professors at Brigham Young University and the University of Utah. It was from them that direction was obtained for the search of the underlying causes. In search of these, the author consulted the files in several libraries finding volumes of the State law, reports of sermons delivered by leaders of the Mormon Church in General Conferences, collections of Provo Chamber of Commerce reports and histories of the County and several of the towns. From the last two, information as to the general and industrial history of the area was gleaned.

Next, contact was made with several of the union leaders in the County, from which much detail was obtained.

Finding this slow, State union leaders were consulted, but no assistance was proferred. At no time have union records of membership been available. Therefore, only guesses have been given. Questionnaires were sent to the larger companies of the area, information returning from but two. They were also sent to union leaders, information returning from just one.

Some help was given by members of the Utah State Labor Relations Board, and files of labor disputes made available. Also, some assistance was given by members of the Utah Industrial Relations Council. Several theses were discovered in the University of Utah library which greatly assisted in writing the history of the movement in the State.

Finally, to obtain a treatment of the actual labor development of the County, it was found necessary to go to representatives of each of the union locals. They were generally very cooperative, the only great difficulty arising in the necessity of divorcing fact from the partisanship which would be expected from such sources. This was done by observation and checking with information from other sources. Here some errors in conclusions may have resulted.

Newspaper files were also used along with papers and magazines published by various union organizations. It would have been a most lengthy project to cover all editions of the local paper for the past fifty years, so they were only consulted for those periods in which certain disputes occurred,

the dates or approximate dates being given by the sources previously mentioned.

* * *

The population of Utah County was established by religious pioneers whose common religion, goals, persecutions and enemies combined to evolve a great brotherhood that resisted any encroachments upon their ideals. Life was principally agrarian, an existence which fosters conservatism and peace. No large city was established, but the continual stream of immigrants was dispersed throughout the County.

The first forty years were troublesome times with Indians, drouths, crickets, disease and government persecution lasting until 1890. All early industries established were on a very small scale with little, if any, hired help. The one or two industries that attained size of any degree were usually operated either by local religious leaders or financed in part by the Mormon Church, which exercised a certain amount of influence over the operations. A great many of these successful industries destroyed or severely depressed during the economic collapse of the 90's. Some of the weakened ones were completely destroyed by subsequent competition from Eastern goods.

Exceptions to the general rule that industry was purely local and small, were the mining and railroading industries,

owned by Easterners, which brought many non-Mormons into the area. The domination and control which was exercised by these companies necessitated union of the workers to guarantee a decent standard of living and working conditions. In such were found the first real labor unions of the County.

Until the twentieth century, the Mormon leaders, alert to all changes affecting their people, expressed no great concern over the labor movement gaining impetus within the State. However, about the turn of the century, the unorthodox conduct of the recently organized miners and smelter workers caused alarm in the minds of the leaders, and they began to express themselves consistently as in favor of unionism but against some of the "unlawful" tactics in use.

The population of the County was at first homogenous in religion and fraternal affiliations. Gradually, however, non-Mormons came into the area, and affiliating themselves with apostates from the Church, offered fertile ground for the fraternal labor organizations.

The State Constitution, established in 1895, provided for the protection of the right to organize, and freed them from many of the evils current elsewhere in that day. In 1917, the legislature again provided more adequate protection for labor, and this in the face of many abuses by certain unions in the State.

By 1922, unionism had experienced several periods of growth and decline. The depression of the 90's greatly weakened the labor movement in Salt Lake City and Ogden, but it soon rebounded, and by the time of World War I, had gained great power, operating under closed shop agreements in many establishments. In 1919, the businessmen began to retaliate against the unions and instituted the "American Open Shop Plan," which became nationwide in scope. Under this plan, labor within the State as well as the nation took a terrific beating, most of them going out of existence. These conditions gave little encouragement to that in the County.

During the 20's, outside industry began to enter the County in great force. The iron industry, along with several subsidiaries, found the area most favorable for the establishment of factories. The building of these and the consequent spurt in building activities served as a stimulus for the organization of several trade unions. They were peaceful movements, and occasioned virtually no resistance. Except for the depression of 1929 and the 30's, they would probably have had continued growth.

About the middle of the 30's, the local construction industry began to revive. This expansion encouraged the building trades, with their experience of the 20's and the success of unionism throughout the nation and State, to unionize again.

The iron industry, unorganized in the 20's, was now made union with the assistance of international organizers. Comparative peace reigned in the County, but elsewhere violence and strike went on the rampage. Several instances of opposition and strike were occasioned, but nothing of a very serious nature.

Most disputes and organizing attempts ended in victory for the union cause.

In this period the leaders of the Church became active once again in their demunciation of union tactics, such as the closed shop, automatic checkoffs, violence and inordinate demands. No real measure could be made of the effect of these expressed attitudes on the people of the County.

This period of the 30's was also one of great improvement in the law of the State as far as giving advantages to labor unions was concerned. They were freed from the misuse of the injunction and given all of the advantages accruing to interstate commerce through the Wagner Act, thus giving great encouragement to the labor movement in the County.

In the war and post-war period, the industry of the County grew, and with it unionism. Geneva Steel was established along with several other industries, and some of the older ones were greatly expanded. What seemed to be a disproportionate share, however, either failed in attempt or dropped out of existence in a matter of months. The new arrival on

the industrial scene of America, the Congress of Industrial Organization, found foot in the County through the United Steelworkers of America.

The Church leaders became increasingly in opposition to some of the tactics of labor. Although all of the representatives to the State Legislature from Utah County were considered as being pro-labor, the Clegg-Vest Act was passed in nineteen forty-seven as an amendment to that of 1937. It was similar in many respects to the Taft-Hartley, and came possibly as a result of reaction to the misuse of labor power in some areas. However, the fact that all representatives from Utah County were pro-labor would indicate that there was no great reaction in the County.

Though generally quite peaceful, there have been more labor disputes in the County within the last few years than throughout the rest of the history.

In 1950, there existed approximately twenty-five union locals, with about 8,000 members out of a work force of probably twice that many, with agriculture excluded.

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PREFACE

To begin a work of this nature is a problem. Where to begin, and what shall be the limitations are questions difficult for the novice to answer. For a starting point, I am deeply indebted to Professor Elmer Miller, Head of the Economics Department at the Brigham Young University.

The defining of limits and extensions of subject have been greatly added to by both Professor Miller and Dr. Reed H. Bradford of the Sociology Department of the same university. Without their direction I would have been a "little duck in a mighty big pool."

I am also indebted to my typist, Mrs. Margaret Soffe, who has been most patient in correcting my mistakes and in doing an excellent job.

To my wife, Mrs. Pauline T. Davies, I am grateful for her understanding and sympathy.

Joseph Kenneth Davies

Provo, Utah
May 10, 1950

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INTRODUCTION

Utah County has until recent years been unorganized. A few attempts were made in the early 1900's, most of which failed. In all attempts there has been a great indifference on the part of the workers, with a little resistance on the part of the employers. Certain areas of the economy have gradually become organized, but even now with possibly half of the laboring force unionized, other areas have remained aloof.

We are herein concerned with the reasons for the apathy and resistance, or lack of resistance. We wish to determine why, if possible, the unions have only lately found some room "under the sun." Our goal is to determine some of the forces that have militated against unionism and other forces which eventually became strong enough to warrant such entrance. It is only through an understanding of such forces and influences that proper appreciation can be given to both sides of the labor struggle. And it is only through proper understanding that a solution or solutions may be evolved for this -- one of the most vexatious problems facing us today.

* * *

"The Utah County Labor Movement" is the heading of this thesis. By the words "Utah County," we do not refer to the geographical area designated by certain boundaries drawn on a map, but we allude to the population or people residing within the outlined area. The people are the important element, and they are affected by the changes and developments as well as being the effectors of such.

"Labor Movement" refers to the great surging evolution of the mass of people from serfdom, as the pawns of employers, to a condition of economic and cultural independence. Until recent years the people have been mostly of agrarian pursuits in which they were the entrepreneurs. Businesses were small with little power of control over the few workers that were hired. In such a condition, under our definition there could be no "labor movement." It was not until men lost their independence to big business that there could be a "movement" of any importance. In a few industries men lost their freedom rather early in history, and a "labor movement" began. As more men lost their independence, the "movement" gained momentum.

Objection might be made to the continual reference in this paper to the Mormon Church, the Mormon People, the Mormon Religion, but divorcement can not be made. Mormonism is such a vital force wherever present that it affects nearly

everything with which it comes in contact. It has been the only "authoritarian" element in the County in the sense that it is the only institution with any great power. That power, however, is not an oppressive thing, and the use of the word "authoritarian" is for no derogatory purpose.

* * *

Selekman in his poignant treatise entitled "Labor Relations and Human Relations"¹ points to three basic drives which the union organizer seeks to gain control over: "(1) the desire for economic improvement, (2) the craving to belong to the group, and (3) the impulse toward aggression and hostility." Where these drives are amply provided for, under established personal self-control, or find vent in other dynamic directions, the organizer finds the ground rather difficult.

With these thoughts in mind the author has written the first two chapters to show that the nature of the population and their industrial development have been important influences in first obviating the necessity for unionization because these basic drives were adequately provided for, controlled or given vent.

Our first chapter attempts to present a picture of the population, its problems, growth and composition. The

¹Benjamin M. Selekman, Labor Relations and Human Relations (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1947), p. 15.

people were mostly of an agricultural occupation. The way in which they improved their economic position was not through labor organizations, but through hard work and neighborly cooperation. They had other organizations, such as government to help protect them in their rights. There was no need for unionization in the early days.

Being of a common religion and drawn together for protection and other common purposes, a great brotherhood was developed which welded the people close together. At first, the second great drive was satisfied -- "the craving to belong to a group." However, as the group of non-Mormons (considered outsiders), or apathetic members, grew the need for other fraternal groups developed. This need was met early by other church groups or secret orders, but eventually the need was for something which would improve their economic standing. Such needs prepared the groundwork for unionization.

Another feature of the religion of the people is the self-control which it attempts to develop. With such, the tendency toward hostility or aggression was controlled. People who took their religion seriously were constantly striving to control such. They were not completely successful in such an attempt, but there was ample room for them to give vent to their natural bent in what they felt was righteous or necessary strife. They had, in their early history

plagues, drouths and Indians to fight. Through much of the history of the people, they have been threatened by anti-Mormons and the government. Against such they were able to be aggressive and still righteous.

The second chapter deals with the industrial development of the County. The picture is presented of an economy which was one of development and continual room for growth. There was opportunity for the little man to become a big man. Men's desires were to increase their skill, add to their small business and improve their farms, and it was through such that the first great drive was satisfied. However, as large industries came in, men were no longer independent and their status became lower as hired workers. They needed something to improve their economic condition, and unions were the answer.

Our third chapter deals with the influence of the laws of the State of Utah upon unionization. Men usually choose a course of activities according to their felt and anticipated needs and desires. They proceed along this course as long as they are allowed to. When their course of action causes them to impose upon the rights of others, resistance is met, and oftentimes it occasions a struggle which results in harm not only to the individual, but to the population as a whole. When this happens, the government must step in to protect the

rights of the people. It provides laws which limit the activities and prescribe the rights of the participants. The law affecting the labor of the County is found emanating mainly from two sources of authority: the Federal Government and that of the State. Municipal laws have been unimportant in the County as far as our subject is concerned. The Federal law is not local enough in nature, and is adequately treated elsewhere. However, the author knows of no source which attempts to picture the State law as it specifically applies to unions. In our third chapter we have presented the law in great detail, without a great deal of personal interpretation. The main object was to collect all of the data and assemble it so that the reader might read it in one source and see how liberal and progressive it has been, and how it has provided a well-prepared groundwork for unionism when other conditions made such possible.

As is pointed out in the first chapter, Utah County is predominantly of Mormon stock. By "Mormon stock" we mean that the people are predominantly either descendants of Mormon ancestry and will be largely influenced by the background of their predecessors, or they are themselves members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, more widely known as the Mormon Church. If they are faithful members of the Church, owing to the dynamic nature of the religion

will be greatly influenced by the attitudes of the leaders of the Church whom they consider to be "Prophets, Seers, and Revelators," special emissaries of Jesus Christ. While it is recognized by them, when they think rationally, that these leaders are fallible and that they do not always speak the Divine Will, the people very often place a great deal of confidence in their words.

There tends also to be a reactionary element among the professed adherents, as there is in any organization, which disregards the advice of the leaders and will react by rebelling completely against any intellectual or spiritual control or influence which may have previously existed. There will be a tendency for these individuals to work in a direction exactly opposite to that of the persons they have rebelled against. The influence of ecclesiastical leaders then is our fourth major factor influencing the labor movement. It is realized also that local authorities have had a great influence, but as their philosophies in regard to labor are not generally recorded, we have not attempted to treat their influence in detail.

The fifth factor influencing the labor movement in Utah County is the movement in other areas of the State. As it has found firm anchorage and established precedence, the workers of the County have been given encouragement and knowledge as to how best to go about the job of organizing a

community. Where the unions have made gains, the workers of the County have been shown how they could improve their lot, and where unions have failed, they have served to deaden thoughts of unionizing what might be in the minds of the working people. We have not attempted to present a complete picture of this movement, as that may be found in sources wholly given over to that subject, but the material has been gleaned and presented so as to fill a blank spot in the picture we have to this point painted.

Our sixth chapter deals with the actual unionization of the County itself. It is the reason for all that precedes it, and the original goal for which the author strove. Attempt was first made to glean from the published record a history of the movement within the County, but adequate sources were not available. The classical histories tell nothing of the problems of labor. The newspapers give occasional mention of something pertinent, but the task of poring over the contents of 18,000 newspapers for the past fifty years was obviously outside the realm of possibility. Letters of inquiry were resorted to, but with no success at all. Finally, the author attempted to gain an understanding of the history by the personal interview of union members. Here some difficulty was met, for charters had been lost, memories inadequate in many cases and company and union files unavailable

if in existence. Some stories were in conflict with each other, and others obviously erroneous, being well-coated with partisanship.

As a consequence, the author is dissatisfied with this chapter. It probably contains many inaccuracies, and no great reliance can be placed on the stated "facts." It is believed, however, that in spite of its limitations it is sufficiently accurate to give a fair picture of the history of the Labor Movement in Utah County.

In the last chapter the author attempts to summarize the facts obtained, and evolve conclusions that fit those facts. It must be recognized that it is mostly an interpretation, and where such enters in erroneous conclusions may be drawn. Such must nevertheless be done, or what personal good this work?

CHAPTER I

THE INFLUENCE OF THE PEOPLE

The Country

While Utah County is not the exact geographical center of the State, its location puts it in an extremely strategic position as far as the industrial development of the State is concerned. To the south are rich deposits of iron and coal, connected with the County by the Union Pacific Railroad and the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad. To the east are the newly developing oil fields of Duchesne and Uintah Counties. To the north are well developed manufacturing plants of Salt Lake County. Completely surrounding the valley are rich agricultural areas and grazing lands for cattle and sheep.

The County itself is referred to as Utah Valley, being surrounded by high mountains, with avenues of communication by roads and rail in most directions. The towering Wasatch to the east provides a good supply of culinary and irrigation water. In the center of the County is a large, fresh-water body, Utah Lake, which provides water for industrial purposes for plants located near its shores. It is largely agricultural, but with a rapidly expanding industry. It is the home

of the Brigham Young University, the largest of the schools operated by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, hereafter alluded to as the Mormon Church.

History of the Population

Pre-Pioneers.--The history of Utah County's population has militated against unionization until very recent years. It has been a history of a great struggle with the enemies they found in this new territory.

One hundred and three years ago,¹ Utah Valley² had a population much different in composition than is now found. In fact, little is found of the inhabitants that once made the valley their home. Father Escalante, a Catholic priest, found groups of Indians living in the valley whom he described as Lagunas (a purely Spanish denotation), when he entered the valley on September 23, 1776,³ with Father Dominquez and a group of Spanish explorers. The natives were members of the Ute and Paiute Nations, who inhabited the area between the Rockies and the Sierra Nevadas.

The early part of the nineteenth century drew many trappers, hunters and explorers into the Rockies in search

¹The Mormon vanguards first entered the valley in August 1847.

²Used synonymously with the appellation, "Utah County."

³"Provo, Pioneer Mormon City," Compiled by Workers of Writers Program of the Works Projects Administration of the State of Utah. Binford and Mort, Portland, Oregon, 1942, p. 19.

of beaver and adventure. Julian H. Stewart called the Indians the Tump nogats while others called them the Nung-a-pa-cants (lake shore Indians) and the Pa-ga-vants (dwellers by the lake).¹ These trappers and hunters provided a passing parade of such men as Provost (for whom Provo was probably named), Ashley, Jedediah Smith, Fremont and Bridger. They came and went with the seasons and the game, not attempting to establish permanent homes. Most of them considered the Great Basin a desolate and forsaken country, excepting for the area around the big fresh water lake, which was to become known as Utah Lake, the center of Utah Valley.

It was Jim Bridger² who, on meeting the Mormon pioneers en route to the Great Basin, described the Utah Valley, saying that the only trouble with it was the possibility of Indian trouble. Several groups of trappers and explorers had had skirmishes with them. He favorably described the valley as fertile and potentially productive.

The First Settlers.--Just one week after the arrival of the pioneers in Salt Lake Valley,³ Jesse C. Little, Sam Brannan and W. W. Willes, members of the Church, explored the valley and favorably described it. The pioneer bands needed the strength of each other in one common effort, the

¹Ibid., p. 18.

²Ibid., p. 36.

³Ibid., p. 37.

settlement of Salt Lake Valley, and the colonization of the Utah Valley waited until 1849.

In March of 1849, a group of Mormon explorers had the first encounter with Indians in Utah Valley, where Pleasant Grove now lies. That location was for some time called Battle Creek, and was the scene of several fatalities among the natives at that time. On March 10, Brigham Young called thirty men on a "mission"¹ to the valley for farming, fishing and the instructing of the Indians. In this original party there were only six families that accompanied the men. In later parties, the distribution of the sexes was nearly equal. This band crossed the Provo River and encamped where First North and Fourteenth West would meet. This location was later called Old Fort Field.

Fort Utah was laid out on a rising that commanded the surrounding area, and farms were laid out to the east, south and west. By May, 225 acres of land were under cultivation. At this time, gold seekers on their way to the gold fields of California passed through the valley leaving hard cash with the settlers, and measles with the Indians. In September, Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball moved the settlement from the site of Fort Utah to the present site, so that the settlers would not be plagued by the yearly spring floods from the

¹A term used when men were called in the name of the Church to perform a given task.

Provo River.

By November there were fifty-seven log huts on seventeen and a half acres. The city had been laid out¹ one mile square, with four-acre blocks, each being divided into eight lots of a half-acre each. The block in the center of the city was reserved for a chapel and school house. It was important that Provo be firmly established, for it was to serve as the most important town south of Salt Lake City, and the anchor for all settlements to the south. On January 31, 1850, Utah County was created, with Provo as the County seat. However, the actual organization did not take place until 1852, as the pioneers found many more important pursuits to occupy their time and energy.

Early Towns.--Now that Provo was well established, further settlement of the valley could proceed. The colonizers, under the direction of Brigham Young, showed great wisdom in not distributing the settlers too sparsely, for the people needed the assistance and moral support of each other for protection against the Indians. Once a center was well established, newcomers sometimes led by persons already well established would be sent to colonize a new location. In 1850,

¹This plan was typical of most Mormon towns. It was patterned after a plan devised by Joseph Smith, and called, "The City of Zion". Joseph Smith was considered a Prophet, and was the founder of the Mormon Church.

a great migration of pioneers from the East and from Europe arrived in the Valley, part of the thousands that entered Utah country to be dispersed in all directions. In that year seven more towns were established.

The composition of the population should be noted. As previously stated, after the vanguard parties, the sexes were evenly distributed, with the usual proportion of children. These were families that were settling here. The people who settled had come here because of their religion. Many of them had been driven from their homes in the Middle West, the East and the South, while thousands of others were recent converts to the Mormon Church from the nations of Europe. They were from all walks of life: professional, agricultural and artisan. While hundreds and thousands of gold-seekers passed through the Valley on their way to California, a few remained.¹

The first of these new settlements of 1850 was what is now known as American Fork, which has had an evolution of such names as McArthursville and Lake City. In September,

¹Of the few that remained in the Valley, the writer is reminded of the story of one of his great-grandfathers, Mons Anderson. Mons was a young man, an immigrant from Norway, on his way to the gold fields of California. His party stopped in the town of Lehi, and he, becoming interested in the people and their religion, stayed behind. He joined the Mormon Church there in Lehi and became one of the more prominent community leaders. His story is typical of the story of those who stayed and helped to build up the towns throughout Utah.

Springville, previously known as Hobble Creek, and Pleasant Grove, which had the earlier name of Battle Creek, were established. In December, Payson, first known as Fort Peteetneet and the Pacen (an early settler), was founded. In that winter of 1850 and 1851 Lehi, which had a weird assortment of names as Dry Creek, Sulphur Springs, Show Springs and Evansville, had her founding, accompanied by Spanish Fork, which originally was several miles to the south and was known as Palmyra. In the early part of 1851, the seventh of these colonies was established -- Alpine, which was first appropriately named Mountainville. In 1850, the total population of the County was estimated at 2,026. Table 1, below, shows the increase in population from 1850 to 1940. As the present boundaries were not established until about 1900, the figures are not exactly representative of what was actually the population.

TABLE 1

POPULATION OF UTAH COUNTY
1850 - 1943

1850	2,026	1910	37,942
1860	8,248	1920	40,792
1870	12,203	1930	49,021
1880	17,973	1940	57,382
1890	23,768	1943	68,351
1900	32,456		

Source: "Measures of Economic Changes in Utah, 1847-1947," Utah Economic and Business Review, University of Utah, 1947, p. 11.

Indians and Plagues.--As was expected, the pioneers had sporadic difficulties with the natives, in spite of the policy promulgated by Brigham Young to "feed them, not fight them." In 1854, the Indians rose up in a mighty war known as the Walker War. An uprising of such magnitude would have in ordinary times discouraged further settling, but it only served to make the communities more compact. The people had a unique system of settling, fostered by the astute "Brother Brigham." The homes of the people and their garden plots were located in the town site, with the farm lands situated in the surrounding area. The people were thus able to have community life, with its attendant comforts, society and protection. In this Walker War, Santaquin was the only town which had to be abandoned, being reestablished in 1856, the settlers having temporarily moved north to Payson. It was only the rapid settlement in the early "fifties" and the peculiar organization of their communities that enabled the settlers to withstand this onslaught and the grasshopper plague of 1855. Eighteen fifty-six proved to be a starvation year for the pioneers in the Valley, but fortunately that year saw a fruitful harvest, which put the County in a condition to welcome the next wave of settlement.

The Great Move.--In 1857, President Buchanan ordered General Johnston and his troops to put down a supposed

rebellion of the Mormon people.¹ Brigham Young, proving himself a great tactician as well as colonizer, called for a migration south from all communities north of the Jordan Narrows. In March of that year, this migration of thousands of persons began, some of the more indigent going as far south as Payson. Three to four thousand alone settled temporarily in the bottoms of the Provo River. The towns of Utah County did their best to care for these people, and it was a difficult job. Most of the communities were terribly overcrowded, and sickness became rampant. The flies were bad, the cattle feed sorely depleted and the water became contaminated. There accumulated at this time in the County an excess population of approximately 30,000.

At the coming of the army, the Mormons who had established the city of San Bernardino in California were forced to withdraw and emigrate back to Utah. Most of these people settled in the towns of the southern part of the State, but a few found their way as far north as Payson.

¹As Johnston's army approached the territory of Utah, they were met with resistance by the Mormons. While no lives were taken, guerrilla tactics were resorted to in the burning of supply trains, forts and holding the army up for many months. When a General Kane negotiated with the Federal Government for a saner view of the situation, a compromise with the people of Utah was effected. The army was allowed to enter Utah, but was not to stop in Salt Lake City, but was to continue south forty miles to the western shores of Utah Lake. As the army entered Utah they saw only grim men with lighted torches ready to set fire to homes, churches, crops and schools if the army should break the treaty that had been made. Brigham Young stated that they would leave not a blade of grass for the enemy to take comfort in. This attitude can not be fully appreciated without an understanding of the mobbings and pillaging that the people had undergone when they were forced to leave the East.

The "Move," as the temporary southern exodus was termed, greatly disturbed the population of the County. When Brigham Young gave permission for the people to return north, many stayed while some of the previous occupants of the valley emigrated into the northern part of the State. In 1857, two towns were added to the County -- Salem (originally Pondtown) and Goshen. Eighteen sixty saw the addition of Spring Lake and Benjamin added to the growing roster of towns. This year found a County population of 8,248, an increase of almost 400 per cent over 1850.

Although the population had averted outright war, a new type of war was visited upon the people with the quartering of the army in Cedar Valley across the lake from Provo. Both Salt Lake City and Provo were forced to receive into their midst the usual camp-followers -- saloons, gambling halls and bawdy houses. Some of these dregs of society settled near Camp Floyd, which settlement later received the appellation of Frogtown. It was with an air of great relief that the citizenry saw the removal of the troops in 1861.

Food and Fuel.--In the winter of 1861-62, the people in the towns east of the lake suffered from the lack of fuel because the lake did not freeze over and they were unable to adequately supply themselves with the juniper wood found in great abundance on the western shores of the lake. Except for the grasshopper plagues in 1868, 1869, 1870 and 1871, the 60's

and 70's were peaceful years. It was decided that the only way to have peace with the Indians was to settle them on lands of their own, some distance from the more densely settled valley. In 1864, a disposition was made of many of the Indians, by settling them in the Uintah Basin area, final settlement being accomplished in 1873. Although there was comparative peace, often food was scarce, and many communities established price ceilings on many basic foods. Payson affords us a good example of what these ceilings were:¹

Wheat	\$ 5.00 bushel
Flour	12.00 100 wgt.
Oats	3.00 bushel
Barley	4.00 bushel
Corn	4.00 bushel
Beans	10.00 bushel
Onions	4.00 bushel
Potatoes . . .	2.00 bushel
Butter60 pound
Cheese50 pound
Eggs40 dozen

The Church was a missionary organization, and many men were sent on missions to all corners of the world, sometimes returning with large groups of converts. In 1867, Henry G. Boyle² left Payson on a mission to the Southern States. He returned two and a half years later with eighty-five converts who settled in Payson. In 1868, a group of people were called from various towns to settle on the Muddy

¹E. W. Tullidge, "History of Utah County," Tullidge Magazine, July 1884, p. 397.

²Ibid., p. 399.

River in Nevada. However, this settlement failed, and the people generally returned to their former homes in 1870. In that same year, the town of Lakeshore saw its beginning, and two years later, 1872, Mapleton was established. Also in that year, silver was discovered in the southwestern corner of the County, in the Tintic area, which drew many of the people to that area, especially from Payson and Spanish Fork. It also caused a great influx of non-Mormon immigrants, which greatly altered the population homogeneity.

The Railroad and Induced Expansion.--The spanning of the continent by the Union Pacific Railroad was accomplished in 1869. It had originally been planned to bring the road bed down Provo Canyon, but the plans were changed, and it made its way via Ogden. This indirectly affected the population growth of Utah County, for while it did not decrease the number of inhabitants, it prevented the rapid growth which Ogden experienced. Table 2, below, compares the populations of Ogden and Provo for the years 1860-1890. It is reasonable to assume that had the railroad been laid out as originally planned, Utah Valley would have been in the stead of the Ogden area -- the recipient of the influx of people.

TABLE 2

POPULATIONS OF PROVO AND OGDEN FOR
THE YEARS 1860-1890

Provo		Ogden	
1860	2,030	1860	1,463
1870	2,384	1870	3,127

TABLE 2--Continued

Provo		Ogden	
1880	3,432	1880	6,069
1890	5,159	1890	12,880

Source: Provo, Pioneer Mormon City, op. cit.
p. 102.

Although Provo did not experience this rapid growth, it was able to maintain its distinctively Mormon flavor, whereas Ogden was cursed with the usual rabble that located itself with railroad towns. Provo was still able to maintain its place as the supply center for Southern Utah. A railroad spur reached Provo from Salt Lake in 1873, and by 1875 had connected with Payson. The railroad brought new markets for farm produce and livestock; the coal fields of Pleasant Valley were opened; plants and smelters were established; and there were increased mining activities. These new areas of activity provided employment for more individuals than expansion of agriculture could have done at that particular time. In the early eighty's, the D. & R. G. Railroad entered the valley, bringing more markets and assisting the growth and expansion of the County.

In 1874, the United Order¹ was reestablished in the valley, along with other sections of Utah. However, inside

¹A communistic system whereby everything was held in common. Many attempts were made to live this principle, but all failed. Several of the more isolated areas successfully followed the principle for many years, but were forced to abandon it in time.

three years the move was dead in the Valley, as was the case in other urban areas.

Polygyny.--The people were not allowed to prosper in peace, however, for in 1882 the Edmunds Law was passed in Congress, which instituted official governmental action against the practice of polygyny, or multiple wives, which was current among a portion of the population. Many of the more prominent men of the Valley fled with their families to Mexico and Canada to avoid arrest. Other men went into hiding, of necessity, leaving the care of the farms to the women and children. Many of the County's finest men were arrested and placed in the prison in Salt Lake City. This was a difficult period in the history of the County, and the population increased but very slowly. (See Table 1.) The people were greatly relieved when the Manifesto¹ was issued under the direction of the President of the Church in 1890, and peace was again given an opportunity to exist.

Prosperity and Growth.--The first two decades of the present century saw a very slow growth, but the peace which was present was evidenced in the establishment of several resorts in Provo Canyon -- Wildwood and Vivian Park. The rapid

¹An order issued by the Presidency of the Church, purporting to be divine revelation, which prohibits the practice of plural marriages, making it an offense against the laws of the Church, as well as the land. This law made it possible for the entrance of Utah into the Union as a state.

growth of the 90's stimulated by the intensification of silver mining activities moderated, and the population became more conservative in increase.

The nationwide prosperity of the 20's was responsible for the establishment of several industries in the County, which greatly stimulated population growth, and brought in workers from outside the State. The population increase of the 20's was over 8,000; whereas, it was only 3,000 for the previous decade. The increase in population in the depression years was about the same as in the previous decade of prosperity and industrialization. The first three years of the forty's had a tremendous increase in population -- 11,000 -- being brought about by the expansion induced by the war.

Decentralized Population.--The population of Utah County has been well balanced; that is, it has not all concentrated in one large city. There were in 1940 fifteen incorporated towns. Table 3 below shows the population of these towns for the years 1930 and 1940.

TABLE 3
INCORPORATED TOWNS, 1930 AND 1940,
IN UTAH COUNTY

Town	1930	1940
Alpine City	509	444
American Fork	3,047	3,333
Genola	--	325
Goshen	669	616
Lehi	2,826	2,733
Mapleton	663	907
Orem	1,915	2,914

TABLE 3--Continued

Town	1930	1940
Payson	3,045	3,591
Lindon	589	587
Pleasant Grove	1,755	1,941
Provo	14,768	18,071
Salem	610	659
Santaquin	1,115	1,297
Spanish Fork	4,727	4,167
Springville	3,788	4,796

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, Sixteenth Census of the United States; 1940 Population, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1943), Part 7.

The previous table was not given to present an accurate picture of the population, but only to show the characteristic decentralization of such, which has had a distinct influence on the industrial and labor development of the County, for unions have found their greatest encouragement to growth in large urban centers.

Cultural Growth.--The Mormon leaders, realizing the harshness of pioneer life, encouraged dancing and theatrical productions. Early in the history of each town, a theatrical group was established. Schools, though crude and poorly supplied, were always one of the first organizations set up in a community. They were generally on a tuition basis, being taught by private individuals who were paid in farm produce. The Presbyterian Church set up schools in several of the communities, and were rather well received by the citizenry. The Timpanogas Branch of the University of Deseret¹ was established

¹The University of Deseret was founded in 1853 in Salt Lake City by Brigham Young. It has since become known as the University of Utah.

in Provo in 1869, further adding to the culture of the people, and helping to provide more and better teachers for the schools of the surrounding area. In 1876, the Brigham Young Academy, a Church school, took the place of the Timpanogas Branch and was renamed the Brigham Young University in 1903. In 1874, agitation for public free schools began, and in 1890 the Territorial Legislature passed the Free School Law, the first high school in the County being established in Lehi in 1906.

The L. D. S. Church has dominated the County; however, there are other churches. In Provo have been established a Seventh Day Adventist Church, First Baptist (now defunct), Roman Catholic, First Church of Christ (Scientist), Community Congregational, Lutheran, Protestant Episcopal, Reorganized L. D. S., Church of God and Nazarene. There have been Presbyterian churches in American Fork, Payson, Spanish Fork and Springville. A Congregational Church was established in Lehi, and Baptist Missions in Springville and Mapleton.

The Salt Lake and Utah Inter Urban Railway operated between Payson and Salt Lake City from 1914 until recent years. The Deseret Telegraph Company was established in the County in 1866. Telephone service between Provo and Salt Lake was established in 1887. The area is now served by the Mountain States Telephone and Telegraph Company. Provo was given electric power in 1890 by the Provo Woolen Mills. In 1914, manufactured gas became available from the Utah Valley Gas and

Coke Company.

Irrigation.--An agrarian population is largely concerned with problems of water, especially in the arid and semi-arid zones of the West. Utah, being a very dry State, has had this problem to face from the first day of permanent settlement. The early settlements depended on irrigation for their continuance. Irrigation ditches were dug as soon as was possible so as to service as much territory as possible. Spanish Fork at one time forbade the settling of any more people in the district because of the lack of water. Until 1865, the control of water for all practical purposes was in the hands of the society in general. In that year, the Territorial Legislature made possible the establishment of irrigation districts, and they have been formed in all settled districts since that time.

Utah Lake has been the cause of some trouble between the farmers along its shores and the farmers of Salt Lake County. The Lake, because of the nature of the topography, has been of little use to the farmers of this County, and the building of dikes in the Lake making the water accessible to Salt Lake farmers has resulted in the flooding of some rich fields along the shore. However, compromises have been made, and a compromise level established.

Actually the waters from the Strawberry Reservoir have been of more value to the farmers of this Valley than Utah Lake. The water from Strawberry, which has a drainage of

about 150 square miles, had been finding its way into the Colorado River. The only way that this water could be made available to the Valley was to build a tunnel three miles long through the Wasatch Mountains. This project was begun in 1906 and completed in 1913, resulting in the opening up of 50,000 acres. Particularly important was the opening of land west and south of Spanish Fork and the rich Mapleton Bench district.

In 1938, work began on the Deer Creek Dam near Heber City. The subsequent lake has a capacity of 150,000 acre feet, holding water from the Provo Drainage area, some from the Weber Drainage area via a diversion in Kamas Valley, and will be further added to by the completion of the Duchesne Tunnel above Kamas, which will bring water from the Colorado Drainage area. These waters are used for irrigation in Salt Lake and Utah Counties and for industrial and culinary purposes.

The Mormon Church.--The history of the people of the County follows the same pattern as for the rest of the State and of the Mormon Church. The County has remained predominantly of this same religious faith -- a conservative brand of philosophy. (See Table 4 on the following page.) There has been an influx of "gentiles"¹ from the early days with

¹A term used by the Mormons to denote anyone who is not a member of the Church.

the repeated discoveries of silver and more recently copper, with the building of the railroads, with the establishment of army and navy projects, and with each new element of industrialization. Each onslaught has been met with some resistance, being occasioned by the oftentimes rowdy conduct of the newcomers, not appreciated by the citizenry. The people had come for peace and security in the raising of their children and following their religion, these being threatened by outsiders. Until recently the non-Mormons and apostates have banded together for the purpose of destroying Mormondom -- seeking Federal legislation, importing rabble-rousing, anti-Mormon, religious crusaders, and in many instances have sought to undermine the ideals of the people. Any element which has tended to weaken the faith of the people has been resisted by the Church.

TABLE 4

THE RELIGIOUS COMPOSITION OF UTAH COUNTY,
1916, 1926 AND 1936

Denomination	1916	1926	1936
All Denominations	28,062	43,299	40,242
Baptist	54	--	--
Congregational and Christian	115	125	132
Latter-Day Saints	27,431	42,459	39,592*
Latter-Day Saints, Reorganized	132	--	--
Methodist	59	--	--
Protestant Episcopal	130	192	102
Roman Catholic	90	313	225

*This figure is questioned as it would not seem to be true that the Mormon population should diminish almost three thousand persons in ten years, but no other accurate information is available.

TABLE 4--Continued

Denomination	1916	1926	1936
Presbyterian	133	90	--
All Others	18	120	191

Sources: Religious Bodies, U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1916, 1926, 1936.

Summary

The people of Utah County came for religious purposes, and the common brotherhood which developed provided one of the most vital essentials of communal life.

The common troubles of the people, such as Indians, drouths, grasshoppers and anti-Mormon crusaders welded them into stronger units. The population remained scattered in small towns and agrarian in occupation. Industrialization came slow. Non-Mormons in any great numbers entered the area only recently.

Conclusions

Because of the unity of the population, with little outside influence until recent years, the people have resisted outside organizations, preferring to follow their native leaders, rather than those of labor unions.

CHAPTER II

THE INFLUENCE OF THE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

To understand the development of the labor movement in Utah County, one must first understand the industrial growth of the area. It would be an unusual occurrence if unions should be established in anticipation of coming industry, for they have generally grown as a result of misuse or imagined misuse of the laboring force. So it is that unions must be preceded by well-established and entrenched industry, that has grown to such a size as to warrant organizational attempts. There must also be a certain degree of despotism or autocracy on the part of at least some of the employers in the field before men will need to unite. There is also need for fairly well developed lines of communication with outside industrialized areas, which through the influence of their already established unions, will encourage, aid and give excuse for the development of the "great brotherhood" in any particular section.

Utah County has been somewhat unique in its industrial

growth -- a uniqueness which has militated against unionization until very recent years. As pointed out in the first chapter, it has been an agricultural area which has never been a very fertile field in this country for unions. The railroads have been somewhat delayed in making an effective appearance in the Valley, as have other means of communication. The County, until the last thirty years, was industrialized largely by religious men, and the laboring force has generally been, until those same years, largely of a religious and conservative nature.

The Pioneer Period - 1849-1868

The first twenty years of the Valley's history were distinctively pioneer. The population was built up quite rapidly, but remained small and decentralized, and the early industries and businesses were established for the needs of the local citizenry exclusively.

Conditions Adverse to Industrialization.---The only source of fuel during this period was the scrub wood of the immediate vicinity, and the larger timber of the mountains. A more substantial fuel for manufacturing processes was found across the lake in Cedar Valley. However, the distance and terrain were prohibitive for much of the County, except during the winter when the Lake would generally freeze over. When it refused to do so, a great hardship was invoked.

Trade was conducted mostly by barter -- a deterrent to unionization. The absence of railroads or other adequate means of transportation, and the lack of exports, greatly limited the supply of money. The soldiers quartered across the Lake, and the gold seekers on their way to the gold fields of California left some money in the hands of the people, but this was needed to purchase goods from the East, and for postage.

The railroads had not found their way across the continent nor into the Valley, and heavy, efficient machinery was not available until the roads came in 1869.¹ Local roads for wagon travel were inadequate. Some activity in this direction took place beginning in 1855.

The people during this period were mostly engrossed in just establishing themselves in an inhospitable climate and country. They were beset almost yearly by Indian wars, drouths, and grasshopper plagues.

Early Industrial Developments.--The first business establishment in the new area was a gristmill owned by two men, Higbee and Smith, which was completed in the fall of 1850 -- a year after the settlement of Provo, and just in time for the harvest of that year. Other towns in the County usually established as their first industrial

¹They did not enter the Valley for several years after the continent was spanned.

enterprise a gristmill, as flour was one of the most important staples the people had. In the following year, a carding mill was established on the Provo River, and the County's first lime kiln was fired.

The County experienced some excitement in 1852 when The Deseret Manufacturing Company was organized by one of the apostles of the Church, with the intention of establishing a sugar industry in Provo. Equipment was shipped to Provo from Liverpool, England, in that year, but lay idle for some time, finally being sent to Salt Lake, and where Sugar House is now located was set up. However, it seemed destined to failure, for after several years the business failed, the technical difficulties being too great for the climate and development of the territory.

The residents of the area continued to add to their productive capacity, and in a letter of September 27, 1852, George A. Smith described the industrial development of Provo, stating that there were at that time three sawmills, one gristmill, one shingle machine, one carding machine, one turning lathe for wooden bowls, one threshing machine and two cabinet shops.¹

Three months later in another letter he described the establishment of a new grist mill, a sash factory, three

¹The Millennial Star, Vol. XIV, p. 668.

buzz saws, three blacksmith shops, three shoe shops, two tailor shops, one meat market, two stores, and two lime kilns.¹

In 1851, the citizens of the County were often found engaged in the process of producing adobe bricks.² The venture required little capital, and most anyone could go into the business. The bricks proved quite satisfactory in the early days, but people realized that they were just temporary and that something more permanent was needed. In 1866, the first fired brick in the County was produced in Provo, and the industry continued to grow into the following eras.

The city of Lehi, at that time designated as Sulphur Springs, had attempted in the early 60's to establish a sugar cane industry for the production of molasses. For a while, most of the farmers produced cane, but the business failed after a few years.

¹Ibid., Vol. XV, p. 286.

²The art of adobe brickmaking was brought to the people of Utah by the intrepid Samuel Brannan in the year 1847 -- the same year that the Mormons first entered Salt Lake Valley. He had sailed around the Horn with a group of Church members on the ship, Brooklyn, and after establishing the people in California, had crossed the mountains and deserts, meeting Brigham Young and his vanguard in Wyoming. The purpose of his visit was to induce the leader to bring the people to California. Failing in his purpose, he returned to California, but only after leaving the people with the art he had acquired from the Californians.

Most of the early pioneer towns followed rather closely the pattern established by Provo. Each town was settled by hand-picked people, selected by Brigham Young in such a way that each town would be quite sufficient of itself. Each town had its gristmills, adobe manufacturers, leather shops, lumber mills and cabinet shops, blacksmiths and general merchandise store. It must be realized that these were rather primitive establishments with small hand equipment for the most part, and oftentimes poor raw materials with which to work. The articles which they produced were usually rather coarse and crude. These businesses were all on a small scale, employing but few men if any, and were generally conducted by religious men, in common bonds of brotherhood.¹ It would seem that there was little treatment of workers that would serve for serious employee dissatisfaction.

The Era of Local Development - 1869-1921

This era was marked by the development and mechanization of local industry. It was accomplished largely by local labor, and the necessary capital was raised within the State.

¹One of the greatest incentives to unionization is the need for a feeling of brotherhood and fraternity. Where it already exists in some other very inclusive organizations, the union will always find a barrier to its efforts. Once a worker loses his bonds of fraternity with an organization, he is more subject to organizational efforts.

The Mormon Church greatly assisted the budding industries, and often aid came from such pioneer capitalists as A. O. Smoot, Jesse Knight and Brigham Young. The railroads and mining interests were the only outside influences that penetrated the economy of the County to any great degree. These prepared the groundwork for greater industrialization in subsequent periods.

The Railroad.--The era began with the completion of the transcontinental Union Pacific Railroad in 1869. This road did not pass through the County, but its entrance into the territory just to the north made possible the bringing in of heavy machinery on the railroad to the terminals to the north, and then hauling it by wagons and sleds to locations in the County.

Here again, Utah County lost its opportunity to become one of the early industrial centers of the State. It had originally been planned to bring the railroad down Provo Canyon. However, for some reason engineers decided to bring it into Ogden. As pointed out in the first chapter, Ogden grew rapidly as a result of this change and became Utah's second city in size and development, with Provo remaining distinctively residential and conservative.

In 1873, the Utah Southern Railroad, later taken over by the Union Pacific, reached Provo and gradually worked its way south to other County towns. It was the cause of great

joy, for it was a connection with the outside world. In 1879, a line was completed connecting the coal fields of Pleasant Valley with Springville, and was extended to Provo in the following year.

The railroad brought into the County a mixed blessing, for while it made possible the erection of modern factories with heavy, efficient machinery with which to produce better goods, it also brought in effective competition that proved to be the anathema to many home industries effecting their death.

In 1881, this narrow gauge line to Pleasant Valley was purchased by the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad, to become part of its main line connecting Denver with Salt Lake City. This road remained narrow gauge until 1889 when it became of standard width. In 1897, the company was given a franchise to build a road down Provo Canyon, the building of which followed. In 1917, railroad shops were built in Provo, and were used jointly by the Union Pacific and the Utah Railway, which was a coal road owned by the U. S. Smelting, Refining and Mining Company. In 1915, an electric railway was completed, connecting Provo with Salt Lake and intervening towns. The road was later extended to towns to the south.

Other Utilities.--Provo's first electric service came from the Provo Woolen Mills, the franchise being granted to A. O. Smoot, represented by the later Senator from Utah,

Reed Smoot. In 1899, the Electric Company, an agent of the Telluride Power Company of Colorado, took over the franchise and built Nunn's station in Provo Canyon. In 1912, the company became consolidated with the Utah Power and Light. The first gas franchise was granted in 1890, during the boom, but was never taken up. In 1912, a gas plant was begun, but never completed, being taken over by a Salt Lake firm in 1914. By 1917, gas mains had been extended to Springville and Spanish Fork.

The Provo Woolen Mills.--The largest industry in the County during the greater portion of this era was begun in 1869 when a group of County men organized the Timpanogas Manufacturing Company with a prospective capital of \$1,000,000. A flour mill was purchased from John Taylor of Salt Lake City, and in 1870 the cornerstone of the new building was laid in a religious ceremony, presided over by President A. O. Smoot, the spiritual leader of Provo, and three of the local bishops.

A. O. Smoot, assisted by one of the bishops, supervised the construction, the work being done largely by local labor, which was paid for in stocks. The necessary capital came from various men in Utah. The city of Provo assisted by the donation of 500 bushels of wheat, and the County Court added another thousand bushels. The building was completed in 1872 at a cost of \$155,000 -- a large sum of money, considering the meager circumstances of the people.

While the building could be erected without much of a cash outlay, the machinery could be obtained only by United States currency. Here Brigham Young, who was not only the leader of the Church but a successful capitalist in his own right, advanced the company the sum of \$70,000. F. X. Loughery of Philadelphia was engaged to set the machinery up, and in October of 1872, the first yarn was spun and sold, followed by the production of cloth in the following year. In 1889, the company became known as the Provo Woolen Mills, by which name it was known until the end of its usefulness.

At its peak, the company employed about 200 persons and had a yearly production of approximately \$200,000, which included some 3,000 pairs of blankets. Unfortunately, the mills were caught in the nationwide depression of the early ninety's, and about the turn of the century closed its doors. After almost a decade, Jesse Knight, Utah's first millionaire, and a citizen of Utah, with a group of associates took over the old mill, being assisted financially by the Church. In 1914 a cutting and sewing department was added, and a brave attempt made to bring the business up to its pre-depression level. It had a succession of managers, with rather indifferent success, until John Smith, an outstanding production expert, was put in charge. He was able to bring the business up to a rather high degree of efficiency from 1916-1918.

On July 30, 1918, disaster struck in the form of a fire which destroyed most of the buildings and equipment. The company had war contracts and it attempted without success to gain government assistance. It secured local capital and rebuilt, but fought a losing battle until its death in 1930.

The periods of successful management had been brief, and there was little opportunity for unionization based on wage demands, as it could not have stood the financial strain usually accompanying it at any time in its history. Its officers had been largely religious men, and employees were generally treated within the spirit of the brotherhood they held common ground in, and thus unionization attempts on grounds of mistreatment would have failed.

Brickmaking.--The Pioneer Period had seen the beginning of this industry, adobe bricks first being made, followed by fired brick in 1866. The industry had grown to where the W. Allen Company employed ten men in 1874. However, the brick was still made by hand. Cook Liddeard and Company began the manufacture of machine-made brick probably some time during the 80's. During this period several other companies were established, but with little success.

Toward the close of the period, in 1920, the Provo Brick and Tile Company, with capital stock at \$50,000 was established, and several years later employed forty men, five

teams, operated seven kilns, and shipped its product to Ogden, Price, Moab and Caliente, Nevada.

Provo Foundry and Machine Company.--This company was organized in 1885 with a capital of \$30,000, but failed three years later. The following year, 1889, it was leased to Pierpont and Son, who successfully operated it until it failed in 1893, a result of the nationwide and local depression.

The property lay idle for several years until it was purchased by Thomas Pierpont and a man named Heaten in 1898. Three years later, they purchased another foundry, the Sun, that had been operating in Provo, and combined the two. In 1903, Pierpont bought out Heaten, and assuming the original name, began to operate under a more progressive program. Modern equipment was added, and in 1910, the company was incorporated under the same name and became one of the most modern and largest foundries in the State, employing from fifty to one hundred men at the end of the era.

Lumber and Construction.--In 1870, A. O. Smoot and William Paxman organized the Paxman and Smoot Company, doing a small business in lumber, lath, shingles and coal. In 1879, it became a part of the Provo Lumber, Manufacturing and Building Company, with a stock of \$40,000. It built a machine shop, put in planers, saws, moulding machines and other machinery for the making of doors, sash, moulding and so forth, later

adding machinery for making wire and picket fences. It was very successful, contracting for and completing many of the largest and most important structures in the city of Provo. In 1898, it was reorganized as the Smoot Lumber Company. It, however, attained no great size.

The Sugar Industry.--Utah County had failed to establish a sugar industry in the Pioneer Period, as did Salt Lake City, based upon sugar cane. However, with the importation of the sugar beet from Europe in 1890, and the establishment of a factory in Lehi in 1890, the County became the first successful beet sugar manufacturer in the Rocky Mountain West.

The factory was put up by the Utah Sugar Company, which was attracted to Lehi by the offer of \$6,000. The buildings cost \$500,000, being the largest investment in the County, the Mormon Church having heavily invested in the industry. In the spring of 1891, the first beets were planted, and that year the factory produced one million pounds of refined, granulated sugar.

The manufacturing process was managed by a man who had worked in the industry in California; however, the labor was almost entirely local. The business expanded, having pipe lines for beet juice connecting with several surrounding towns, and finally establishing factories in other areas. As new factories were opened, men working the factory in Lehi

were transferred to open up the new plant. In spite of the fact that some of its factories have closed, it has grown to a point where it has plants throughout the Rocky Mountains. A great deal of control was exercised by the Mormon Church, and favorable conditions, at least for those days, usually surrounded the workers.

Mining.--There were three mining areas in the County during this period. The first opened up some time in the 70's in Pleasant Valley where coal was discovered. In 1879, a railroad connecting the coal fields with Springville, and then Provo was completed. This was a great boon to the County, for it made possible the establishment of many new industries.

Another area that opened up about the same time was the Tintic area, where silver and gold were found in large quantities. Only a small portion of the fields were actually located in the County, most of it lying in the County to the south. It was here Jesse Knight opened a mine that produced his great wealth.

The other mining area was up American Fork Canyon, from which was taken many millions in gold, silver and lead. Silver ore was first discovered here in the early 70's. The mines here were mostly non-Mormon projects. The first claim was known as the Sunbeam Lode. However, the principal mine was that of a man named Miller, who sold it to an eastern

company, known as Aspinwall Company, for \$120,000. In 1871, the Sultania Smelter went up to smelt the ores coming out of the canyon. In the following year, Aspinwall built a railroad up the canyon to haul the ore down. At first an engine was used, having been hauled from the railroad terminus in Lehi on sleds. Later it was replaced by teams of horses. Gradually the ore diminished, and the tracks were pulled up in 1878. In 1902 there was a brief revival when George Tyng discovered another rich lode.

Merchandising.--In 1853, Andrew J. Stewart established the first store of any importance in Utah County. Other early establishments were conducted by Buch and Stubbs, and Bachman and Hanks, Bachman being a Jew.

With the coming of the railroad, the Mormons feared that great forces would come into play for the breaking up of their people. The Church advocated that Mormons should buy only from Mormons, which principle lead to the organization of Utah's first cooperative store¹ in Provo in 1869. There were two cooperative stores in Provo, and branches in other

¹It appears that the cooperative stores were organized in about the same manner as corporations. Subscriptions were obtained from individuals who were called stockholders. By January of 1869, subscriptions to a total of \$22,000 had been obtained for the Provo Cooperative Association. One man turned over his store building and merchandise for \$3,000 in stock in the institution. A superintendent was appointed by the stockholders to manage the affairs of the business.

towns that were successful for two decades. However, during the depression of the 90's most of them failed.

In 1890, Taylor Brothers was organized as such, having its actual beginning in 1866. A J. C. Penney store was started in 1910, being one of the very early stores of that chain. In 1921, the Dixon-Taylor-Russell Company was established, which today has branches in several other towns of the County. Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution warehouses were built in Provo in the early 80's for wholesale groceries. John Scowcroft and Sons Company of Ogden established a wholesale grocery business in the 80's, but sold it to the Utah Wholesale Grocery Company in 1907. There were other stores throughout the County. Many of the towns had a branch of the Z. C. M. I.

Other Smaller Industries.--In 1895 George Startup, with capital of \$80 and some candy equipment that had belonged to his father, went into the candy-making business, establishing the Startup Candy Company. By 1922, it employed 175 men. It claimed to be the first factory in Utah to put its employees on a profit-sharing basis.

The first canning company was established in 1888 with a stock of \$10,000, but had indifferent success for only a couple of years, when it was discontinued. In 1917, the Goddard Packing Company of Ogden built a factory, but the

business failed in 1920 when, due to high labor and produce costs and a large stock of canned goods it couldn't sell, it became insolvent. In 1922 it was put back into operation by the National Packing Company.

The A. F. Ahlander Manufacturing Company was established in 1881 for the purpose of making carriages and wagons. When automobiles came along, it began the manufacture of such, producing autos and truck bodies in 1922.

The Beginning of Real Industrialization 1922-1939

The previous era, 1869-1921, was one of local development wherein the railroads and mining and electrical development were the only major stranger interests invading the peaceful, homogenous atmosphere of Utah County. Industry from the more industrialized areas of the country had not yet found its way into the County. The industries already present were mostly small and only of local importance. They were generally managed by local men, whose interests were largely in the development of the County, the benefits to be accrued to the County. However, the previous period had well prepared the Valley for the new era. Communication had been well established in the railroads and telephone and telegraph. Water was plentiful, and several towns had developed enough to handle the growth that was to come.

Columbia Steel - Ironton.--The area was thrown into

a great upheaval when in 1922 the Columbia Steel Company of California announced that it had chosen it as the locale of a new major development, the Ironton pig iron plant. It was not a new idea, for in the 80's, A. A. Noon had fostered the idea of iron manufacturing in the County. He devoted many years of his life in an attempt to establish such, giving many lectures, especially in the years 1886-1887. The money was not forthcoming for such a development, and his efforts were in vain.

It took a large company to finance the construction of a pig iron plant. In 1921, Columbia Steel became very interested in Utah County as the site for a new plant to provide the West Coast with needed pig. Conditions in the County were favorable. Coal was available in Emery and Carbon Counties in great abundance. Iron ore was plentifully discovered in Iron and Washington Counties -- a little over a hundred miles away. Sufficient water for industrial use and expanded culinary usage was available. Four railroads served much of the area. There was sufficient labor force. Lime was available in almost unlimited amounts.

Springville and Provo were alert to the possibilities of such an industry coming in. In 1922, they offered to the company some one thousand acres of land between the two towns for the erection of a plant. The company accepted the offer,

and in April of 1923, construction on the great plant began. No time was wasted in its construction. Trainload after trainload of needed materials found their immediate way to the site. Contracts were let and laborers engaged. By April of 1924, the plant had reached a point where production of pig iron began. Several weeks later the coke ovens were producing.

During the construction period the payroll was around \$90,000, most of the money staying in the County. After production got well underway, the payroll of the plant increased to around \$1,000,000 a year. The coke ovens of Columbia were producing 400 tons of pig iron a day, 500 tons of coke, 1,000 gallons of coal tar, 3,000 gallons of motor benzol, and 25,000 pounds of ammonium sulphate.

In 1929, on October 31, the U. S. Steel Company came into possession of the plant and its subsidiaries.

The Republic Creosoting Company.--Columbia was not the only new industry to establish itself. It became the catalytic agent for new hopes and new industries, its products providing an incentive for several firms to establish themselves in the County. The first of these was the Republic Creosoting Company of Minneapolis, Minnesota, which signed a contract for all of the coal tar by-product of the plant in September of 1923. In February of the following year, construction began on the \$300,000 plant near Ironton. It was

rapidly pushed to completion and became one of the important firms in the area. Its principal products were creosote and carbon coke.

The National Pump Company.--The first subsidiary company to begin a plant was the National Pump Company of Denver, Colorado, which began building operations preparatory to moving the company. The plant was never able to become established as question was raised to the business practices of the owner, H. O. Jackson, and the County lost what may have become an important addition to the industrial picture.

The Pacific States Cast Iron Pipe Company.--Columbia was producing a large surplus of pig iron, and in 1926 the Pacific States Pipe Company began operations utilizing this surplus, with a capacity of fifty tons of pipe a day. It was owned jointly by Columbia Steel and The McWane Cast Iron Pipe Company of Birmingham, Alabama. The plant which they constructed was one of the finest in the country, and the only one of its kind west of the Mississippi. It was the first local plant to use pig iron for production purposes. In 1929, it increased its capacity from fifty tons to one hundred tons a day. It, along with Columbia and Republic, remained strong through the depression years of the thirties, carrying a payroll of around \$600,000, and a daily average production of about seventy tons of pipe a day.

Construction.--During both decades of this period, building and other types of construction assumed an important role in the industrial picture of the County. First, there was the building of the plants of the new industries, just treated. Along with them, and as a direct result, building of private residences boomed. As soon as people heard of the possible entry of steel, real estate values jumped high. People began to move in with the industries in the early part of the 20's, and they needed houses. In 1924, a depression year for most of the country, there were over four hundred houses built in Provo alone.

Many new schools were constructed. The Post Office and Federal Building was begun in 1937; the City and County Building completed in 1926 at a cost of \$576,495. The library underwent extensive remodeling in 1939, as did the Utah State Hospital for the mentally ill in 1934-1935. The Utah Valley Hospital was completed in 1939, and the Pioneer Memorial Building in 1935. Highways were built, churches constructed, and the Deer Creek Dam was started,¹ and while not being in the County geographically, County labor was used and its effects strongly felt in the new quantities of water it brought into the area, making possible greater expansion. Construction was the most active industry during the depression, making possible unionization in that field.

¹Not completed until 1942.

Utilities.--During this period, utilities had to expand greatly to meet the increase in population. The Utah Valley Gas and Coke Company obtained contracts with Columbia for the distribution of the gas produced there as a by-product. It was distributed to many Utah County towns. The Utah Power and Light Company and the Mountain States Telephone and Telegraph Company greatly expanded their services to care for the increasing population. During this period, several hydroelectric plants were added, making a total of nine in the County.

Canning and Processing.--In 1924 the area had six modern packing plants with an aggregate capacity of a million cases of fruits and vegetables a year. In Pleasant Grove, the plant produced strawberries and jam. The Parker plant near Geneva processed tomatoes, while the National Packing Company in Provo canned peas, string beans, tomatoes, pumpkin, apple and other vegetables. The plant in Spanish Fork canned cherries and crushed fruits, and the Utah Packing Corporation under contract with Del Monte produced canned vegetable and fruits.

Sugar was still being produced in great quantities, the industry having expanded with four plants in Payson, Spanish Fork, Springville and Lehi. The milling industry had expanded to a point where in 1924 there were nine modern

flour mills in the County. Added to the roster were two cereal food mills, seven candy factories and nine dairy product plants.

While these industries had greatly expanded, their generally seasonal production militated against unionization efforts within the industry.

Other Industries.--Mining still enjoyed some activity, having fallen greatly in production. The coal fields of Pleasant Valley had lost their importance to the more productive fields of Carbon and Emery Counties. Much of the high producing ores of the Tintic and American Fork Canyon had been withdrawn, but that left still provided opportunity for profitable extraction. Spanish Fork Canyon and Soldiers Summit were providing ozokerite ores, a wax-like hydrocarbon used in making candles and ceresin.

Two new foundries were established as a natural consequence of the entrance of steel, as well as several brick and tile companies. As would be expected, several new lumber yards were established to provide the needed materials for the increased building activity. Most of the yards in the County were added to in plant activities.

The greatest loss to the County in this period was that of the Knight Woolen Mills in 1930. They were working double shifts in the boom days of 1927 and 1928. The mills

had never been on a very sure basis, for competition from the East and foreign countries was very great. When the depression hit they could not stand the strain and ceased operation, never to be reopened.

On the whole, the first part of this period was one of great addition to the industry of the County. The Annual Report of the City of Provo in 1924 contained these words which epitomize the effects of steel on the area, and while directed to Provo, may be applied to the County: "Steel is the transmutator of the old Provo to the new Provo, and foretells the advent of a new era of prosperity and progress culminating in the future Provo. . ."¹

While the words were not immediately fulfilled due to the nationwide depression of the 30's, once prosperity returned they were to be realized. The successful operation of the Ironton works made possible the great expansion of the following period. It also provided an opportunity for a nucleus unionization of labor that would carry over into the war years and make possible a great expansion in that field.

The Modern Era of Industrialization 1940-1950

With the advent of World War II, Utah County once again became a bee hive of activity and optimism. Except

¹Annual Report of the Provo Chamber of Commerce, 1924, p. 29.

for construction, the economy had made little progress for ten years. The anticipations of the early 20's had bogged down; however, ideas and plans had been germinating, and the war with its increased demand for goods offered the necessary stimulus for major developments. The County was prepared for what was to come. The population had, as indicated in the first chapter grown tremendously, pursuant to the Mormon ideal of large families and the rural composition of the citizenry. This provided an adequate supply of labor for new industry. Public utilities, including electricity, railroads and water had been expanded far beyond the immediate needs. Coal and iron deposits of other sections of the State had proven themselves adequate in quantity and quality for any major developments, and lime was in sufficient abundance within the County. Here was an area all poised for the strike.

Geneva Steel.--In 1941, W. A. Hauck of the O. P. M. Bureau of the Federal Government, after a rather careful survey, estimated that there was a Western deficiency of some 2,624,000 tons in iron ingot capacity, and recommended an expansion of two 1,000-ton blast furnaces, twelve 100-ton open hearth furnaces, plate mills, structural steel mill, and other finishing mills. He said that Utah was the best place west of the Rockies for such development, due to all of its natural and accumulated advantages. In the autumn of that year Utah Senators Thomas and Murdock began agitation for the

erection of a plant in Utah at Vineyard near the lake resort of Geneva. The campaign was successful, and in April of 1942, preliminary construction began.

The location of the plant containing some 1,500 acres was selected by William J. Hickey, of Washington, D. C., a plant expert for the Defense Plant Corporation. The site contained many springs developed by former residents, and water from the Deer Creek Project could be made available. It was estimated that the project would cost \$126,000,000, but at war-inflated prices it eventually cost about \$200,000,000. The immediate plan was to complete four blast furnaces, a slabbing mill, an open hearth furnace, and plate mill, and several others. A capacity of 1,450,000 tons of pig iron, 840,000 tons of open hearth ingots and 500,000 tons of steel plate was planned, the completion of which took about two years. It was the largest government project of its kind during the war.

It was built by United States Steel Company for the government. It was able to produce some steel plates for shipbuilding before the close of the war. After peace came, on May 1, 1946, U. S. Steel offered a bid to the War Assets Corporation for the total of \$47,500,000 cash for the purchase of the Geneva plant, with a pledge to spend at least \$18,600,000 in reconversion. The contemplated reconversion included equipment for annual production of 286,000 tons of hot rolled coils

for the production of cold reduced sheets and tin plate. Peace-time production began in July of the same year. Producing at full capacity, it could utilize 5,000 men, becoming the County's largest employer.

Several rolling mills have been added to the plant since the war, and it has continued in steady production except for layoffs due to strikes, and it appears that it will remain a permanent fixture.

Ironton.--Ironton Blast Furnace No. 1 has continued in almost steady production, except for strike-induced layoffs since the war. During the war another blast furnace, called No. 2, was added, producing for the government only a year, after which it was closed down. In May of 1948, the Kaiser-Frazer Corporation put the plant back into production. It drew away from Geneva many of their most experienced men and soon reached a peak production of 700-800 tons of pig iron a day, employing 375 men. The opening was made with great fanfare and expectations; however, it wasn't long before they lost their principal Eastern market, necessitating the cut-back to 300 tons, employing only 200 men. Finally in 1949 they were forced to cease production altogether as the Western markets were not great enough.

Pacific States Cast Iron Pipe Company.--The first part of 1941 this company was employing some 500 men, being Utah County's largest employer. It had made an addition to its

original plant in 1932, and in 1946 it completed a second, instituting greater mechanization. After this addition, it was capable of producing pipe up to twelve inches in width and eighteen feet in length. Since the war, production has been curtailed a little, and the plant now employs around 375 men with an annual payroll of a half-million dollars.

General Refractories and the Spanish Fork Powder

Factory.--These were entirely new industries introduced into the County during this period. During the war, the government built in Lehi a silica¹ brick plant which was operated by Gladding-McBean and Company. It was engaged in producing silica brick for the Geneva plant. In 1946 the plant was purchased by General Refractories Company of Philadelphia from the War Assets Administration for \$375,000. It has a production capacity of about 4,000,000 bricks, of which Geneva uses about 3,500,000. It now employs about fifty men.

In 1941 the Illinois Powder Manufacturing Company built a plant for the production of dynamite and powder for commercial use in Spanish Fork, at a cost of about \$500,000.

Barbizon.--In 1946 the Barbizon Company established a plant on the old woolen mills site in Provo for the production of women's slips and at present employs 125-150 women. The greatest reason for the establishment of this plant in this area was the unexploited female labor market.

¹Silica is an acid refractory used in the production of steel which is found in inexhaustible supplies in Utah.

Mining.--Mining still maintained itself in the present period. In 1940 the County was the fourth in the State in the production of gold, lead, silver, copper and zinc, of which it was producing some \$3,000,000 worth a year. There are thirteen mines in the Tintic area, extracting some 135,202 short tons a year, while the seven mines in American Fork Canyon produce only 570 short tons. The mines in the Tintic area are controlled by two companies, Tintic Standard Mining Company and International Smelting and Refining Company. Those in American Fork are controlled by the American Smelting and Refining Company.

Summary

There have been four major periods of industrial development:

The Pioneer Era - 1849-1869. This period was one of establishment of local, home industries for the production of the immediate needs of the populace. They were small and mostly owned by members of the Mormon Church. The brotherhood which the Church fosters generally led to amicable relations between the employer and employee. The size, newness and relations militated against any unionization of workers.

The Era of Local Development - 1869-1921. This period was one in which the pioneering industries expanded by their own efforts, assisted by financing from the Mormon Church and several local capitalists who were not only leaders in

financial affairs but in the Church as well. The only outside interests of any great importance were those of the mines and the railroads, which industries caused the importation of many non-Mormon workers. It was in these industries that the possibility of labor organization first became prominent. In the other industries the influence of the Mormon philosophy obviated the necessity for unions. The industries were all insecure, many of them closing up during hard years.

The Golden Era of Industrialization - 1922-1939. In this period the County began to industrialize in the commonly accepted definition of the word. The establishment of the Ironton iron works, the Pacific States Pipe Company and the Republic Creosote Company was made by outside capital with the importation of some outside labor from other sections of the country. The construction industry boomed in this period, with some labor being drawn in from other areas. However, the new industries had not much more than been started than the depression of the 30's came along, which formed a barrier to unionization attempts. Construction remained strong throughout the period.

The Modern Era of Industrialization - 1940-1950. The previous period had prepared the County for a major development in the present decade. The war induced the establishment of a powder plant, another blast furnace at Ironton, a silica

brick plant and the erection of the great Geneva steel plant. These industries brought in new residents to the County. The older industries grew and developed. Greater wealth came into the possession of the people, and the increased industrialization increased the demand for labor.

Conclusions

Industrialization of the County has been slow and limited; the depressions and other concerns of the people militated against the formulation of unions until outside industries came in with their greater and more sure sources of capital, as well as the induced influx of outside labor. If the depression of the 30's had not come along, unionization would have become strong, probably about the beginning of that decade. However, the construction industry, remaining strong, and the maintenance of the steel industry and pipe company provided excellent opportunity for labor development, once the County started to come out of the depression. The great industrialization of the last decade with industries little influenced by the peaceful philosophy of the period and the great influx of labor provided a situation pregnant with the possibility of development of the labor movement.

CHAPTER III

THE INFLUENCE OF THE STATE LAW

While a few local ordinances might be construed to apply to labor, they have not been used to the knowledge of the author in such a way, and may be passed by in the present treatise. The State law, however, has from the adopting of the constitution been applicable. The constitution and state statutes have affected the history of the labor movement, and from all appearances will continue. There has been almost no court ruling on cases pertinent to our subject. Only those portions of the law which are especially pertinent to unionization, union security and activity will be treated.

The Constitution

For Utah, it was perhaps fortunate that industrialization was delayed, for the granting of statehood in 1890, previous to the entry of any large industries, gave the State an opportunity to construct its constitution upon the experience of other states with the rising labor revolution. At the time of the adoption of the State Constitution, the country was undergoing a gigantic and bloody revolution of labor against

capital.¹ Many of the evils of a domineering capital had been exposed. A new era was opening up for labor. It was within the spirit of this era that Utah's Constitution had incorporated within itself certain rights and limitations enunciated for the benefit of the working mass.

The Constitution was passed by the Constitutional Convention on May 8, 1895, and was adopted by the people on November 5, 1895. It contains two articles which in part affect labor. Article XII treats corporations, declaring several limitations which materially affect the rights to unionization.

No corporation or association shall bring any armed person or bodies of men into this State for the preservation of the peace, or the suppression of domestic troubles without authority of law.²

This section was incorporated to prevent a company from importing a private police force for the breaking up of employee strikes.³

¹The revolutionists, laborers, had suffered defeat at this particular time in the bloody Homestead and Pullman strikes, occurring in 1892 and 1894, respectively. However, these defeats had a decided effect in the introduction of Article 12, Section 16 into the State Constitution.

²Utah State Constitution, 1895. Article XII, Section 16.

³Some companies in the East had been in the habit of going outside the law for assistance in times of labor conflict. In the Homestead strike of 1892, 200 Pinckerton men with guns and ammunition were transported into the trouble area by the Carnegie Company. The union men resisted them, and in the battle that ensued seven strikers and three Pinckertons were killed. Vincent D. Sweeney, "The First Ten Years," The United Steelworkers of America, p. 22.

Blacklisting¹ had been a prevalent evil in the East and Middle West, and Utah Constitution sought to eliminate this tool of capital within the State:

Every person in this State shall be free to obtain employment whenever possible, and any person, corporation, or agent, servant or employee thereof, maliciously interfering or hindering in any way any person from obtaining or enjoying employment already obtained, from any other corporation or person, shall be deemed guilty of a crime. The Legislature shall provide by law for the enforcement of this section.²

The next section was used as an argument or basis for such against the right to organize. Similar provisions have been used throughout the nation to place controls on labor.

Any combination by individuals, corporations, or associations, having for its object or effect the controlling of the price of any products of the soil, or of any article of manufacture or commerce, or the cost of exchange or transportation, is prohibited, and hereby declared unlawful, and against public policy. . . .³

Later law⁴ specifically exempted labor unions from coming within the pale of this particular section.

Article XVI of the Utah State Constitution deals with labor. Several sections are pertinent to our subject -- the

¹A technique of employers whereby they communicate to other employers the name of a trouble-maker to prevent him from obtaining work.

²Utah State Constitution, 1895. Article XII, Section 19.

³Ibid., Article XII, Section 20.

⁴Revised Statutes - 1933, 49-2-2.

right to unionize. We shall leave out those sections which do not specifically apply.

The rights of labor shall have just protection through laws calculated to promote the industrial welfare of the State.

The Legislature shall provide by law for a Board of Labor, Conciliation, and Arbitration, which shall fairly represent the interests of both capital and labor. The Board shall perform duties and receive compensation, as prescribed by law.

The Legislature shall prohibit:

The contracting of convict labor.¹

The political and commercial control of employees.

The exchange of blacklists by railroad companies, or other corporations, associations or persons is prohibited.

The legislature, by appropriate legislation, shall provide for the enforcement of the provisions of this article.²

It can be seen that Utah's Constitution, though of custom and necessity skeleton in form, made adequate provision for the laws which later were enacted for the protection of the labor movement. The interesting thing about these provisions in the Constitution is that they were made with little pressure of organized labor in the State, for the few organizations that existed were of little influence. It showed perspective and tolerance on the part of the citizens of Utah for the rights of labor, in the absence of great masses of labor.

The Revised Statutes of Utah -- 1933

There was some labor legislation in 1917 which attempted to fulfill the commission of the Constitution in Article XVI,

¹The custom of leasing or hiring such labor to individuals or corporations. Often used to compete against organized labor.

²Ibid., Article XVI, Sections 104, 7.

Section 2, authorizing the Legislature to organize a Board of Labor, Conciliation and Arbitration. This law is included in the Revised Statutes of 1933, which we shall use as our source, as it includes all interpretations up to that year, 1933.

Pursuant to the authority granted by the Constitution (Article XVI, Section 2) for the organization of a Board of Labor, the State Legislature established the State Industrial Commission. The major portion of the duties of this commission was to assure the safeguarding of the health and employment of workers.¹ However, one of the enumerated duties of the commission was to act as a board of labor, conciliation and arbitration.² Upon hearing of a pending strike or lockout, the commission was to communicate with the contesting parties and encourage them to submit an application for arbitration by that body, which application must be tendered before the strike or lockout. Upon receipt of the application, which must include a promise to abide by the decision of the commission (being signed by the employer and by the majority of the workers), the commission is to attempt to arrive at an agreed upon statement of facts surrounding the dispute. If this is not possible, a request should be made for an independent statement from each of the parties to the controversy. The commission shall then investigate the reasons for controversy and arrive at a fair

¹Revised Statutes of Utah - 1933, Title 42.

²Ibid., 42-1-15, also 49-1-1.

decision, stating the courses of action that should be followed to settle the dispute. The decision shall then be made public, recorded by the secretary and reported to the governor.¹

Thus, machinery was set up for a fair and equitable settlement of labor difficulties. It must be emphasized that there was no element of force. That is, the commission had no power to force the parties to the controversy to seek either conciliation or arbitration.² Nor did it have any power to enforce the observance of its decisions.³

As previously pointed out, the State Constitution, Article XII, Section 20, forbids trusts and combinations in restraint of trade. The Revised Statutes specifically exempt labor from coming within the restriction of that law:

The labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce. Nothing contained in the antitrust laws shall be construed to forbid the existence and operation of labor, agriculture, or horticultural organizations, instituted for the purpose of mutual help and not having capital stock or conducted for profit, or to forbid or restrain individual members of such organizations from lawfully carrying out the legitimate objects thereof; nor

¹Ibid., 49-1-2, 3, 6, 7 - Repealed by the Law of 1937, Chapter 55, Section 1, and replaced by Section 2.

²The commission appears to have had the cooperation of labor and management, who called at various times for conciliators. In the Troy Laundry case presented in Chapter VI, conciliation was requested, but the disputing parties settled their difficulties on their own.

³In the Sutton Cafe case (see Chapter VI), the management refused to observe the order of the commission, holding that it was an unfair decision. The decision was later reversed upon presentation of more information.

shall such organizations, or membership therein, be held to be illegal combinations or conspiracies in restraint of trade under the antitrust laws.¹

The law goes even further than this exemption:

It shall not be unlawful for working men or women to organize themselves into, or carry on, labor unions for the purpose of lessening hours of labor, increasing wages, bettering the conditions of the members or carrying out the legitimate purposes of such organizations, as freely as they could do if acting singly.²

Workers are further freed from persuasion by the employer in voting,³ and more definitely liberated from fear of the blacklist. The Revised Statute further protects the workers from the malicious use of the injunction, these three provisions being made:

1. No injunction shall be issued in a dispute on terms or conditions of employment except to prevent irreparable damage to property or property rights, that is not remediable at law.⁴
2. No injunction shall be issued to prevent work stoppage, or peaceably persuading by assembly, print or otherwise, persons to cease work or patronizations. Further stipulation is made that these acts shall not be held as violation of law.⁵

¹Ibid., 49-2-2.

²Ibid., 49-2-1.

³Ibid., 25-12-7.

⁴Ibid., 49-5-1,2.

⁵An interview with Mr. Daniel Edwards of the Industrial Commission leaves the author with the opinion that these limitations were observed in actual practice. He said that no injunctions to his knowledge have been issued in contravention of the limitations placed upon that power.

3. Any persons charged with contempt of court for violation of injunctions issued under this law, shall have the right to trial by jury, the court proceedings to follow the same course as trials in criminal cases.¹

However, organized labor is not only protected by law, but its activities are limited. It is made unlawful to:

1. In any illegal way induce a person to quit work or refrain from accepting employment.
2. Prevent a person from working where he desires and at the compensation he wishes. (Repealed 1937)
3. Prevent persons from patronizing a place of business. (Repealed 1937)
4. Threaten a person with property or bodily harm for entering or remaining in the employ of anyone.
5. In any way suggest, teach or advocate criminal syndicalism¹ or sabotage,² or to knowingly allow such action to take place on one's premises.³

It is interesting to note that there were almost no permanent labor organizations in Utah County until approximately

¹Ibid., 103-54-1. Defined to be the doctrine which advocates crime, violence, force, arson, destruction of property, sabotage or other unlawful acts or methods, as a means of accomplishing or effecting industrial or political ends, or as a means of effecting industrial or political revolution.

²Ibid., 103-54-2. Defined as the malicious felonious, intentional or unlawful damage of injury to, or destruction of, real or personal property, in any form whatsoever, of any employer or owner by his employees, or by any employer, or by any person at the instance of any employer, or at the instance, request or instigation of employees, or any persons.

³Ibid., 49-2-3, 4, 5; 103-35-2; 103-54-3,4,5. 49-2-4,5 later repealed by the law of 1937, Chapter 58, Section 1.

nineteen thirty-three or 1934. Because of the lack of organization, there appears to have been no pressure from the County for any labor legislation up until that time. From this point on, labor began to organize in the Valley, and to influence the later laws.

The Law of 1933

Concurrently with the federal legislation of 1933, Utah showed a progressive spirit in the passing of H. B. No. 48 on March 9, 1933, which became effective May 9, 1933. This act gives a declaration of public policy for the State of Utah with regard to the employer and employee relations:

Negotiations of terms and conditions of labor should result from voluntary agreement between employer and employee. Governmental authority has permitted and encouraged employers to organize in the corporate and other forms of capital control. In dealing with such employers the individual unorganized worker is helpless to exercise actual liberty of contract and to protect his freedom of labor, and thereby to obtain acceptable terms and conditions of employment. Therefore, it is necessary that the individual workman have full freedom of association, self-organization, and designation of representatives of his own choosing, to negotiate the terms and conditions of his employment, and that he shall be free from the interference, restraint or coercion of employers of labor, or their agents, in the designation of such representatives or in self-organization or in other concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining for their mutual aid or protection.¹

The law greatly clarifies the governmental attitude toward the right of labor to organize. This section completely liberates the worker in the right to organize when and in what-

¹Laws of Utah - 1933, Chapter 15, Section 1.

ever direction he so desires. The act further declares certain actions to be contrary to public policy, and consequently without recourse at law or equity against parties to such an undertaking or promise, whether oral, express or employed:

- a. Either party thereto undertakes or promises to join or promises to remain a member of some specific labor organization or organizations, or to join or remain a member of some specific employer organization or any employer organization or organizations; and/or
- b. Either party thereto undertakes or promises not to join or not to remain a member of some specific labor organization or any labor organization or organizations, or of some specific employer organization or any employer organization or organizations; and/or
- c. Either party thereto undertakes or promises that he will withdraw from an employment relation in the event that he joins or remains a member of some specific labor organization or any labor organization or organizations, or of some specific employer organization or any employer organization or organizations.¹

This section was incorporated in the act so as to eliminate the evils surrounding what was known as the "yellow-dog" contracts.² Not only does it eliminate the legal application of such contracts, but part "c" makes a provision which could be interpreted as applying against the present practice of making employees belong to a particular labor union to remain in employment. As far as is known, however, this interpretation is not employed. This same act defines, for the

¹Ibid., Chapter 15, Section 2.

²It was a common practice in the East for an employer to require prospective and incumbent workers to sign a contract whereby they agreed never to join a labor union, or to cease membership in such, or that in the event that they should join or remain members of such organizations, they would quit their job. This was one of the most powerful legal weapons capital had in fighting unionization.

purpose of the act the term, "labor dispute," in the following manner:

- a. A case shall be held to involve or grow out of a labor dispute when the case involves persons who are engaged in a single industry, trade, craft, or occupation; or who are employees of one employer; or who are members of the same or an affiliated organization of employers or employees whether such dispute is (1) between one or more employers or associations of employers and one or more employees or associations of employees; (2) between one or more employers or associations of employers; (3) between one or more employees or associations of employees and one or more employees or associations of employees; or when the case involves any conflicting or competing interests in a "labor dispute" as hereinafter defined of "persons participating or interested" therein as hereinafter defined .
- b. A person or association shall be held to be a person participating or interested in labor dispute if relief is sought against him or it and if he or it is engaged in the industry, trade, craft, or occupation in which such dispute occurs, or is a member, officer, or agent of any association of employers or employees engaged in such industry, trade, craft or occupations.
- c. The term "labor dispute" includes any controversy concerning terms or conditions of employment, or concerning the association or representation of persons in negotiating, fixing, maintaining, changing or seeking to arrange terms or conditions of employment, or concerning employment relations, or any other controversy arising out of the respective interests of employers and employees, regardless of whether or not the disputants stand in the proximate relation of employer and employee.¹

Elaboration on the above section would do little to enhance its usefulness to the reader. The definition is necessary

¹Ibid., Chapter 15, Section 12.

to properly apply any law which might be made. Another section of the law under discussion restricts the liability of officers of any organization for the

unlawful acts of individual officers, members, or agents, except upon . . . both of (a) the doing of such acts by persons who are officers, members or agents of any such association or organization, and (b) actual participation in, or actual authorization of such acts, or ratification of such acts after actual knowledge thereof by such association or organization.¹

This restriction of liability has done much to eliminate the fear of legal retribution for the unauthorized acts of violence which often occur during periods of labor strife. However, it leaves much room for adverse interpretation by a justice with an anti-labor philosophy. As far as has been ascertained, such has never been the case.

The major portion and the remainder of the act deals with the use and limitations in the use of the court injunction. An unfriendly court without limitations in the use of this powerful tool could easily circumvent the spirit of the progressive law by issuing an unfair restraining order, and then punish, without trial, on the grounds of "contempt." Certain actions are exempt from enjoining:

- a. Ceasing or refusing to perform any work or to remain in any relation of employment regardless of any promise, understanding, contract or agreement to do such work or to remain in such employment;
- b. Becoming or remaining a member of any labor organization or of any employer organization,

¹Ibid., Chapter 15, Section 4.

- regardless of any such undertaking or promise;
- c. Paying or giving to, or withholding from, any person any strike or unemployment benefits or insurance or other money or things of value;
 - d. By all lawful means aiding any person who is being proceeded against in, or is prosecuting any action or suit in any court of the United States or of any state;
 - e. Giving publicity to and obtaining or communicating information regarding the existence of, or the fact involved in any dispute, where by advertising, speaking, patrolling any public street or any place where any person or persons may lawfully, be without intimidation or coercion, or by any other method not involving fraud, violence, breach of the peace, or threat thereof;
 - f. Ceasing to patronize or to employ any person or persons;
 - g. Assembling peaceably to do or to organize to do any of the acts heretofore specified;
 - h. Advising or notifying any person or persons of an intention to do any of the acts heretofore specified;
 - i. Agreeing with other persons to do or not to do any of the acts heretofore specified;
 - j. Advising, urging, or inducing without fraud, violence, or threat thereof, others to do the acts heretofore specified;
 - k. Doing in concert of any or all of the acts heretofore specified on the ground that the persons engaged therein constitute an unlawful combination or conspiracy.¹

The act not only eliminates certain actions from the possibility of enjoining, but further safeguards are placed

¹Ibid., Chapter 15, Section 3.

around the use of the injunction or restraining order. The act states that the reason for providing such restrictions is that the use of the injunction in labor disputes is "peculiarly subject to abuse" because (1) it materially affects the "status quo," (2) it is difficult if not impossible to determine facts from conflicting sworn affidavits rather than oral testimony subject to oral examination, (3) any error resulting from the issuance of such is often irreparable, (4) because of the delay involved in the appellate action, any correction of error is often useless.¹

Before any court can issue an injunction, either temporary or permanent, it must find by oral testimony in an open court, subject to cross examination, all of the following elements:

1. That unlawful acts have been threatened or committed and will be executed or continued unless restrained;
2. That substantial and irreparable injury to complainant's property will follow unless the relief requested is granted;
3. That as to each item of relief granted greater injury will be inflicted upon complainant by the denial thereof than will be inflicted upon defendants by the granting thereof;
4. That no item of relief granted is relief that a court or judge thereof has no jurisdiction to restrain or enjoin under Section 3 of this act;²

¹Ibid., Chapter 15, Section 5.

²The section exempting certain actions from the possibility of being enjoined.

5. That complainant has no adequate remedy at law;
and
6. That the public officers charged with the duty to protect complainant's property have failed or are unable to furnish adequate protection.¹

Any hearing conducted shall be held only after personal notice has been served upon all parties involved and public officers involved (or that should be involved). However, provision is made for the issuance of a temporary restraining order after forty-eight hours have elapsed from time of issuance of "order to show cause," and after the complainant has testified that unless such is issued irreparable damage will result. This temporary injunction may be issued by the court upon evidence of affidavits if the judge is reasonably sure of the existence of all elements necessary for the issuance of such,² and this temporary order shall be effective for only five days unless the court hearing has already commenced. However, before such may be issued, the complainant must post adequate security to cover any loss to the defendant from the issuance of a faulty or erroneous injunction. The complainant must also have used every available means for the settlement of such dispute and have complied with all obligations imposed by law.

The court shall upon the request of either of the parties and the posting of the required bond to cover costs,

¹Ibid., Chapter 15, Section 6.

²See previous page.

send all necessary information and records to the proper appellate court for review.

Certain rights are afforded the party who is found in contempt of court for the violation of a court order:

1. The rights as to admission to bail that are accorded to persons accused of crime;
2. The right to be notified of the accusation and a reasonable time to make a defense, provided the alleged contempt is not committed in the immediate view of the presence of the court;
3. Upon demand, the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the judicial district wherein the contempt shall have been committed, provided that this requirement shall not be construed to apply to contempts committed in the presence of the court or so near thereto as to interfere directly with the administration of justice or to apply to the misbehavior, misconduct, or disobedience of any officer of the court in respect to the writs, orders or process of the court;
4. The right to file with the court a demand for the retirement of the judge sitting in the proceeding, if the contempt arises from an attack upon the character or conduct of such judge and if the attack occurred otherwise than in open court. Upon the filing of any such demand the judge shall thereupon proceed no further, but another judge shall be designated by the presiding judge of said court. The demand shall be filed prior to the hearing in the contempt proceeding.¹

Punishment for contempt arising under all the preceding provisions is limited to a maximum of \$100 and/or imprisonment of not more than fifteen days.²

¹Ibid., Chapter 15, Section 10.

²Ibid., Chapter 15, Section 11.

The Law of 1937 - The Utah Labor Relations Act

(The Little Wagner Act)

The State Legislature in 1937 further clarified and liberalized the labor law. Certain chapters and sections of the Revised Statutes were repealed:

1. Title 49, Chapter 1, dealing with the duties, organization and functioning of the Industrial Commission (being replaced).¹
2. Revised Statutes, 49-2-4 which prohibits a union from exercising control over a member.²
3. Revised Statutes, 49-2-5, which restrains the use of picketing.³

A declaration of the policy of the State of Utah with regard to the rights of the workers to organize is made. It is this policy which governs the further actions of the legislature:

The denial by employers of the right of employees to organize and the refusal by employers to accept the procedure of collective bargaining lead to strikes and other forms of industrial strife or unrest, which have the intent or the necessary effect of burdening or obstructing intrastate commerce by (a) impairing the efficiency, safety or operation of the instrumentalities of intrastate commerce; (b) occurring in the current of commerce; (c) materially affecting, restraining or controlling the flow of raw materials or manufactured or processed goods from or into the channels of intrastate commerce; or (d) causing diminution of employment and wages in such volume as substantially to impair or disrupt the market for goods flowing from or into the channels of intrastate commerce and the orderly operation of industry.

¹Laws of Utah - 1937, Chapter 55, Section 1.

²Ibid., Chapter 58, Section 1.

³Ibid., Chapter 58, Section 1.

The inequality of bargaining power between employees who do not possess full freedom of association or actual liberty of contract, and employers who are organized in the corporate or other forms of ownership association substantially burdens and affects the flow of commerce, and tends to aggravate recurrent business depressions, by depressing wage rates and the purchasing power of wage earners in industry and by preventing the stabilization of competitive wage rates and working conditions within and between industries.

Experience has proved that protection by law of the right of employees to organize and bargain collectively safeguards commerce from injury, impairment or interruption, and promotes the flow of commerce by removing certain recognized sources of industrial strife and unrest, by encouraging practices fundamental to the friendly adjustment of industrial disputes arising out of differences as to wages, hours or other working conditions, and by restoring equality of bargaining power between employers and employees.

It is hereby declared to be the policy of the State of Utah to eliminate the causes of certain substantial obstructions to the free operation of industry and to mitigate and eliminate these obstructions when they have occurred by encouraging the practice and procedure of collective bargaining and by protecting the exercise by workers of full freedom of association, self-organization, and designation of representatives of their own choosing, for the purpose of negotiating the terms and conditions of their employment or other mutual aid or protection.¹

The act in two ways protects the workers from some of the abuses which they had been laboring under. (1) No employee of a company on strike may be deputized.² (2) Any person starting work with a company which is on strike must register with the Industrial Commission of Utah.³ The first of the two was employed to prevent the enforced use of a

¹Ibid., Chapter 55, Section 2.

²Ibid., Chapter 52.

³Ibid., Chapter 53.

worker as a deputy, which would work at direct opposition to his espoused cause. This would also prevent the company from causing the deputization of its "scabs"¹ which would give them a great advantage. The second provision seems to lack any teeth insofar as preventing the use of strikebreakers, which is what it was evidently intended for. The Commission has power to force them to register and then may publish the information, but that is as far as its power goes.

Another act of the 1937 Legislature which was passed to assist the development of unions, definitely gives the employee the right to assign a portion of his wages, up to three per cent, to whomsoever he desires, including a labor union, if the assignment is made in writing, and this assignment may continue in force until cancelled in writing.²

A little more system was injected into the unionization of the industries of the State by the requirement that all unions must register with the State Industrial Commission,³ and that it must be done on January first of each year. All changes in organization or addresses must be made within ten days of such change.⁴

The law again restates the right of employees to self-organization and gives them the right "to bargain collectively

¹One who goes to work for a company which is on strike.

²Laws of Utah - 1937, Chapter 57, Section 1.

³Ibid., Chapter 55, Section 4 designates the Industrial Commission of Utah as the Labor Relations Board.

⁴Ibid., Chapter 56.

through representatives of their own choosing, and to engage in concerted activities, for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection."¹ This provision eliminates the possibility of rejecting union officials, who are not employees of a plant, from participating in the function of collective bargaining.

The Industrial Commission is given the power by law to prevent parties from engaging in unfair labor practices which might affect intrastate commerce.² These practices are defined by statute as the actions of an employer:

1. To interfere with, restrain or coerce employees in the exercise of the rights guaranteed in Section 8 (the right to self-organization and collective bargaining).
2. To dominate or interfere with the formation or administration of any labor organization or contribute financial or other support to it; provided, that subject rules and regulations made and published by the board . . . and employer shall not be prohibited from permitting employees to confer with him during working hours without loss of time or pay.
3. By discrimination in regard to hire or tenure of employment or any term or condition of employment to encourage or discourage membership in any labor organization; provided, that nothing in this act shall preclude an employer from making an agreement with a labor organization (not

¹Ibid., Chapter 55, Section 8.

²Ibid., Chapter 55, Section 11. This particular section then continues to define the powers of the Commission in conducting hearings, which treatment is not particularly pertinent for our purposes.

established, maintained or assisted by any action defined in this act as an unfair labor practice) to require as a condition of employment membership therein, if such labor organization is the representative of the employees. . . .

4. To discharge or otherwise discriminate against an employee because he has filed charges or given testimony under this act.
5. To refuse to bargain collectively with the representatives¹ of his employees.²

The Law of 1947 - The Clegg-Vest Act

In 1947, identical bills were passed in both the House and the Senate, which bills carried the same spirit as the national Taft-Hartley bill. It was an attempt to recognize the rights of all parties and take steps to equalize them. A declaration of policy is made which clearly discloses the spirit under which this bill was legislated:

1. It recognizes that there are three major interests involved; namely, that of the public, the employee, and the employer. These three interests are to a considerable extent inter-related. It is the policy of the State to protect and promote each of these interests with due regard to the situation and to the rights of the others.

¹Representatives designated or selected for the purposes of collective bargaining by the majority of the employees in a unit appropriate for such purposes, shall be the exclusive representatives of all the employees in such unit for the purposes of collective bargaining in respect to rates of pay, wages, hours of employment, or other conditions of employment; provided, that an individual employee or a group of employees shall have the right at any time to present grievances to their employer.

²Ibid., Chapter 55, Section 9.

2. Industrial peace, regular and adequate income for the employee, and uninterrupted production of goods and services are promotive of all of these interests. They are largely dependent upon the maintenance of fair, friendly, and mutually satisfactory employment relations and the availability of suitable machinery for the peaceful adjustment of whatever controversies may arise. It is also recognized that whatever may be the rights of disputants with respect to each other in any controversy regarding employment relations, they should not be permitted, in the conduct of their controversy, to intrude directly into the primary rights of third parties to earn a livelihood, transact business and engage in the ordinary affairs of life by any lawful means and free from molestation, interference, restraint, or coercion.
3. Negotiation of terms and conditions of work should result from voluntary agreement between employer and employee. For the purpose of such negotiation an employee has the right, if he desires, to associate with others in organizing and bargaining collectively through representatives of his own choosing, without intimidation or coercion from any source.
4. It is the policy of the State, in order to preserve and promote the interests of the public, the employee, and the employer alike, to establish standards of fair conduct in employment relations and to provide a convenient, expeditious and impartial tribunal by which these interests may have their respective rights and obligations adjudicated.¹

The declared policy is novel in that it declares the rights of others than labor. Most labor legislation throughout the country up to this time dealing with labor was interested in enunciating the rights of labor. But here we find

¹Utah Labor Relations Act, as Amended, 1947; Utah Labor Relations Board, Salt Lake City, Utah, May 13, 1947, Title 49, Section 1, paragraph 9.

that the State recognizes that employers and consumers have rights and that these must be safeguarded. The act does not supercede the act of 1937, but only amends it. The stated unfair labor practices of the employer remain the same except for two changes. Originally it was stated that the employer must bargain with the representatives of his workers. This is amended to read: it is unfair to:

Refuse to bargain collectively with the representatives of a majority of his employees in any collective bargaining unit; provided that when two or more labor organizations claim to represent a majority of the employees in the bargaining unit the employer shall be free to file with the Board a petition for investigation of certification of representatives, and during the pendency of such proceedings the employer shall not be deemed to have refused to bargain.¹

It is also made an unfair practice to "bargain collectively with the representatives of less than a majority of the employees. . ." ²

One of the most distinctive features of the new law is the inclusion of a section stating the unfair labor practices of an employee or employees. It is this section which is most bitterly opposed by labor circles. Under this section it is made an unfair labor practice to do any of the following:

1. To coerce or intimidate an employee in the enjoyment of his legal rights . . . or to intimidate

¹Ibid., 49-1-16-d.

²Ibid., 49-1-16-e.

- his family, picket his domicile, or injure the person or property of such employee or his family.
2. To coerce, intimidate or induce any employer to interfere with any of his employees in the enjoyment of their legal rights, or to engage in any practice with regard to his employees which would constitute an unfair labor practice if undertaken by him on his own initiative.
 3. To cooperate in, engaging in, promoting, or inducing picketing (not constituting an exercise of constitutionally guaranteed free speech), boycotting or any other overt concomitant of a strike unless a majority in a collective bargaining unit of the employees of an employer against whom such acts are primarily directed have voted by secret ballot to call a strike.
 4. To hinder or prevent, by mass picketing, threats, intimidation, force, or coercion of any kind the pursuit of any lawful work or employment, or to obstruct or interfere with entrance to or egress from any place of employment, or to obstruct or interfere with free and uninterrupted use of public roads, streets, highways, railways, airports, or other ways of travel or conveyance.
 5. To engage in a secondary boycott; or to hinder or prevent, by threats, intimidation, force, coercion, or sabotage, the obtaining, use or disposition of materials, equipment, or services; or to combine or conspire to hinder or prevent the obtaining, use or disposition of materials, equipment or services; provided, however, that nothing herein shall prevent sympathetic strikes in support of those in similar occupations working for other employers in the same craft.
 6. To take unauthorized possession of property of the employer.¹

While this amendment to the Labor Relations Act of 1937 has been met with some resistance by labor, some

¹Ibid., 49-1-16.

of its most prominent leaders have accepted it as good law. Mr. Frank Bonacci, State Representative from Carbon County, and the CIO Regional Director for Utah said:

. . . This is not a new law, but it amends the Utah labor relations act. It recognizes the interest of the public, the employee and the creation of a method for the settlement of industrial disputes and secondary boycotts.

Labor leaders may tell you that the legislators of the 1947 session have been unfriendly to labor, that nothing has been done for labor. That may be true, because of the pressure placed upon them by citizens who have been subject to secondary boycotts. But let me remind you that while no labor measures have been passed, none of the good labor laws have been repealed. The passage of the Clegg labor bill is not as bad as we may think it is. If we work together it will do very little damage, especially to industries that came under the federal laws.¹

Summary

The State Constitution provided the groundwork for labor legislation, and exhibited a tolerant and progressive tone.

Greater recognition of the rights of labor was made in 1917 when workers were given the specific right to organize, freed from the blacklist, and given liberty in voting. Also, certain restrictions were placed on the use of the injunction.

The law of 1933 freed the workers from "yellow-dog" contracts, and set union officers free from legal action due

¹Frank Bonacci, "Legislator Explains Vote on Labor Bill, Utah Labor News, March 28, 1947.

to unauthorized acts of union members. Further limitations were placed around the use of the injunction, and rights enunciated for persons convicted of contempt of court.

The law of 1937, The Utah Labor Relations Act, coming two years after the Federal law, was almost identical with it. Under this act workers were freed from deputation in time of dispute. Also "scabs" were required to register with the State Industrial Commission. An employee was given the right to assign up to three per cent of his wages upon a written order. Also, unions were required to register with the Commission. Right of strike is specifically given and to bargain collectively. Certain practices of employers are declared unfair and illegal.

The act of 1947, the Clegg-Vest Act, an amendment to the act of 1937, recognizes the rights of employers and consumers as well as employees and certain labor practices of employees are declared unfair and illegal. While contested by some, one of the outstanding labor leaders of the State voted for and accepted the amendment.

Conclusions

Labor in Utah County has met with almost no resistance to organization by the State law. It has been given patronage and understanding by the legislature ever since the granting of statehood. That is, the interests of Utah County labor,

amalgamated with those of the rest of the State, have been given succor in progressive legislation, running true to the example set by the National Congress. However, due to certain mal-practices of labor, some restrictions were placed upon unfair employee practices, as they had been placed on employers, all working toward the good of the whole.

CHAPTER IV

THE INFLUENCE OF CERTAIN AUTHORITARIAN GROUPS

As was illustrated in Chapter I of this treatise, the foundations of the population of Utah County were laid a little over a hundred years ago by members of the Mormon Church, who came seeking refuge from the persecutions found elsewhere. They were intensely religious people with very definite ideas about many things. Several peculiarities about their religious philosophy make it an especially important factor in the development of labor organization within the county.

First, is their belief in the leaders of the Church, called the General Authorities, as prophets¹ receiving direct inspiration and revelation from God for the guidance of the members of the Church. It is not within their accepted philosophy that the leaders are infallible in all that they say; in fact Joseph Smith, their founder, said that a prophet is a prophet only when he is acting as such.² There is however a tendency for many of the people to accept them unequivocally

¹A prophet may be defined as a man who speaks for God.

²Teachings of the Prophet, Joseph Smith compiled by Joseph Fielding Smith; Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1938, p. 278.

as such, and the remainder of the devout or faithful members of the Church are greatly influenced by the leaders. It must be recognized however that most of the members of the Church have a diversity of opinion with the leaders, especially in some of the secular matters with which the leaders concern themselves.

A second peculiarity of their religious philosophy which has direct bearing on our problem is that the Church teaches, and the people accept that their religion is a complete way of life. It is because of this that the General Authorities and other leaders feel that they can speak on matters generally considered outside the realm of religious activity.

Utah County lies just south of Salt Lake City, the county seat of Provo being approximately forty miles distant. This proximity brings the people of the county into rather close contact with the various leaders of the Church. Once every three months each geographical area of the Church, designated as a "stake", is visited by one of the leaders, and while their utterances are generally not recorded, their philosophy expressed in those meetings would most likely be carried over from the discourses which they deliver in General Conference.

Early Leaders

The founder of Mormonism, Joseph Smith, was largely concerned with founding of the Church and the protection of his people from the persecutions of others. Little of his attention was directed toward matters of capital and labor.

The next leader of the Church, Brigham Young, after the people were well settled in the Rocky Mountains, became concerned over some personal actions of the people and began to try to influence and direct their activity along the lines of work. No great concern was exhibited toward unionization itself, as there was little need for such in a pioneer community. He preached a gospel of hard, diligent work; that no slacker should reap the rewards of the worker:

My experience has taught me that it is never any benefit to give out and out to man or woman, money, food, clothing or anything else, if they are able-bodied, and can earn what they need, when there is anything on earth for them to do. (To do it) would ruin any community in the world and make them idlers.¹

This particular idea has been maintained to the present day by Church leaders. They generally teach a gospel of work, that the idler shall not "eat the bread of the worker." Any influence which would destroy the incentive to work or give men something for nothing is felt to be destructive of human character, and these things the leaders tend to preach against.

¹Journal of Discourses, Liverpool, Vol. XI, p. 297.

Brigham Young further emphasizes the need for cooperation between capital and labor:

We say to the Latter-Day Saints, work for the capitalists, and work honestly and faithfully, and they will pay you faithfully. I am acquainted with a good many of them, and as far as I know them, I do not know but that everyone is an honorable man.¹ They are capitalists, they want to make money, and they want to make it honestly and according to principles of honest dealing. If they have means and are determined to risk it in opening mines, you work for them by the day. Haul their ores, build their furnaces, and take your pay for it . . .²

Let mechanics and every man who has capital create business and give employment and means into the hands of laborers.

Efforts to accumulate property in the correct channel are far from being an injury to any community; on the contrary they are highly beneficial provided individuals, with all that they have, always hold themselves in readiness to advance the interests of the Kingdom of God on the earth. Let every man be industrious, prudent and economical in their acts and feelings, and while gathering to themselves let each one strive to identify his or her interests with the interests of this community, with those of their neighbor and neighborhood, let them seek their happiness and welfare in all of that, and we will be blessed and prospered.³

Attempts were made in the early days of Utah to establish various industries to make the people self-sustaining.

¹Brigham Young, by this statement, appears naive in the light of our present society. The statement may have had validity at that time, but appears at least obsolescent today. It must be realized that his acquaintance with capitalists was limited to those of local importance, most of whom were Church leaders, as outside capital had not yet entered the State.

²Journal of Discourses, Liverpool, Vol. XIV, p. 85.

³Ibid., Vol. X, p. 270.

One of these was the silk industry. Wages were low in order to keep prices down to where the baby industry could compete with others. A little direction was given when Brigham Young stated: "To pay people the wages they want here would prevent us from raising silk profitably. We look forward to the period when the price of labor here will be brought to a reasonable and judicious standard."¹

In all his philosophy, Young appears to have been concerned with the freedom of individuals to make money, for them to grow and develop in spirit as well as financial means, and for men to respect the rights of men to accomplish such. He gives, as far as the author has been able to determine, nothing regarding the organization of labor.

The first published² mention of such organization was made in 1903³ by an apostle⁴ of the Church, John Henry Smith, the father of the present president. He said:

I believe in combinations of capital, I believe in combinations of labor, so long as those combinations shall not presume to interfere with the rights

¹Journal of Discourses, Liverpool, Vol. XII, p. 203.

²(Within the perusal of the author.)

³As shown in Chapter V of this paper, the period of 1898-1904 was one of great union activity in the State, especially in Salt Lake City, Park City, Ogden and the Tintic area. The miners had been out on strike from 1901-1903. The excitement incident to such probably raised this issue, leading to Mr. Smith's remarks.

⁴One of the aforementioned General Authorities.

and liberties of their fellowmen. But when they presume to exercise unrighteous dominion and their efforts are in the direction of harm to their fellows, I am opposed to them, one and all.¹

This statement, in the opinion of the author, sets the tone for philosophies of leaders of the Church from that time on. It is within the spirit of this quotation that leaders of the Church have expressed themselves.

The Period - 1914-1919

There has been on the part of some leaders of the Church some antagonism toward labor organization. This has been for mainly two reasons: (1) Certain practices of unions, such as the "closed shop," automatic checkoff, violence and the eliminating of persons from work, have been considered as detrimental to the character and discipline of the people. These practices have been the object of severe and often vituperative condemnation. This antagonism has to some extent been felt to be carried over to the actual practice of union organization. (2) Because of the extreme activity sponsored by the Church in all phases of living, and because to be an active Mormon, it is considered necessary to participate in the majority of these activities, there has been resistance on the part of the leaders to any activity which would encroach upon the time and loyalty of the members as being devoted to

¹Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, Conference Reports; Salt Lake City: April 1903, p. 71.

the Church. Especially has this been true of secret societies. In respect to this latter point, Charles W. Penrose in 1914 stated:

. . . There is no need to go outside into other organizations established for other than Church purposes. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints contains within its organization all that is needed for the labors of our brethren in the priesthood . . . for their enlightenment, for their progress, for the consolidation of their energies in any direction. So, brethren, the advice of the Presidency is to you, do not be entangled with orders, or societies, or outside and extra organizations that are being attempted or set up . . .

By 1919, labor unions had been pretty well accepted in Salt Lake City, but still of no great force in Utah County. However, the militant tactics of the labor unions in that period, especially the activities of the IWW, aroused certain of the leaders. Most of the building projects were under "closed shop" contracts. In the General Conference held in October of 1919, three of the leaders spoke in regard to the subject of organized labor and its activities, especially to the principle of the "closed shop," wherein none but union men may work. Heber J. Grant, President of the Church, opened the subject:

I want to say that I am perfectly willing that men shall join labor unions, that they shall band together for the purpose of protecting their rights, provided they do not interfere with the rights of other people. Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness belong to all people in the United States, according to the laws of our country, upon all the face of the earth; and I

¹Ibid., October 1914, p. 86.

say that, to my mind, a provision in a labor union is all wrong that favors boycotting and the laying down of tools or the quitting of employment because a non-union man obtains employment while exercising his God-given right to stay out of a union. Men who have that kind of a rule have a rule that is in direct opposition to the laws of God. There was a battle fought in heaven -- for what? To give to man his individual liberty. An attempt to take the agency of man away is made when he does not see fit to join a union, when men in that union, without any complaint or grievance, strike because a non-union man is employed.

. . . How much love is there in starving your neighbor because he will not surrender his manhood and his individuality, and allow a labor union to direct his labor? Mighty little love, mighty little of the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ in any such rule! I hope to see the day when no Latter-Day Saint will join a union unless the union eliminates that clause from its rules. I am not going to ask them to leave their union, I am not going to lay it down that they must, that it is the mind and will of the Lord for them to leave a union . . . but I cannot see how a Latter-Day Saint who is a member of such a union can get down on his knees and pray for God to inspire and bless him . . .¹

It can clearly be seen that the opposition here is not to unionization itself, but to the principle of the "closed shop," which it is felt is inimical to a true Christian spirit. Charles W. Penrose, a counselor to President Grant, concurred with him in the following words:

. . . I agree with President Grant . . . that it is right for men to have the liberty to combine for their own benefit, for the raising of wages, for the shortening of hours of labor, for anything that will be for their good and benefit, but they must not exercise that in a way to infringe the liberties of others who do not see as they see.

. . . We have no right to trench upon the freedom of others. It is permissible to stand up for our own individual rights, to stand up for the rights of any

¹Ibid., October 1919, pp. 13, 14.

association with which we are connected, unless such association involves oppression and tyranny upon any portion of mankind.¹

Stephen L. Richards in his address tells of his journey to the East where he found the great cities torn by labor strife. He goes on to say, in part:

. . . unfortunately there has not been sufficient of it [love of liberty] to curtail the selfishness, the mercenary and the ulterior motives of a great part of this country . . . I deplore the organization and the maintenance of any society, of any class, of any fraternity, of any union of people that in any way can be construed to be against the interests of all the people and the common good . . . While it may be considered proper for men to organize themselves into clubs and unions and fraternities of one kind and another in order to advance their own selfish interests, I feel constrained to say that in time to come it will prove inimical to the government, and in time to come these self-same selfish interests will be against each other . . .

. . . We, I believe, should unite with and foster every good movement, every good cause, everything that tends to advance the interests of the gospel and of truth in the world; but I think that we should preserve ourselves safe, inviolate, compact against incursions of all kinds, to influences of all kinds of organizations that in any way will tend to disrupt us.²

Here may be seen the concern felt for the character and moral tone of the people, which it was felt may be injured by certain types of influences and organizations.

The Period - 1936-1941

No mention of unionization was made by any of the General Authorities during the comparatively peaceful period

¹Ibid., pp. 46, 47.

²Ibid., pp. 102, 104.

from 1920 to 1935.¹ However in the following year, 1936, concurrent with increased union activity and new labor practices, the General Authorities were once again aroused to protest against what they considered certain evil practices and procedures. President Heber J. Grant once again opened up the subject for discussion when in the October conference of that year he denounced the tendency of men to become lazy and demanding of certain things for nothing. "When we appeal to the people to continue to labor, we ask them to labor with energy."² This appeal was not directed primarily at unionization, but at the evil tendency for relief projects to make men lazy.

Sylvester Q. Cannon said in the October conference of the following year that attempts to force up wages beyond certain limits affects industry adversely. He also stated that some employers did not pay employees what they should and that this too "interferes with economic progress."³

In this period, the Church leaders seemed particularly concerned with unemployment which Utah was experiencing a great deal of. In 1939, Joseph F. Merrill wrote on the problems of unemployment, giving three reasons for such:

1. Mechanization of industry.

¹See Conference Reports for years 1920-1935, inclusive.

²Ibid., October 1936, p. 6.

³Ibid., October 1937, pp. 43, 44.

2. Increase in population, with a decrease in the number of jobs.
3. Lack of amicable relations between "capital and labor."

In elaborating on the third point he continues:

Disagreements, disputes, strikes and lockouts have more or less continually disturbed our industrial peace during recent years. Both employer and employee appear to have acted as if a third party, the public, was not vitally interested in what they do. The weapon common to all the strikes and lockouts is force. The terms of settlement are usually dictated; hence they cannot result in genuinely amicable relations.

Labor has demanded more and more and more pay, shorter working hours, better working conditions, the closed shop, more voice in management, and freedom from responsibility; i.e., from legal obligations. "Capital" has responded by speeding up the installation of automatic machinery, by the use of new machinery that greatly multiplied the productive capacity per worker and by using more efficient methods of management. Thus it certainly appears that capital has tried and continues to try to get results with fewer and fewer workers -- to get as far away from the need of workers as feasible.¹

He continues on to say that capital and labor must realize that their interests are joined with those of the public. Throughout, he displays no prejudice one way or the other. He lays the blame equally on the shoulders of both labor and capital. In the same year, in the October conference, he again dwelt upon the subject of social ills, especially unemployment pointing to more than labor as causing our troubles:

¹Joseph F. Merrill, "The Problems of Unemployment," The Improvement Era, December 1939, pp. 716, 765.

Labor unions are getting stronger and more numerous as time goes on. Labor is demanding more and more things it deems good to have . . . Many other organizations -- those of professional, technical, skilled and vocational people -- have likewise progressed in what practically amounts to the closed shop.

We see capital and management seemingly actively at work to devise ways and means to produce, operate and get results with the fewest employees feasible; hence, it seems that both capital and labor are unwise, childish, and shortsighted, for out of their utter foolishness has largely grown the biggest and most difficult problem of our country -- unemployment!¹

Stephen L. Richards, in addressing the Latter-Day Saint people through the Church organ in 1940, lauds honest work, interpreting it in terms of service, which is measured by someone's gain. He declares that the success of our economy demands work that makes a better product for less money. He states that the solution to our problems lies in doing this. Workers, he says, must have integrity and ability. By integrity, he means the taking of the employer's interest to himself -- or faithfulness to his own work. He says that it is the skilled worker who benefits our economy, interpreting "skilled" as being proficient in whatever a person does.

Why is it that the public does not always receive the benefits of advanced methods and more efficient service? The answer is the shortsightedness and selfishness on the part of some men in industry -- in two forms: first, in what is known as combinations in restraint of trade; and second, arbitrary and unconscionable control and manipulation of labor.²

¹Conference Reports, October 1939, pp. 120, 121.

²Stephen L. Richards, "The Gospel of Work," The Improvement Era, January 1940, pp. 10, 11, 60, 61, 63.

He goes on to say that both raise prices and fail to pass on to the consumer benefits of advanced technology. He asks the question, "How can the \$3.00-a-day farmer pay a \$2.00-an-hour plasterer?", leaving the question unanswered. He gives an indication of the future legislating of the Taft-Hartley Act when he states that we have laws to control combinations in restraint of trade but none to control labor in its activities.

In the April Conference of 1941, David O. McKay, one of the Presidency of the Church, condemned the use of force then extant in the world:

The present strife between capital and labor, which in its enmity threatens to undermine the very foundation of the government should cease, for the spirit and actions of coercion, intimidation, and violence are contrary to the teachings of Jesus, and by Him would be vehemently denounced. Intimidation and dictatorship are elements foreign to the spirit and government of the Church. The Church encourages and recognizes honest labor whenever and wherever it presents itself, but it must condemn the spirit of oppression, of compulsion, of intimidation, wherever it rears its head.¹

In the October Conference of that same year, Joseph F. Merrill becomes a little more direct in his criticism of the techniques of labor than ever before. As a result, he occasioned a severe attack by the A. F. of L. organ in Utah, "The Labor Broadcast."²

When we deny an able-bodied man the right to work,
we rob him of his independence and destroy his happiness.

¹Conference Reports, April 1941, p. 109.

²The Labor Broadcast, Vol. 7, No. 8.

It is this denial that faces myriads of willing workers in America today, because a new tyranny, one never dreamed of by the founders, has arisen, that of the closed shop, including the checkoff system. Capital and management are far from blameless in their treatment of labor and the public -- but many laws have been passed to control capital and management. None has yet been passed to control labor . . .

Obviously both capital and labor should be controlled in the interest of the public welfare and human freedom, which certainly includes the right to work . . .

Latter-Day Saints, is not our beautiful doctrine of eternal progression absolutely opposed to that of the "closed shop"? Force is the weapon used to bring about the "closed shop." But force, when used as a weapon, is Satan's club and therefore destructive of human rights.¹

Mr. Merrill further proposes a "right-to-work league," to assure all who want to work that privilege. He appears to be somewhat prophetic in his criticism of these labor practices, for they are some of the very elements controlled by the Taft-Hartley Act; namely, the "closed shop" and the "automatic checkoff."

The Period - 1944-1950

Joseph F. Merrill has by far been the most outspoken leader of the Mormon Church in his criticism of labor. His activity in this respect seemed to go through an evolutionary process. His first remarks were rather moderate, but as time transpires, he becomes more poignant in his remarks. In the October Conference in 1944 he again emphasizes the evils of the "closed shop":

¹Conference Reports, October 1941, pp. 134, 135.

Let us refer to another phase of our theme -- that of selfishness as seen exhibited by some officials and members of organized labor. I think it very unfortunate for all concerned -- union members and the public -- that these organizations and groups have been pampered by selfish politicians and others until they have become a dominating factor in the politics of this country. Now, I believe wholeheartedly in labor unions and in collective bargaining. But the idea of the "closed shop" as we understand the expression is very repugnant to me. As I see it, the "closed shop" is based upon selfishness run riot. It ignores the basic principles that all men are equal before the law and no one should be deprived of his right to life, upon which this republic was founded. To weaken or destroy the foundation is to endanger the very existence of our republic . . .

. . . Personal liberties have been severely restricted, and in order to serve his country in a way -- service or war-production plant, or in some other plants -- a man must join a union, so it is said, and pay initiation fees, sometimes high, as well as dues, as required by closed-shop agreements.

It is said, however, the closed shop is necessary for the success of the union movement. If so, let the union movement fail. We must not deny any man his free agency or take from him his right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." The right to work is absolutely fundamental. I repeat, I am in hearty sympathy with the organization of labor and with collective bargaining; that is, with the plan of a committee of employees meeting regularly with employers to consider all matters of mutual concern. But in my feelings I am strongly opposed to the "closed shop" . . . and I do not believe the "closed shop" is essential to the success of labor unions, operated on principles of right, fairness, liberty and justice. Did not Samuel Gompers also have this view? Further, should any organization operating on principles antagonistic to these be tolerated in America?¹

In the same conference, Joseph L. Wirthlin added a moderating tone to that of Mr. Merrill:

The only preventive for further decadence in the morals, intelligence, spiritual and materialistic affairs of man is not less work, but more work, the proper

¹Ibid., October 1944, pp. 32, 33.

understanding between employee and employer, both of them realizing that they have sacred obligations to one another. He who would hire the laborer should realize that there is imposed upon him a sacred obligation namely as stated in Luke that the laborer is worthy of his hire. On the other hand, he who labors with his hands should remember his obligation of an honest day's labor.¹

Following World War II, there was great agitation on the part of the unions for an increase in pay so as to maintain the same amount of "take-home pay" as had prevailed during the war. As a result there was much dispute and ill feeling engendered. In the midst of the turmoil, once again Joseph F. Merrill felt called on to rail out against what he considered evils of unionism:

. . . The right of labor is denied except through membership in organizations, exempt from rules and regulations that govern individuals and industrial organizations engaged in business. Equality before the law does not exist in the relationship of employers and labor unions. Why is this so? One reason is because too many politicians are so deeply afflicted with the itch for office that they will do nothing that is opposed by officers of labor unions. These organizations could be of great benefit to their members and still function within the letter and spirit of the divinely inspired Constitution as it was made by the Fathers of our Republic. The "closed-shop" and so-called jurisdictional and sympathetic strikes should be outlawed at once by the federal government and every state in the American Union. Shall America be as the founders planned -- the land of the free and the home of the brave? If so, the repeal of some laws and the making of better ones is the need of the hour . . .

What have the great strikes of the last several months accomplished? Among other things, they have impoverished many of the members of labor unions, and it will take years to recover all the wages lost during

¹Ibid., October 1944, pp. 38-40.

the prolonged strikes; they have increased the cost of living for everybody; they have brought labor unions into disrepute; they have delayed the production of much needed civilian goods; they have begot unrest, suffering and uncertainty into millions of homes, and have thrown great multitudes on to public relief; they have brought indecision and trouble to the government, both federal and state, and have weakened the influence of America abroad. The method of the strike has been the mass-picket and the closed shop. What difference, in principle, is there between this method of holdup and that of a gun? In both, force is applied. Then are not both methods forms of robbery? And is not robbery intolerable to our American way of life? Does not freedom demand that all forms of robbery shall be outlawed? Shall not the cries of a suffering people be heard and relief be granted? Do we not need statesmen and fewer weak-kneed politicians in public office? Shall the selfish interests of a few continue to prevail over the interest of the many? Are not the interests of the public always involved in strikes and lockouts? Hence, does it not appear that a means of bringing peace to management and labor is an imperative need of the hour, if we are to revert to the way of life given us by the founders of our Republic . . .¹

Mr. Merrill's address seems strangely prophetic of the events of the following year, with the change of heart of the members of Congress in the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act, which, while it did not repeal the old Wagner Act, at least mitigated, or attempted to, some of the "evils" which Mr. Merrill cited, some restriction being placed on "closed shops," jurisdictional and sympathetic strikes, with attempts to curtail some of the "featherbedding" practices which several of the Church leaders had previously prevailed against.

The philosophy of most of the Mormon Church leaders is united in its opposition to any system which has connected

¹Ibid., October 1946, pp. 69-71.

with it any form or force or coercion. Their feelings in this respect are not directed toward labor alone but in general toward all such systems. In the April Conference of 1948, Ezra Taft Benson, one of the Church leaders and also a leader in the cooperatives of America, made the following observation:

We see abroad today on every hand, and to some degree in our own land, the spread of coercive man-made systems which are contrary to eternal principles and which strike at the very foundation of all we hold dear as American citizens. These programs would take from us our liberty and freedom, and those opportunities for achievement which the Lord has promised for this nation in order that it might perpetuate those eternal principles so that a haven might be established here where men from all lands might come and enjoy the glorious blessings of freedom and liberty.

We see abroad in the world an increase in these coercive systems. We witness millions of God's children in bondage, who have had their blessings of liberty and freedom taken from them. Great numbers of liberty-loving people no longer have their free agency, no longer have freedom of choice such as we enjoy here . . . They are under the power of these coercive systems and have lost completely their God-given free agency.¹

In the October Conference of that same year, 1948, Mr. Merrill once again spoke on the subject of capital and labor. It was not directed against either side primarily but at some of the conditions they were causing to exist:

Now in our own county, what do we see? A multitude of devil-inspired troubles, most of them having their roots in uncontrolled and excessive selfishness, exhibited by excessive prices of necessities, work stoppages, strikes, mass picketing, lockouts, crimes and indulgence in sinful practices, pressure groups making inordinate demands, struggles to get something for nothing . . .²

¹Ibid., April 1948, pp. 85, 86.

²Ibid., October 1948, pp. 61, 62.

The campaigning and subsequent political heat generated, seems to have had some effect upon Joseph F. Merrill, for in his Conference address of October 1949, he offered the most direct and poignant address ever delivered by one of the leaders of the Church against union-sponsored activities. He poses as his subject heading the question, "Freedom or Monopolistic Domination by Selfish Groups?" His discourse, in part, ran, as follows:

Powerful forces are being organized and heavily financed to defeat in these elections 1950 and 1952 all candidates who voted for or supported the Taft-Hartley labor law. If this move is successful, misguided leaders of some organized groups will dominate the Congress of the United States, the White House, and every other office of the government, the functions of which would help to bring into existence a welfare state . . . Not that these leaders favor such a state, but the things they demand would inevitably bring it about . . . The result would be that our free enterprise system . . . would be destroyed. Otherwise the monopoly of selfish labor leaders must be broken. Freedom and personal liberty . . . are in great danger due to the rise of this destructive movement engineered by smart and misguided leaders in whose minds and hearts right, fairness, and justice apparently are given little or no consideration . . . So in the minds of many workers (as a result of their leaders' teaching), this law (Taft-Hartley) is oppressive, unfair, unjust, and robs workers of their rightful gains, made under the provisions of the repealed Wagner labor act. But let me ask how many of these workers and other people have ever read the Taft-Hartley law and fully understand what its provisions are? My understanding is that this law was designed to protect the rights and freedom of employees and employers alike, and make unions and corporations equally responsible before the law for their contracts, obligations, etc. What right-minded citizen would have any other kind of law? . . .

But the question of whether this is a good or bad law has been, and is being hotly debated. To make this law function more equitably it needs amendments. If so, let these be made . . .

But the outlook is none too encouraging, for unjustifiable and insatiable selfishness has already made deep inroads into the economy of this country and is still unsatisfied. The desire to get more and more for less and less, spurred on by some politicians, has been growing stronger and stronger among different groups of people, especially among labor unions.

As an example of this "gimmes" craze, let us look at the demands certain officials are now making on several large corporations. They demand something new -- insurance policies and life pensions, ranging from one hundred dollars to one hundred and fifty dollars monthly, both to be paid entirely by the employers. Who would provide the money for these benefits? The public, of course; those who buy the goods and services the companies sell . . .

It might be said, however, that the policy of providing retirement benefits on a fifty-fifty plan is now current among teachers, federal civil service employees, and others -- the employer and employee each paying half. This is considered a reasonable plan. The one in which the employer pays all is wrong in principle, bad as an example, injurious for employee and employer alike, even though some corporations pension their officers free of cost to the latter -- an unwise and wrong practice that should be abandoned.

It is true, of course, that employees of corporations are generally organized in powerful unions to which truculent politicians bow and scrape and give support. The unions back up their demands by strikes and picket lines through which it is so dangerous to pass that other workers do not venture. Thus production stops, and the innocent public suffer. Is this not a holdup game exactly in principle like that played by the bank robber? But our laws make the latter a grave crime while the former is befriended by truculent officials and politicians who have an eye on the source from which votes come.¹

It was with a moderating and impartial tone that President George Albert Smith, the head of the Mormon Church, addressed his people at the same October Conference in 1949. It, to the mind of the author, epitomizes the general feeling tone of the Mormon Church, if there can be any such declared:

¹Joseph F. Merrill, "Freedom or Monopolistic Domination by Selfish Groups," *The Improvement Era*, op. cit. November 1949, pp. 709, 772-4.

There is growing in our own country, really, a conflict between capital and labor, or may I say between the rich and the poor. What does the Lord say about things of that kind? . . .

"Wo, unto you rich men, that will not give your substance to the poor, for your riches will canker your souls; and this shall be your lamentation in the day of visitation, and of judgment, and of indignation; the harvest is past, the summer is ended, and my soul is not saved!" (D. & C. 56:16)¹

That is what the Lord says of the rich people who refuse to impart of their substance to those who are poor. But he says something just as serious to the poor man who is not doing his best. He says:

"Wo unto you poor men, whose hearts are not broken, whose spirits are not contrite, and whose bellies are not satisfied, and hands are not stayed from laying hold upon other men's goods, whose eyes are full of greediness, and who will not labor with your own hands!" (D. & C. 56:17)

That is the situation of many of our own brothers and sisters in America with all the blessings that we enjoy -- better wages, better homes, better opportunities for education than have ever been known before. Yet we have today men who not only will not work themselves, but they also will not permit somebody else to be employed. They are not willing to earn their living by work, but they propose to take it from the rich man.

God has permitted men to get wealth, and if they obtained it properly, it is theirs, and He will bless them in its use if they will use it properly.

I hope we are not going to become bitter because some men and women are well-to-do. If we are well-to-do, I hope we are not going to be self-centered and unconscious of the needs of our Father's other children. If we are better off than they are, we ought to be real brothers and sisters, not make believe . . .

. . . We must not fall into the bad habits of other people. We must not get into the frame of mind that we will take what the other man has. Refer back to the Ten Commandments, and you will find one short paragraph, "Thou shalt not covet." That is what is the matter with a good many people today. They are coveting what somebody else has, when as a matter of fact, many of them have been cared for and provided with means to live by those very ones from whom they would take away property.²

¹The D. & C. refers to a Church works, *The Doctrine and Covenants*, which the Latter-Day Saints accept as revelation from God.

²George Albert Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 786-9.

Mr. Merrill was just as strong in his denunciation of what he considers evils of the day, in his address to the body of the Church in the April Conference of 1950, as reported by the Church organ, the Deseret News:

We are living in perilous times . . . But as to aggressors -- they are found everywhere -- locally, nationally and internationally; and wherever found they all have in common at least one fault -- excessive and inordinate selfishness. They want, and usually insist on having more of something that does not rightfully belong to them, and if necessary will fight to get. As a rule, however, they prefer to satisfy their unrighteous desires and wicked cravings by other means than physically fighting for them.

For many years this country has had anti-monopoly laws to govern business corporations. The federal government and the states have set up controls and boards and commissions to administer these laws, the purpose being to protect the public against unfair commercial practices and unreasonable charges for the goods and services of corporations. The intent of these laws has met with overwhelming public approval. But during recent years, another form of monopoly has been developing that if not controlled imposes a type of slavery on the country unknown and undreamed of by the founders of our glorious republic . . .

But there are developing tendencies, sponsored by selfishness, greed and ambition, that if unchecked, will soon or late bring sorrow and ruin to our country. Among these tendencies is that of "something for nothing," at least "more and more for less and less" -- more pay for less work. . . .

Recent experiences have convinced us that some labor unions have a monopolistic power, that if fully exercised, would spell ruin to industrial America. The exercise of this power employs a method that is a twin brother to that used by the bank robber. The corporation hands over just as the cashier does. In the case of the corporation, you and I -- that is the public -- pays the bill. The recent settlements between coal and labor and steel and labor are good illustrations of this fact. Immediately following on the announcement of a settlement of the disputes, up went the price. . . .

As I see the situation, we are faced in this country with two alternatives, repentance or slavery -- turn away from indulging in the unreasonable, excessive and wicked

selfishness manifested in many of the things we do, or lose the freedoms that have been our pride and glory, the freedoms that every parent should desire from the depths of his soul to pass on to his descendants.¹

Summary

The people of Utah County are predominantly of the Mormon faith and being near the "Mecca" of Mormonism, Salt Lake City, the faithful and devout may be greatly influenced by the attitudes expressed by the leaders of the Church.

While the utterances of the leaders in regard to the relations between capital and labor have never been expressed as being the "mind and will of the Lord," many persons belonging to the Church may feel that they are.

The Church leaders, without exception, in their sermons at the General Conferences of the Church expressed their distrust of some of the weapons of labor, such as the closed shop, automatic checkoffs, violence, more pay for less work and so forth.

The leaders have felt that the use of these tools and the monopolistic power of some unions is endangering the American way of life and the liberty of the individual.

¹Joseph F. Merrill, "Repentance, Slavery -- Choice of Americans," Church Section, Deseret News, Salt Lake City, April 16, 1950, pp. 8-20.

In no General Conference of the Church has there been any voiced opposition to unionization as such;¹ in fact, many of the leaders have expressed themselves as being in favor of unionization and collective bargaining.

Conclusions

The most authoritarian and the strongest group in the County, the Mormon Church, has offered little if any resistance to unionization as such, but as the orthodox Mormons have associated the "evils of union activities" as preached against by their leaders, with the unions themselves, there may have been some opposition to unionization in the County by members of the Church, and may have acted as a deterrent, accounting for the tardiness of successful entrance into the County by labor organizations.

¹An indication of the tolerance of the Church toward unions themselves may be seen by the fact that many Church-owned or controlled enterprises continued to advertise in the A. F. of L. organ, the Labor Broadcast. These enterprises have been: the radio station K S L, The Deseret Book Company, Beneficial Life Insurance Company, Deseret Gymnasium, L. D. S. Business College, Utah-Idaho Sugar Company, Brigham Young University.

CHAPTER V

THE INFLUENCE OF LABOR ORGANIZATION ELSEWHERE IN THE STATE

The labor movement is like a snowball in that the longer it exists the larger it becomes. It has experienced times of great growth followed by periods of retardation and decline. In any geographical or economic area there must be a start made, and as others see the initial movement succeed and grow they are given courage to attempt the same. This is not the most important influence encouraging labor organization but it has some degree of control. We shall attempt to treat the organization of labor elsewhere in the State, with the hypothesis that as it has gained momentum and strength it has lent some degree of encouragement to unionization in Utah County.

In its early days Utah was isolated from other areas of the world, and its laborers were little influenced by labor organization elsewhere until communication with the outside world was established and larger numbers of workers with some experience in labor union movements entered the territory. As they came in they attempted to organize the State, some

of which succeeded while others failed.

The first unions were established in Salt Lake City -- the largest community in Utah, as well as the economic center of the area. Shortly after the entrance of the railroads and the discovery of rich mines organization was concentrated in the centers of these industries. Gradually as other areas of the State became industrialized and lines of communication became more developed, they too experienced unionization.

The Early Period - 1868-1895

Until 1868 Utah was almost untouched by labor attempts at organization. The territory was in the stages of pioneering from the time of its settlement beginning in 1847 until the advent of the railroad in 1869. Several years preceding the completion of the transcontinental railroad, Salt Lake City and Ogden were scenes of great activity in preparation for the great event. Large numbers of "outsiders" came into the cities to make them their homes, and they began to lose their distinctive Mormon characteristics.

The Deseret Typographical Union.--On August 3, 1868, the first group of laborers in the State organized into the chartered Deseret Typographical Union, #115. It remained the only known labor organization in the State until the Knights of Labor began their great movement in the State about 1880. It was one of the very few unions to remain organized from the

day of its inception.

The Knights of Labor.--With the general purpose of bettering the working class, the Knights of Labor began to organize workers about 1880. Concurrently with the rest of the nation, many workers joined in anticipation of the proposed benefits of such organization, reaching its peak of membership in 1888, with eleven or twelve hundred members. Its life was short, as it was throughout the nation, the depression of the 90's setting the final torch to the organization.

The Carpenters.--About the same time that the Knights began their activity in 1880 carpenters in Salt Lake City organized into a local of the Amalgamated Carpenters with international headquarters in Manchester, England. Little information is available about this organization, but it is possible that they were members of the Mormon Church, who after being converted to the Church in England found their way to Utah, to which members gravitated. This conjecture is based on the fact that thousands upon thousands of Church members emigrated from England to Utah in the preceding thirty years, many of whom must have been carpenters.

In 1887 the typographers of Ogden, through which the railroad had passed, organized into a union.

The Federated Trades and Building Trades Congress.--By eighteen eighty-nine unionization had developed to the extent

that there were twenty locals in Salt Lake City, fourteen of which had organized into a central body, the Federated Trades. All union members were not satisfied with this conglomeration of locals, and in January of 1893 the Building Trades Congress was organized, it being felt that such a group could handle the interests of the workers more efficiently. It was started at a most unpropitious time, for the nationwide depression hit the City, and in December of 1894 the Congress was dissolved almost concurrently with The Federated Trades. After the dissolution of the two central bodies, the few remaining locals organized into the Utah Federation.

Railroad Brotherhoods.--Railroaders of the State who had become organized into locals of the Four Railroad Brotherhoods, went on a sympathetic strike with that organization in the nationwide strike of 1894, meeting an ignominious defeat.

It may be seen that this was a period of instability, with organization followed by disorganization. There was little opportunity for other areas of the State to be much impressed by "success" in Salt Lake City, and thus little encouragement was given to other organizational attempts.

The Interim Period - 1896-1930

This period was marked by another unionization spurt to be met by relative defeat at the hands of strongly entrenched capital. It should be noted that even though union men had

met defeat in the "roaring" 90's, it was to very little extent due to employers, but blame may be laid mostly on the shoulders of the depression. Therefore, defeat was not so bitter.

The New Building Trades Council.--The depression was short, and in 1898 men once again began to organize, initiating great activity in the union movement. The Building Trades Council was formed again in 1900 in Salt Lake becoming affiliated with the National Building Trades Council of the American Federation of Labor in 1902. The member unions of the Council were ten in number: The Amalgamated Brotherhood of Carpenters, Painters and Decorators, Building Laborers, Stone Cutters, Lathers, Plasterers, Plumbers, Electricians, Stone Masons and Finners.

The Western Federation of Miners.--About the turn of the century the Western Federation of Miners began to secretly organize, the secrecy being necessitated by the resistance of the mine owners, who discharged all known union members. Enough strength was attained by 1901 to go out on strike, and a long, bitter struggle ensued, lasting until 1903. During the course of the strike, it appears that strike-breakers and gun-men¹ were imported² by management to break up the strike.

¹Minute Book of the Building Trades Council, 1901.

²This was in violation of Article XII, Section 16, of the State Constitution which forbade the importation of armed bodies of men into the State by any corporation or association. It may be noted that labor to all intensive purposes did the same thing during the coal strike of 1950 to prevent the operation of independent mining activities.

The battle became so bitter that finally the State militia was called to Carbon County putting the strike to an end. The organization continued to grow, however, and by 1904 there were fifteen locals of the union.

In 1905 the Western Federation of Miners became affiliated with the Industrial Workers of the World, more commonly alluded to as the IWW or "Wobblies." This was a revolutionary group of the more casual workers, advocating the violent overthrow of the United States government. The move was especially strong in the agricultural, lumber and mining areas of the West, finding real strength in Utah only amongst itinerant miners and smelter workers. Its violence and sabotage caused the severance of the more conservative groups within its organization, the Western Federation of Miners becoming unaffiliated with it in May of 1911. In that same year they became associated with the American Federation of Labor. In 1912 the miners in Bingham engaged in a strike which ended in ignominious defeat, causing a gradual dissolution of miner locals throughout the State.

City Centrals.--In 1902 City Centrals were established in Park City and Ogden. The Park City Central was known as the Trades and Labor Assembly, and that in Ogden as the Ogden Trades and Labor Assembly. In 1905 the latter applied for a charter in the American Federation of Labor.

The Utah State Federation of Labor.--On May 3, 1904, a convention¹ was held in Federation Hall in Salt Lake City for the purpose of organizing the Utah State Federation of Labor. There were eighty-seven delegates from sixty-one locals representing thirty-five unions present. Ten of the locals represented were in Ogden, four in Park City, three United Mine locals in Carbon County, nine other miner locals probably from the Tintic district, and the rest, or thirty-five, in Salt Lake. The Federation held their first real meeting in September of the same year in Ogden with thirty-seven locals being represented. A committee was organized in conjunction with the Building Trades Council for the organization of new unions and the reorganization of old ones.

The charter granted by the American Federation of Labor was lost in 1905, probably as a result of the union of the miners joining with the Industrial Workers of the World. On May 6, 1908, the present charter was granted from the national body. The Federation did not appear satisfied entirely with their status, and in 1911 affiliated with the Socialist Party, then a rather revolutionary group. This caused much dissatisfaction on the part of the more conservative members, and the typographers withdrew from the Federation until it withdrew from such membership.

¹Minutes of the Organization Convention of the Utah State Federation of Labor, 1904.

In 1913 or 1914 the Industrial Workers of the World came to Salt Lake City, but attained new strength. In spite of its "ups and downs," the Federation managed to grow to a peak membership in 1918. Once again, at the close of the war a revolutionary group made inroads in the State, when the Soldiers', Sailors' and Workers' Council gained entrance to the Federation. The more conservative elements of labor protested to this incorporation of what they considered a group of Russian origin.

The Culinary Alliance Strike.--Unionization up to the end of the war had been very successful due possibly to the prosperous times with their subsequent demand for labor. In 1919 the Culinary Alliance in Salt Lake City started a strike for better working conditions. It appears that it was a peaceful affair, with no violence and orderly picketing. It was a costly strike for both the union and the restaurants, most of which were affected. The membership of the local in an international group here came in handy, for half of the cost of the strike was carried by the parent organization. In spite of the fact that the unions called off the strike, acknowledging defeat, the workers were generally left in better conditions of work.

The American Plan.--In 1920 the Utah Associated Industries, an association of employers, proposed what they

termed the "American Open-Shop Plan" in the hopes that it would bring industrial strife to an end. It was a plan whereby fifty per cent of the men in a particular company should be union and fifty per cent should be non-union. It became very effective in the early 20's spreading throughout the nation.

Attention of the Associated Industries group was first focused on the building trades. Up to this time, construction jobs had been generally closed shops, employing only union men. Most contractors accepted the American Plan, and on May 1, 1920, they began to post notices that union membership was no longer a prerequisite to holding a job. The same day the unions voted to walk off all jobs on which such notices were posted. Many of the material yards were closed to all but American Plan employers, and the unions reciprocated by picketing several of these lumber yards. They also picketed several jobs, and some union drivers refused to deliver goods to American Plan jobs. The unions did not possess sufficient strength at this time to combat that of the employers', and they were finally forced to accept the open shop. In February of 1921 there were general wage decreases in the building trades, which the unions laid to the open shop. At the same time, however, the State as well as the nation was experiencing a depression.

In 1922, the Associated Industries group instituted another clever device for reducing the strength of the unions. They started a bricklayers' and plasterers' school to train workers. They produced such in a very short time and were able to provide an ample supply of trained men. The unions made the claim that they were putting out inferior work as a result, but little concrete evidence was presented to support such claims. These multiple tactics of the employers caused the unions to lose strength which they never regained until the prosperous days of the late 30's and the 40's.

On May 1, 1921, the main struggle shifted from the building trades to the Typographers' Union, when the contract existing between the union and the employers expires. At this time the employers informed the labor unions they would no longer be recognized and the typographers started a strike. As most of the printing businesses severed their contracts, the strike became widespread and turned out to be a very costly one to the unions, costing them over a quarter of a million dollars. During this period, membership in the unions decreased about fifty per cent.

The Railroad Strike of 1922.--In May of 1921, during the brief depression, the wages of railway workers began to decrease. In July of the next year another major reduction took place, and the Four Brotherhoods called a nationwide strike, all of the railroad shopmen in Utah participating.

The railroad companies imported "scabs" to break the strike from Tennessee and California. A strange thing happened during the strike when railroad workers from Ogden came to Salt Lake City and offered their services as "scabs." After a year the unions were forced to call off the strike. Practically every railroad union in the state was dissolved as a result of this defeat, and sent their charters back to the international headquarters.

In 1922 the miners went on another strike, but their efforts were in vain, the result of which they lost much prestige and power.

The Dormant Years.--The period from 1923 to 1933 was rather dormant, the unions having taken a terrific beating. They made an abortive attempt at organization at the height of prosperity but had not had sufficient time to build up the necessary reserves of money and strength in numbers. The few unions remaining were hit very heavy during the early years of the depression. On November 30, 1933,¹ there were but twenty-seven unions in the Utah State Federation of Labor with only 965 members.

The Period of Rebirth - 1934-

Nineteen thirty-four began a period of rapid growth. It seems the union movement had been licking its wounds and

¹Quarterly Reports of the Secretary of the Utah State Federation of Labor.

gaining a reserve of energy that started a movement that has not yet been stopped.

Rapid Growth.--From the twenty-seven unions with 965 members reported near the end of 1933, the movement had attained a roster on February 28, 1935,¹ of seventy-one unions with 5,926 members. This great advance was concurrent with that of the rest of the nation. By 1937 there were 205 union locals affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, with many unions not being a part of that organization.

A rapid organization of miners and oil refinery workers took place throughout the State. The labor movement began to take hold in many new areas of the State. In Logan the Central Labor Union was formed in May 1934, affiliating with the American Federation of Labor in 1935 with nine locals. The Federal Labor Union incorporating four locals was organized in Tooele in 1935. One of these locals was the Tooele Federation of Teachers which was instituted in December of 1933. By 1935 there were nine local teachers' unions throughout the State, with a total membership of 300, associating themselves with the American Federation of Teachers, which in turn was one of the unions affiliating with the American Federation of Labor.

¹Ibid.

The Railroads.--Once again the railroad unions began to gain strength. Locals of the Order of Railway Conductors were located at Salt Lake City and Ogden. The Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen had one local in Ogden and three in Salt Lake City. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen had three organizations in Salt Lake, one in Ogden, one in Milford, one in Helper and one in Wendover. The Brotherhood of Railway Carmen had locals in Provo, Helper, Midvale, Soldiers Summit, Lynndal, two in Ogden and two in Salt Lake.

The Utah State Industrial Union Council.--On November 15, 1937, representatives from nine industrial unions met in conference with the object in mind of organizing a central council. This move was almost concurrent with the nationwide move to separate the industrial unions from the craft-dominated American Federation of Labor. The organization which the convention set up was called the Utah State Industrial Union Council, being affiliated with the new arrival in the industrial picture, the Congress of Industrial Organization. The Central was similar in functioning to the Utah State Federation of Labor, an organ of the American Federation of Labor.

One of the unions present at the convention did not become affiliated with the Central, but its withdrawal had little effect, for it was the smallest industrial union present with only twenty members. This left just eight unions

in the Central, by strange coincidence being the same number represented in the parent organization at the time of its separation. In this newly formed central were the following locals with the membership of each:¹

- 1. Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers . . 5,234
- 2. United Mine Workers 2,901
- 3. Sheep Shearers Union 284
- 4. Steel and Iron Workers of America 276
- 5. Oil Workers International Union . 200
- 6. United Ice and Refrigeration Union 55
- 7. United Brick and Tile Workers . . 53
- 8. Brewery Workers' Union 48

Total 9,071

This was a great step in the union picture of the State, for almost immediately war was declared by the Industrial unions on some of the craft unions. It provided for a more effective organization of many men who would probably not have been touched under a craft setup, and an exuberant, belligerent and convincing "youngster" was let loose throughout the State.

Enough is said of the state labor history. The scene was set. Precedents established. The groundwork laid for what was to come to Utah County.

Summary

No precedent or encouragement at all was furnished to Utah County by the rest of the State in the early pioneer

¹Utah State Industrial Council Convention, November 1937, pp. 12-14.

period from 1847 to 1868, as there were no unions on record as existing during that period.

The period following the pioneer era, that is from 1868 to 1895, found several labor organizations established: the Carpenters, Typographers, Knights of Labor, The Federated Trades, Building Trades Congress and the Railroad Brotherhoods dominating the scene. The period closed, however, in the defeat of these union activities, principally because of the depression of the 90's.

The next period from 1898 to 1930 saw a tremendous spurt in union activity, followed by an ignominious defeat at the hands of management using the American Plan. In this period many unions rose to great strength and then sank in many cases into non-existence. The period of great prosperity gave a little encouragement to labor organization, but it was short-lived, and most of the remaining unions were dissolved in the depression years.

In 1934, after almost ten years of hibernation, the union organizers once more began organization throughout the State following the favorable legislation of both the Federal Government and the State Legislature. As more favorable legislation was added, great impetus was added to the movement. In 1937 the industrial unions broke away from the craft, giving greater speed to labor organizing.

Conclusions

The unsettled conditions of the Statewide labor setup until 1934 gave little encouragement to the small, conservative college town of Provo, the most industrialized metropolis in Utah County. Because it remained unorganized and antipathetic to organized labor, the rest of the County remained unorganized. With the permanent establishment of union organization throughout the State following 1934 the groundwork necessary for the unionization of the County was laid, making such possible.

CHAPTER VI

THE DEVELOPMENT OF UNIONISM IN UTAH COUNTY

Pioneer Union Locals - 1900-1920

The author has been unable to find any references to any union organizations previous to the 1900's. Working men were in the earlier period drawn together in their church activities and civic achievements. Several other organizations existed for the betterment of the people and affiliating them in fraternities, but they did not take on the character and discipline of labor unions as such. However, shortly after the turn of the century, three unions were organized: two in the Postal service -- a well established industry, if it may be called such -- and one amongst the miners, a previously well established industry.

The Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers - Local #516.--

This, one of the earliest unions having influence within the County, was situated in the Tintic area, being established some time in the early part of the 1900's. As most of this area is outside of the County, it is rather difficult to

definitely establish that the Tintic Local of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers was actually within the jurisdiction of this chapter. However, there must have been many miners in the mines of the County who belonged to the union of the area. After the defeat of the Bingham miners in 1913, the union of the Tintic Area, #516, existed only on paper until 1933 when it was reactivated. By 1937 it had gained a membership of 516 men. It has continued to grow to include most of the miners of the area.¹

The National Association of Letter Carriers - Local No. 889.--This is one of the oldest unions in the County, and the oldest in Provo, having been organized about 1906, and it has stayed in continual operation until the present time. It is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, but not with the Utah State Federation of Labor. The reason for this is that it is different than most unions in that it can not strike against the government, and the only effective assistance that the union can offer is through the national pressure exerted through the American Federation of Labor on the the Post Office Department and the National Congress. When local difficulties arise, they are presented at the monthly union meeting, and then taken up with the local postmaster. If nothing is done, then the grievances are handed over to

¹Statement by Prof. J. B. Bearnson, personal interview.

the National Association. At the present time there are twenty-three members of the local.¹

The National Federation of Post Office Clerks - Local No. 42.--This local was probably organized some time in the early 1900's -- most likely before 1910. Its history and organization are about the same as the Carriers'. This local is a member of the State Federation of Post Office Clerks, probably affiliating before 1930. At the present time there are nineteen members in the post office in Provo.²

Granite Cutters International Union.--About 1917 the Provo City and County Building was begun. It was an edifice requiring granite for most of its construction. As granite cutting was a very specialized trade, there was a great demand for such, and men from outside the State were attracted. Three locals, with about 300 men, were organized in Salt Lake City, Midvale and Provo.

They were a rough lot of men, looking for trouble and generally finding it all of the time. The unions struck every other day -- at the drop of a hat and they would drop the hat themselves. They got everything they asked for. It was a strong union, very arbitrary about demands. The contractors had no recourse but to give in.

These men wouldn't take checks; they wanted money and they wanted to be paid by 12 o'clock on payday. Once the train from Midvale to the quarry got off

¹Statements by N. William Knudsen and Jack Taylor, personal interviews. (Personal interviews hereafter will be given by the name only of the person interviewed.)

²Verne S. Nelson.

the tracks. The contractor, Mr. White, was fifteen minutes late in getting the money to the men. They refused to take what he had because they wanted pay up to the last extra fifteen minutes.¹

After the completion of the City and County Building, the union dwindled away, as "floaters"² controlled the union with but few local men being members.

Other early unions.--Another union to be established in the lush days of World War I was a local of the International Association of Machinists. Probably during the same period, or at least some time prior to 1922, local #1248 of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees. During the big strikes of 1922 the latter group did not participate, probably staying in existence, as in 1935 there was a membership of 100 men. However, the other two unions did participate, and following the union defeat, were dissolved. The Machinists had at the time of their dissolution seventy-eight members. In 1934 or 1935, #1248 of the Railway Carmen was reorganized.³

The Prosperous Years - 1921-1929

The building boom, occasioned by the building of the pig iron plant at Ironton in 1923, brought several construction

¹Lee Scorup, History of Organized Labor in Utah, Unpublished thesis, Economics Department, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, 1935, p. 165.

²Floaters are workers who go from one job to another as fast as they are completed; they have no real home.

³Lee Scorup, op. cit., p. 194.

trade unions into the industrial picture, followed by a local for the newly established moving picture industry in Provo in the lush days of 1927.

United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry - Local #642.--Originally organized as the United Association of Journeymen Plumbers and Steamfitters on April 19, 1924 during the great building boom of that period with nine charter members, the plumbers of the Provo area rose in membership to about twenty just before the depression. When that great catastrophe swept the nation the Plumbers' local was all but eliminated, maintaining at one time only two members. As the nation came out of the depression the local began to gradually increase in membership, attaining a membership of about 130 during the war. In 1950 there were 127 members, having remained almost constant from the time of the peak membership. The local was first organized through the efforts of Mr. Sheehey, an organizer for the International, but the local reactivated itself in the 30's.

There had been no strikes in the history of the Plumbers' local until April of 1950, when they struck against the Midwest Piping and Supply Company.

The local is associated with the American Federation of Labor, the Utah State Federation of Labor, Central Utah Labor Council, and the Building and Construction Trades. Its

leaders also meet with the leaders of other locals in the State to bring about standard conditions.¹

The Carpenters.--According to some, there was a carpenters' local during the building boom in 1923 and 1924 incident to the erection of the Columbia Pig Iron Plant at Ironton. The local was unable to maintain its charter, and it was revoked by the International Association.²

The International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and Motion Picture Machine Operators of the United States of America - Local #648.--In 1927 members of the Salt Lake local No. 250 organized the motion picture operators in Provo, with ten charter members in three theaters: the Columbia, Strand and Gem. In 1936, the membership rose to twelve men, but soon dropped back to the original number, where it has remained.

There are five theaters at present in the Provo area that are unionized: the Strand, Uinta, Academy, Paramount and the Pioneer Motor-Vu. The five theaters are treated as if they were one business, with the ten available operator jobs belonging to local #648. The members of the union are assigned to a theater according to seniority, being paid according to the number of seats in the house. The operators at the Paramount and the Drive-In have a scale of \$2.00, while

¹Austin R. Carter.

²W. G. Willis.

at the Uinta and Academy they receive \$1.80. The operators at the Strand receive \$1.60. Things are evened up a bit, for the operators from the lowest paid theater act as relief for the higher paid operators when they go on vacation, and receive the pay of the higher job.

When the theaters were organized there was little, if any, opposition on the part of the owners, and the operators offered none. Negotiations are handled by the business agent who is elected by the members, serving for gratis. The relations between operators and management¹ have always been most amicable. When the men feel that they need a raise, they present their point to management, and have usually received it. No demands are made, but problems are talked out. Some of the contracts are written while the one with the Academy is purely verbal. When the theaters were threatened with receivership during the depression, the union members voluntarily accepted a wage cut of almost a half of their salary to prevent such from taking place.

In the latter part of 1949, a wage increase was asked from the Academy Theater owners, as there was a differential between it and the Uinta Theater. At the time, the owners were building the Villa Theater in Salt Lake City, and the

¹The business agent deals with the district managers for contracts and handles all grievances of both the managers and the operators. If the operators do not function properly, they are reprimanded.

district manager had to make a trip to San Francisco. He asked the business agent of the local to wait until a later date and that he would make any wage adjustment retroactive. Early in the spring of 1950 he finally met with the business agent, and after thirty minutes the wage increase was granted, and retroactive pay given back to January of 1949.

The motion picture operators' local was one of the original members of the Central Utah Labor Council, and is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.¹

The Plasterers - Local #505.--In 1929 the plasterers of Provo were organized with twenty-three charter members. However, during the early depression years they lost their charter.²

The Great Expansion - 1933-1939

The previous periods had seen some noble attempts at establishing permanent unions within the County. Most proved to be too weak to stand up under the onslaught of depression, adverse public opinion engendered by the violence of some of the labor groups, and the combined efforts of management. Only five locals established in the first two periods carried into this period: the Letter Carriers', Postal Clerks, Maintenance of Way Employees, the Motion Picture Machine Operators

¹George Cole.

²LeRoy Bott.

and the Plumbers and Steamfitters.

The few years' rest of the depression seemed to inject new life into the union cause, for as the nation slowly emerged from the depression, the County began to organize as never before in its history. Assisted by many public construction projects sponsored by the government and favorable Federal and State legislation, the building trades began to exhibit strength. The union snowball gathered in several groups of public servants. As was seen in a previous chapter, this great move, which was found throughout the State, occasioned concern on the part of the ecclesiastical authorities who did not approve of some of the tactics used by unions for the furtherance of their goals.

The Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America.--While this was not strictly a Utah County organization, many County men who worked on the Salt Lake and Utah Orem Line organized with Salt Lake men into a Salt Lake Local of this union on November 11, 1933.

The American Federation of Teachers - Local #351.--On October 25, 1934, local #351 of this union was organized in Provo. This organization took place about the same time that similar groups were formed in Salt Lake City, Tooele, Ogden and Brigham City.

The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners - Local #1498.--In 1935 one of the larger unions of the County

became organized at the instigation of several of the local carpenters of the Provo area, who wrote to the international headquarters of the union in Indianapolis, making known their desire to organize and receive a charter. An organizer, Don Cameron, was sent out to help them get started, and in the same year such took place with seven charter members. Within a year the membership had increased to about thirty.

The growth of the local was not fast until the boom of the war years came. In 1941 many of the local carpenters were working out of Salt Lake in the Arms Plant construction with a \$1.00-permit from the Salt Lake local. When the building of the Geneva Steel Mills near Provo was announced, the building activity of the central portion of the County increased tremendously. Carpenters began to enter the County in great numbers, and men from other occupations entered the construction industry. Throughout 1942 and 1943, the activity was tremendous, the strength of the local rising to a membership of 1,700 men, with an additional 1,300 men who were members of other locals. These men were given the choice of either joining the Provo local, which has jurisdiction as far south as Richfield, or paying a permit fee to work on union jobs in this area.

One of the bad features about the war years was that skill had to almost be forgotten as a qualification for union

membership. The need for carpenters was so great that as long as a man knew how to handle a hammer and please the boss, he was accepted. With the decreasing building activity and subsequent lessened demand for carpenters, the local union dropping to a membership of about 650 in 1949, the union has once again begun to give a qualifying written examination in which seventy-five per cent of the answers must be correct.

When veterans started to return from the service, the international headquarters issued a suggestion that all locals admit into union membership all veterans so desiring, without any initiation fee. The local union heeded the suggestion until it was abrogated June 30, 1947.

Jobs at present (1950) are scarce, and many carpenters are out of work. Some of the most important recent jobs have been at the Utah Power and Light plant, the United Pipe Company job up Provo Canyon doing a job for the Federal Bureau of Reclamation, and the Brigham Young University Science Building being constructed by Christensen Brothers, all of which have been union shops. The McKean Construction Company also has a union shop agreement for the building of houses in Orem. All of the schools under construction in recent years have been under union shop agreements.

Several members of the Associated General Contractors have consistently refused to enter into union activities. But

it appears that no great concerted effort has been made to force them into such.

The local has had three major labor troubles during the period of its history, two of which were in the same year -- nineteen forty-eight. One was over working conditions at the City Power Plant, and the other a jurisdictional dispute at the Geneva Extension. The third dispute was with the P. E. and P. I. Walker Construction Company in its construction up Provo Canyon. These shall be treated at greater length later in the chapter.

The local is allied with five other basic trades in the Building Construction Trades Council which negotiates with the Associated General Contractors of America. The International exercises no control over these negotiations, allowing the local to determine its own wage scale, a democratic process of voting being used in the determination. It is allowed to call strikes on its own authority, but will receive no financial assistance from the International unless it authorizes the strike. Once a year negotiations are opened with the Associated General Contractors along with the other members of the council for working conditions and wages for the ensuing year. The business agent is usually the representative on this council.

The organization of the local consists of a president and vice-president, business representative, financial secretary,

recording secretary, three trustees and a treasurer. Of these, only the business representative or agent and the financial secretary, who acts also as treasurer and cashier, are paid. The business agent, besides being the representative to the Building Trades Council, also takes care of all other business with employers. It is his job to check up on the union men and their work activities.

Politically, they follow the advice of Samuel Gompers, to vote for friends of labor and defeat their enemies. They meet with candidates for political offices and try to determine their views. At this writing, they consider all representatives from the County as being pro-labor.¹

There appears to be little, if any, feather-bedding advocated by the union local. There is a limitation on the tools which carpenters may take on the job. They are not allowed to take anything more than a miter-box on a job, unless the contractor pays rent on it. However, the union encourages the contractors to own the equipment themselves.

The local has been active in obtaining wage increases since 1941. The first in that year was \$.15 from \$1.10-\$1.25. During the war no wage increases were obtained, but in 1946 an increase to \$1.37½ an hour was secured. The increase in 1947 was to \$1.62½, and in the following year to \$1.82½. Last

¹W. G. Willis.

year, 1949, only a small increase of \$.05 was obtained. These are the rates for journeymen carpenters.¹

The Plasterers and Cement Finishers - Local #505.--

In 1934 or 1935, the defunct Plasterers union was revived in local #505. Membership in the union never rose to any great numbers, the period of 1936-1941 seeing only about a half-dozen men affiliated. In 1942 and 1943, membership rose to seventy or eight men, but since has fallen to a rather constant number of thirty to forty men. Early in its history, it affiliated itself with the Utah Federation of Labor and the American Federation of Labor. Later it joined forces in the Building Trades Council and the Central Utah Labor Council.

Most of the union work is found in the larger construction, such as schools and hospitals. Negotiations for wages are made by the plasterers with the plasterer bosses, and by the cement finishers with the Associated General Contractors. The history has been a peaceful one, the local having engaged in no strikes. Wages have risen from \$1.20 in 1936 to \$2.25 in 1950.

The local is organized with a president, vice-president, secretary and business agent, only the latter two receiving part-time pay.²

¹W. G. Willis.

²LeRoy Bott.

Construction and General Laborers' Union - Local #653.--

In September of 1936, ten of the construction laborers in the Provo area, in an attempt to better their working conditions, applied for and were granted a charter from the International Hodcarriers, Building and Common Laborers of North America, an affiliate of the American Federation of Labor.

The membership of the union remained small until the war years, during which the enrollment climbed to over 2,000 men. Until this war-induced increase, most of the members were plaster and mason tenders -- the more skilled of the laborer jobs. At the time of its organization, the local became a member of the Utah State Federation of Labor, and in May of 1937 it became one of the charter members of the Central Utah Labor Council.

The first major union job was the Farrer School in 1937. It was on this job that the laborers had their first and only strike, lasting just one day. A picket was maintained, and the contractor granted the men their demand, \$.50 an hour. Union laborers are hired on much of the larger construction of the area. During the building of the aqueduct in Provo Canyon, the local had jurisdiction over the laborers.¹

The Amalgamated Association of Iron, Tin and Steel Workers of North America, C.I.O., Local #1577.--In 1937 James G. Thimmes, an organizer for the International of the

¹Arthur D. Coleman.

above union, came to Provo. When he made known his presence, some old-time union men who were working at the Ironton pig iron mills met with him, signing up as members of the union. A meeting was then held for all of the plant employees, and within thirty days Ironton was organized, being met with virtually no resistance on the part of either employees or management. This was at the same time as the first wage raise and agreement between U. S. Steel and the union. The local maintained its identity until 1942, when it received its charter from the United Steelworkers of America.

Although the plant is under no special security agreement, the employees have belonged to the union almost a hundred per cent. Of course, during the war there were larger numbers of non-union employees, but at present there are only three or four hourly paid workers not members. No salaried employees are allowed in the union. All officers are elected, being nominated at a regular meeting of the local.¹

The International Association of Machinists - Lodge No. 1066.--Some time in 1937 the international headquarters of this union sent out W. B. Jordan to organize the Machinists in the Provo area. As soon as men were contacted many signed up. On the fourth of May 1937 the organization was given its charter with an initial membership of thirty-seven men.

¹Fred Hedquist.

The local grew slowly until the war years, experiencing a membership of approximately 600 in 1943. By 1946 the membership had declined to about 350 men, continuing to decrease to a membership of 250 in 1950. Since early in its history the membership engaged in garage work has remained constant, totaling approximately 125 men. Its great fluctuation has been experienced among its production workers.

The organization was originally affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. In 1914 that group awarded all setting of machinery to the machinists in what was termed the "Wilson Award." Later the Building Construction Trades Council set up mill rights under the jurisdiction of the carpenters to do this work, disregarding the mandate of the A. F. of L. This meant jurisdictional conflict between the carpenters' union and the machinists. During the construction of Geneva, a certain amount of difficulty was fomented; nevertheless, both unions participated in the setting of machinery in that plant. There appears never to have been a jurisdictional strike over this difficulty, but the open issue eventually ended in the withdrawal of the machinists all over the country from the American Federation of Labor in 1945.

The union became established in almost all garages in Provo early in its history, experiencing little opposition to organization itself. At the present time only two garages

are not unionized: the Taylor Motor Company and the Strong Motor Company. All negotiations with garages en masse are made with Lewis Callister representing them. In 1947 the Provo Foundry and Machine Company was organized about ninety-five per cent, and about the same time the union secured bargaining rights in the setting of machinery at Kaiser. The machinists at the Barbizon Company have been organized under an open shop agreement, but with unionization at a hundred per cent. The California Packing Corporation in Spanish Fork was organized at a hundred per cent but under an open shop agreement. The bargaining rights at Geneva obtained in 1942, while still affiliated with the A. F. of L., were lost in 1947 to the United Steelworkers of America.

The local has had three strikes in its history. The first in the latter part of 1937 was mainly an organizational strike lasting about thirty days, with a raise in pay of \$.15 being asked for, the machinists actually receiving an increase of only \$.12. In July of 1945 a two-day strike was engaged in against the garages to secure a wage increase. On July thirteenth, 1948, a strike against the garages for a wage increase was begun, lasting 92 days. This strike shall be treated at greater lengths later in the present chapter.

In 1944 the lodge #1066 became associated with all other lodges in Utah in the Utah Machinists' Council. It is

at present a member of district 114 which includes Nephi, Provo, Price and Bingham. It works in close harmony with the Provo Railroad Local #1652. This is a provo local being serviced out of Los Angeles.

For the local to receive any strike assistance from the International it must go through a very definite procedure. At least seventy-five per cent of the members in a shop against which the union intends to strike must vote in favor of such. The local then writes to its international headquarters for strike sanction. If advocated by seventy-five per cent of the executive board, the strike is considered sanctioned. If the local should, after reaching an agreement, strike in violation of such, it would be subjected to being dispelled by the International.

The organization of the local consists of a president, vice-president, a recording secretary, a financial secretary-treasurer, a conductor, sentinel, three trustees and the business agent. The past-president is statistician. Of these, only the business agent receives remuneration.

In 1940 a wage rate of \$1.25 was established in Provo, becoming the established basic rate for all workers in Utah on government projects. Wages were then frozen until 1946. In July of that year an increase to \$1.32 was obtained. In the following year the rate jumped to \$1.41, followed by an increase in 1948 to \$1.53. This rate shall remain until the

present contract expires December 31, 1950.

The local has sponsored several progressive programs which have found national adherence. The first was a proposition in 1945 for all unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. to form an organization to do something about rheumatic fever. In 1946 the move became County-wide -- in 1947 it became state-wide. In 1948 a national organization was set up. The other program was a veterans apprentice training program, the Provo local becoming one of the first labor unions to have such. The local also has a blood-donor service.¹

The Journeymen Barbers, Hairdressers, Cosmetologists and Proprietors International Union of America - Local #885.--

This local was formed in 1937. In 1950 there were thirteen shops in Provo who are recognized as union shops. The local seems to have no great strength or activity, for they do not at this writing attempt to organize new shops, or stop shops from charging below the union rates.

International Association of Firefighters - Local #593.--

On December 7, 1938, as a result of the organizing activities of Paul M. Peterson, the president of the Utah State Federation of Labor, the firemen of Provo were organized with eight charter members. They are now affiliated with the Utah State Federation of Labor, the American Federation of Labor and

¹H. B. Egbert.

the Utah State Firemen's Association. Almost since the time of its organization the force has been a hundred per cent organized, and today the membership totals twenty-two men, including the fire chief.

There has never been any serious trouble, as all difficulties have been taken care of with the chief. If trouble should develop, a spokesman would be elected to go to the city council to present the grievances. Pressure is exerted by the State organizations on the State Legislature for enactments recommended and desired by the members of the local. Strikes are not allowed, and if such should take place, the charter would be revoked by the International.^{1 2}

The International Union of State, County and Municipal Employees - Local #50.--Some time toward the last of 1938, three or four employees in secret met with Paul Peterson, then the president of the Utah State Federation of Labor, with the object in mind of organizing the employees of the State Hospital in Provo. They later met with the International president, Arnold S. Zander. Finally, on December 31, 1938, Local #50 was granted its charter with ten charter members. By 1946, there were 100-125 members, and by 1948 the number had increased to about 190 members. Interest began to lag about

¹At one time there was an organization of the Salt Lake City Fireman. However, they struck and their charter was revoked.

²Lewis W. Norman.

that time, and by 1950 the membership had dropped to about 140 employees out of a possible 220.

Some resistance was offered to the unionization of the hospital employees by the head doctor at that time. He, upon learning of the affiliation, fired four employees for inefficiency. However, when the case was taken before the State Industrial Commission, three of the four were reinstated. Due to the pressure of the State Federation of Labor, the head doctor was replaced, and since that time there has been virtually no resistance to the union.

At the present time the local is affiliated with the Utah State Federation of Labor and the Central Utah Labor Council. Associated with the employees at the Utah State Hospital in Local #50 are those at the Utah County Infirmary between Provo and Springville. Attempts have been made to bring in some of the city employees, such as those working in garbage disposal and general city employees, without success. Eight or ten of the County Road employees are associated in the same union. The employees at the American Fork Training School were organized in 1948 by a representative of Local No. 50 into a local of their own -- Local #810.

In 1938, when the union came into the State Hospital, wages for the employees ran from \$90.00 to \$150.00. At the present time they run from \$160.00 to \$250.00. The members

feel this was brought about by union pressure. Like other public institutions, the members are not allowed to strike, although they may quit. The ban against striking is not only in the law, but the international organization will not tolerate it.

The organization of the Utah State Hospital varied from that in industry. The State administration has for many years been nominally pro-labor. When the management of the hospital fired four employees, union pressure could be brought to bear to induce the administration to eliminate such an anti-labor official from his position. No such pressure could be brought against an industry. The State could force the rehiring of the fired persons, but not the firing of the manager.

In an interview with some of the local's leaders, they expressed themselves that they felt by raising the wages and bettering the conditions of work, through proper means, an improvement is made in the functioning of the hospital. They feel that they will make a profession out of the institutional care.¹

The Utah County Union Label League.--On April 14, 1939, this organization was established, with the officers being installed by Mrs. Anna P. Kelsey, the International President of Street Carmen's Ladies Auxiliary. The purpose of this league

¹Farrell Liljenquist and Paul S. Baxter.

is to induce manufacturers who are union employers to use the union label on their goods, and to promote the sole use of such goods by union members and the general public through advertisement and other peaceful means.¹

The Utah County Central Labor Council.---This organization was established in 1939 for the purpose of amalgamating the goals and purposes of the unions in the County who are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The locals originally forming this council were: the machinists, laborers, carpenters, plumbers and motion picture machine operators.

The members of the council in 1949 were the laborers, carpenters, plumbers and steamfitters, electrical workers (working out of the Salt Lake City local #57), operating engineers, lady garment workers, firefighters, hospital employees and the carpenters' ladies auxiliary.²

The International Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators, and Paper Hangers of America - Local #978.---This local was first organized locally by about thirty men who some time after organization applied to the International for a charter, receiving it July 13, 1939. The initial interest was soon dissipated when in 1940 only ten men held cards. The war occasioned a great increase in the membership of the local,

¹Miles Nielsen.

²Arthur D. Coleman.

rising to almost 200 men. Like most of the building trades, the membership declined after the war years, and in 1950 about sixty men belonged.

In organizing the painters met no great resistance to their move. At present they are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, Utah Federation of Labor, Central Utah Labor Council, and the Building Trades Council. Since unionizing, the wages of a journeyman painter have risen from \$1.60 to \$1.75.¹

Attempts at Unionization.--In 1938 a unit of the Salt Lake Meat Cutters' Local #537 was active in Provo. Great resistance was met, as well as apathy on the part of the workers. There are at present a few members of the Salt Lake local still in Provo. In the same year members of the Salt Lake Local #401 of the Bakery and Confectionary Workers were active at the Dalebout Bakery in Provo, but the move never caught hold.

The War and Post-War Period - 1941-1950

The previous period was one of great success for the union movement. Many locals were firmly entrenched in the economy of the County. The war period was one of government favoritism to the union cause. In the urgency of war production, the government made many concessions, and as a result

¹Clarence Hirst.

the union cause flourished greatly. There have not been as many locals established in this period as in the previous one, but those before established have been greatly strengthened during the war. Almost as soon as the war was over, many of the unions degenerated in size, occasioned by the withdrawal of many of the workers drawn here by the war prosperity and activities.

During this period great concern has been expressed by ecclesiastical authorities over the power of the unions and the occasional misuse of such. Whether or not this has retarded union activity would be mere conjecture to set forth.

This period has seen the entrance of a new system of unionization founded on the industrial basis. The Congress of Industrial Organization through the United Steelworkers of America has within its organization a great portion of the County's union members, even though the locals of such are few. This organization is one of the most dynamic and aggressive in the State as well as the County.

The Operating Engineers - Local #3.--About 1941 a branch of the above local was established in Provo. The local has headquarters in San Francisco and covers Northern California, Northern Nevada, Utah and the Pacific Islands, and is affiliated with the International Union of Operating Engineers, which in turn belongs to the American Federation of Labor. In 1942

the local became associated with the Utah State Federation of Labor, and in the following year with the Central Utah Labor Council. At the time of its organization it became a member of the Building Trades Council.

Its members are engaged in the operation, maintenance and repair of heavy equipment, such as cranes, steam shovels, heavy caterpillar tractors and other road equipment. Their work is of such a nature that they travel a great deal, necessitating a local covering a large geographical area.

The union has bargaining agreements with construction companies in Provo, Springville and Geneva. Its membership is about 400 men. During the war there were over 800 members alone at Geneva.

There have been a few strikes over wages, but none of any great length or importance.¹

The International Ladies Garment Workers Union - Local #430.--About a year and half after the establishment of the Barbizon plant in Provo one of the workers who had belonged to a union before got in touch with the union headquarters in Salt Lake and asked for someone to come and organize the plant. A representative, Don R. Evans, came to Provo in August of 1947 and signed up the workers, and then a vote was taken, the large majority of the women voting

¹C. R. Van Winkle.

for unionization. After several weeks of negotiation with the company officials, the union was accepted. There was no strike or picketing, nor has there been throughout the short history of the local.

There is a union shop agreement, and all new workers must join the union within eight weeks. All members are women. At present there are about 100 members of the union, the membership having remained almost constant. The local has never attempted to get an increase in wages, all such moves being taken by the International headquarters.¹

International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers - Local #57.--The Provo unit of the above local was first organized about July of 1948. Previous to the formation of the unit, however, many of the men who became members had previously belonged to local #57, with headquarters in Salt Lake City and covering Utah and Idaho. Membership includes electrical workers in the utilities, such as linemen, producers working in the power plants and also the clerical work, such as meter-readers.

The Provo unit is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, Utah State Federation of Labor, Central Utah Labor Council and the Union Label League.

There have been no strikes in the history of the local.

¹Lucille H. Brandon.

In 1948 the workers at the Provo City Power Plant asked for a raise to bring them up to the same level as the workers at the Utah Power and Light Company plant, with whom the local has bargaining rights. The union has not been recognized as the bargaining agent as yet by the City of Provo. The City Commission resisted the requested wage increase, and the men threatened to do something drastic. The Commission, to avoid trouble, gave them a raise, but not to the same level as Utah Power and Light. It was, however, accepted.¹

International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers - Local #354.--This local is like that of #57 in that it has headquarters in Salt Lake City with a unit in Provo. The men belonging to this organization handle all electrical contracting and job work, such as wiring for construction.

The United Steelworkers of America.--There are five locals of the Steelworkers in Utah County: #2701 at Geneva, No. 1577 at Ironton, #2932 at Republic Creosoting Company, No. 1654 at Pacific States Cast Iron Pipe Company and #3318 at General Refractories in Lehi.

The latter local was established in what was the first test of strength between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organization in Utah County. In

¹G. Wilson Stoddard.

²G. Wilson Stoddard.

what was then named the EMSCO Refractories in the city of Lehi, an election was held in May of 1944 in which the United Steelworkers of America, a C.I.O. affiliate, won over the Steel Production Workers of the A. F. of L. by a vote of fourteen to one. No information is at this time available on the locals at Pacific States and Republic.

The Ironton local of the United Steelworkers was formed in 1942, when it replaced the old Amalgamated Association of Iron, Tin and Steel Workers of North America organization. It served as the core of C.I.O. union activities in the County until Geneva was organized by that union.

Local #2701 was organized for the express purpose of organizing the workers at Geneva into the United Steelworkers Union. It had to fight the precedence established when the crafts of the American Federation of Labor built the Geneva plant. In May of 1944 the National Labor Relations Board conducted an election to determine what union should have bargaining rights for the production and maintenance workers upon the opening of the plant for production. The candidates in the election were the Steel Production Workers (Local #22589), the Railroad Brotherhoods, and the United Steelworkers of America (Local #2701). The Production Workers won the election, and by August of that year had the plant organized. Irvin Carey of Detroit was the organizer sent out by the International.

Two years later in May of 1946, another election was conducted by the National Labor Relations Board between the Steelworkers, Production Workers, Machinists and non-union. The vote indicated the necessity for a runoff election between the Steelworkers and Production Workers. A secret ballot was cast on July 13, and the Production Workers won by one vote. This vote was questioned, but held to be valid after investigation. The Board said that if employment doubled, another election could be applied for in six months.

In August of 1946, after a period of idleness during which time the plant was purchased by United States Steel, the plant began to hire men again. As fast as they came to work, representatives of both plants tried to sign them up. The Steelworkers began an extensive and intensive campaign for members, and in January of 1947, applied for another election.

On February 13, 1947, the new election was held, and the Steelworkers proved to be the most effective organizers, winning the election. On March 21, the National Labor Relations Board certified the union as the collective bargaining agent for the Geneva Plant. With this certification, the history of the Ironton and Geneva locals has been the same, both coming under the same "Basic Steel" Contract.

Since the Steelworkers were certified, there has been, besides a short work stoppage, only one strike, and that was

the nationwide strike beginning October 1, 1949, which reflects none of the local problem. The local can not conduct a legal strike without the permission of the international headquarters of the union.¹

Clerical Workers at Geneva and Ironton.--On April 22, nineteen fifty, the clerical workers at Geneva and Ironton held an election conducted by the National Labor Relations Board. The choices were either to accept United Steelworkers Local #3736, a salaried unit, as their collective bargaining agent, or to have no union. At the two plants there were 270 eligible voters out of which 180 voted, 109 voting for the C.I.O and 73 voting for no union. A few days later the local was certified as the bargaining agent for the clerical workers.²

Unionizing Attempts.--On December 12, 1949, the linoleum, carpet, tile layers and cutters organized themselves into a union at Dixon-Taylor-Russell Company, by a vote of nine to one. The company felt that it was not good to have one department organized, so shortly discontinued that department, letting the work out to contractors.³

In 1943 or 1944, C. R. Van Winkle of the Operating Engineers, attempted to organize all of the retail clerks in

¹Ronal Bills.

²Ronal Bills.

³Bulletin of Industrial Relations Council of Utah, Dec. 12, 1949.

Provo. Due to the lack of support of such, the attempt failed.¹

In March of 1944 the Steelworkers attempted to organize the utilities employees into a local of that organization. After a very short life the unit was dissolved.²

In the period of March to June of 1944, a representative of the American Federation of Labor attempted to organize the employees of Sutton's Cafe into a local, #218, of the Culinary Workers League of America. The attempt ended in defeat for the union.³

In March of 1949, the Laundry Workers Local #316 of Salt Lake City organized the workers at Troy Laundry in the midst of resistance on the part of the management. After about nine months of existence, the unit was dissolved as a result of the workers gradually dropping out.⁴

In this same period, representatives of the State, County and Municipal Employees, Local #50, attempted to organize some of the municipal workers, but there was a general lack of interest.⁵

¹C. R. Van Winkle.

²Ronal Bills.

³The Provo Daily Herald, March-June, 1944.

⁴Utah Labor Relations Board Case #651.

⁵Paul S. Baxter.

Utah County Labor Disputes

To gain a clearer picture of labor movement in Utah County, we should look at a history of some of the major strikes, work stoppages and other labor disputes with which the County has been bestowed. The first strike in 1922, one nationwide in character, ended in defeat for the cause of unionism. There is in progress today a strike, the outcome of which is still in the offing. Quite generally, the unions have been victorious, or at least have made some gains through their strikes, all of which has tended to strengthen them.

The Railroad Strike - 1922.--When the railroad Brotherhoods went out on strike in 1922 two Provo locals, the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, Local #1248, and the International Association of Machinists, Railroad Local #1652, went out in sympathy. The nationwide strike ended in defeat for the unions, and these two locals subsequently were dissolved. Both were at a later date reactivated.¹

Farrer School - Spring of 1937.--This was a strike of short duration (just one day) of the Laborers Local #653 against the contractor of the Farrer School. The men wanted a wage of fifty cents an hour, and to get it they struck and maintained a picket. It ended in victory for the laborers.²

¹Scorup, op. cit.

²Arthur D. Coleman.

Garage Strike - 1937.--In the latter part of 1937 the Machinists, who had previously become organized, struck against the garages to obtain recognition and a raise in pay of \$.15. The strike lasted about thirty days and ended with recognition and a wage increase of \$.12.¹

During the course of the strike three injunctions were issued by the City Court judge to cease the picketing, but the Machinists paid no attention to them. However, nothing was ever done about prosecuting the union for contempt of court. One picket was convicted of beating up a scab, but when the case was appealed to the district court the decision was reversed (January, 1950). The picket had not been jailed for the previous conviction.

Management used a great deal of publicity in the newspapers to fight the strikers and pickets. It also hired scabs, some coming from without the State, while others were members of the Machinists local who were removed from the union because of their scab activities.

Utah State Hospital - 1938.--In 1938, the employees of the State Hospital in Provo formed a union, Local #50. As a consequence four of them were fired for their union activity, the hospital head stating that it was for inefficiency.²

¹E. G. Egbert.

²Paul S. Baxter.

However, when the case went before the Utah Labor Relations Board, all except one were reinstated. As a result, the head doctor was removed.

Contractors - 1942-1949.--In this period there were several strikes against the contractors of the area by the members of the Operating Engineers, Local #3. They were all of short duration and rather unimportant in the whole scheme of labor activity in the County, but did end in wage increases and better working conditions for the union members.¹

The Sutton's Cafe Dispute - March-May 1944.--In some way on February 26, 1944, representatives of the Culinary Workers Alliance, Local #128, secured the signatures of ten employees of Sutton's authorizing that local as their collective bargaining agent. One of the workers of the cafe had been very active in the securing of the signatures. The next day she went to the manager of the cafe and asked his opinion of the actions of the employees. After several hours of conference, she left him and went to the other employees and told them that the manager was displeased with what they had done.

On April 3, the Utah Labor Board received a letter with the signatures of nine of the ten persons who had given their signatures to the union, stating that they no longer wished to be members of that union. These same persons also went to

¹C. R. Van Winkle.

the union headquarters and withdrew their cards. The Board, however, refused to pay any attention to this letter, and on March 17, certified Local #128 as the collective bargaining agent for the employees, whereupon the manager then refused to acknowledge the union on the grounds that it no longer represented a majority of the employees.

On March 8, the union filed a petition with the Board charging management with an unfair labor practice in coercing the employees to withdraw their union membership and refusing to bargain. On March 20, a hearing was held, and on April 21, the Board ordered the management to bargain with the union. A petition of the management for a rehearing was denied, and the refusal to bargain was maintained. New charges were filed, and a hearing was ordered for May 29. On June 13, a new decision was issued, stating that management was not guilty of an unfair labor practice because the employees of their own free will had sought the advice of the manager and his voiced opinion was not action to coerce. Also, when the employees had withdrawn their union membership, it no longer represented a majority of the employees, and therefore, could not be certified as the collective bargaining agent.¹

Geneva Work Stoppage - February, 1945.--For some reason, one of the bosses in the Geneva plant called one of the

¹Utah Labor Relations Board Case #435.

members of the Machinists union an insulting name, bringing in both the man's ancestry and religion. The man in retaliation hit the foreman, whereupon the foreman hit the worker across the back of the head with a pipe. By the time the worker was carried out to the ambulance, all work in that department had ceased. The work stoppage was ended when the foreman was fired.¹

Garages - July, 1945.--Again in 1945, negotiations between the Machinists Lodge #1066 and the garage owners reached an impasse, and the union men went out on strike for a wage increase. It lasted just two days, ending in victory for unionism.²

The Provo Canyon Aqueduct - May, 1948.--The carpenters of Local #1438 were working under what they termed "unbearable conditions," in that they were laboring under a non-union foreman, and because the contract which they had signed with the Walker Construction Company called for a regular payday and the company was not living up to it. A short strike ensued, lasting but a few days, and ending in victory for the union.³

Geneva Work Stoppage - May, 1948.--On May 7, 1948, ten men walked off their jobs when the company tried to give five

¹H. B. Egbert.

²H. B. Egbert.

³W. G. Willis.

men what it considered a promotion. It was a promotion in seniority but was protested to by the men on the grounds that it was a demotion in wage. Two days later, the men resumed their work, but by the direction of the union leaders, "under protest."¹

The Provo City Power Plant Strike - May, 1948.--On May 1, the Provo Carpenters threatened a strike against L. A. Creer, Contractor, who was erecting a part of the new expansion on the Power plant then in progress. The threat also involved several other jobs in the County that affected members of the Associated General Contractors and the locals connected with the Building Construction Trades Council. The reason for the threat was that the Carpenters demanded a wage increase of \$.25 an hour, which demand was rejected. On May 8, final bid of the contractors' at \$.17 was rejected. On May 11, about four carpenters walked off the job in a "wildcat strike" and were replaced by the contractor. The strike spread to several other jobs a few days later when eighteen carpenters on the Ralph Child school construction job in Springville followed suit. A few days later, a compromise agreement was arrived at by the union and the company.²

Garages - July, 1948-October, 1948.--In July of 1948, the Machinists, once again to enforce their demands for a

²W. G. Willis.

wage increase, went out on strike against the garage owners. It was one of the most important and longest strikes in the area, lasting ninety-two days. During the strike, pickets were maintained, the union finding it necessary to hire some men from outside the State for this purpose.¹ The management of one of the garages retaliated against the picketing by hiring a negro woman to follow a picket with the sign, "Just Married." The strike ended by concessions being granted to the union by the garages.

The Troy Laundry Company Dispute - February and March of 1949.--Some time in November of 1948, the Laundry Workers, Local #316 of Salt Lake City, was certified as the collective bargaining agent for the workers in both the Provo and the Troy Laundries, both under the same management. Attempts were made to arrive at agreements on wages, hours and conditions of work, but without success. In the course of unionizing, members of the management had spoken disparagingly of the union and its activities and quite vehemently made known their dislike for such and for any who should join. On February 10, 1949, the organizer for the union filed charges of unfair labor practices against the management with the Labor Board, and the Board began proceedings by sending out an investigator to determine the facts of such charges.

¹H. B. Egbert.

On February 21, a request was received from both parties for the assistance of the Labor office in negotiating an agreement. However, both sides met before a negotiator could be named and arrived at agreement on terms of wages, hours and conditions of work. On March 8, 1949, the Board received a motion by attorneys for both sides that the whole matter, including the charges of unfair labor practices, be dropped without prejudice.¹

The Steel Strike - October and November, 1949.---The nationwide steel strike of 1949 was participated in by the United Steelworkers union members of two of the plants in the County, Locals #2701 and #1577 at Geneva and Ironton. Relations between Geneva and the strikers were peaceful and harmonious, the company even at one time furnishing shelter for the strikers and pickets. As soon as the national leaders of the Steelworkers and United States Steel reached an agreement, production was recommenced.²

Carpenters Dispute, 1949.---On December 19, 1949, a worker at Provo began a suit against the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners Union for \$28,000 on the claim that that union interfered with his right to employment. The worker held cards with both the Carpenters union, an American

¹Utah Labor Relations Board Case #651.

²Ronal Bills.

Federation of Labor affiliate, and the Machinists union, an independent which only a few years before had severed its affiliation with the A. F. of L. over jurisdictional trouble. Although the Carpenters knew of the double affiliation at the time he was accepted into the union, some time after securing a job the union caused him to be severed from such.

The worker then went to Magna after a period of unemployment, and there the Carpenters representative told him that he would have to drop the other card or he would not be able to secure work on any job controlled by the Carpenters. The suit is still pending.¹

The Utah Power and Light Company Strike - April, 1950.--

In a contract entered into by the Plumbers and Steamfitters with the Midwest Piping and Supply Company which was working on the large power plant at the mouth of Provo Canyon, an agreement was reached with the company that they should, besides the regular wage, pay the involved workers travel pay from the Provo City limits on straight-time pay basis. The company did not heed this provision, and forty-two plumbers and steamfitters, after some months of negotiations left their work on April 6, 1950. The company claimed that it was a "wildcat strike," as no notice was given.

To set a definite demand, the union decided on \$1.50 a day as the travel pay involved and asked for it retroactive

¹Industrial Relations Council for Utah Bulletin, Dec. 19, 1949.

to April 1, 1949. The company agreed to the amount of the travel pay, but only acceded to retroactivity to April 1, 1950. After ten days of striking, in which the continued construction of the plant was threatened, an agreement was reached on April 17, setting the date of retroactivity at December 1, 1949.¹

Geneva Transportation Company Strike - March-May, 1950.--

At midnight of March 28, 1950, the members of the Teamsters Local #222 in Provo went out on strike against the Geneva Transportation Company, demanding an increase in pay of \$.15 an hour and improvement of equipment. There were thirty-five persons involved, thirty of whom were drivers operating twenty buses.

This was a rather unusual strike, and one difficult to settle for Mr. Gronway Parry, the owner, declared that the company was still losing money and couldn't hope to be making any for two or three more years. To hold up his argument he presented the books of the company to prove his point. It appears that such was the case, for there has been no refutation of the claim on the part of the union.

On April 1, the union offered to have the strike arbitrated. The owner refused the suggestion, stating that he would not consider any kind of a wage increase. He later agreed to the principle of arbitration, suggesting a three-

¹Austin R. Carter.

man board appointed by the Provo Chamber of Commerce. This proposal the union rejected, stating that a board chosen in such a way would be partial to management, and retaliated with the suggestion of a one-man arbitration board, which suggestion was rejected.

On the 6th of April, the Teamsters began a new strike tactic in the commencement of "courtesy runs," in which they attempted to service several of the regular runs with rented buses, riders being subject to no fare but with any contributions accepted. On April 28, the Utah Public Service Commission ordered the buses to stop, stating that the buses ran on regular routes, accepted money, no insurance was had on the buses, and the Teamsters had no operating franchise. At first it appeared that the union would heed the order, but on April 30, the union announced that it would defy the Commission because it was felt that it had no authority to stop the operation.

On May 2, Gronway Parry, in desperation offered to sell the company to the Teamsters for \$.60 on each dollar he invested in the company. As of this writing the offer had not been accepted by the union, and the strike is still in progress with no apparent hope of immediate conciliation.¹

¹The Provo Daily Herald, March-May, 1950.

Summary

Previous to 1900, there were no unions established in the County as far as has been determined.

Between 1900 and 1920 there was a little union activity in the establishment of two unions for postal employees, three for railroaders and one for granite cutters working on the City and County Building. The first two maintained existence continually, two of the three railroad unions temporarily went out of existence in the railroad strike of 1922, while the third maintained itself. The granite cutters dissolved their union when they moved from the area after completion of their work.

The labor development of the 20's was primarily in the building trades, the carpenters, plumbers and plasterers uniting. Of these three, only the plumbers survived the depression and they with only two members. The motion picture machine operators combined in the latter part of the 20's and remained organized.

In the 30's the County saw its most rapid labor development beginning in 1934. There were possibly many local men who belonged to Salt Lake locals, and when the most propitious time arrived organized their own. However, some of them still have none of their own. The teachers organized, but failed. Locals of the 20's were reorganized, and other

trade unions such as the laborers, painters and electricians came into existence. The belated organization of iron workers took place, and some of the State, County and Municipal employees were organized. To the latter, and the laborers, some resistance was offered, but nothing of a very serious nature. The most active opposition was with the establishment of the machinists local amongst the garages. Also in this period were established a County Council and a Union Label League..

The years from 1940 to 1950 were active in the labor movement of the County. The war greatly increased the strength of the union locals, even though there was a depression in membership following the war, due to the completion of the government war building projects and many of the transient workers moving on. In this period the United Steelworkers gained control of the steel and iron business without any great opposition on the part of the employers. Locals were established in several new industries, and the operating engineers became organized. A few more State, County and Municipal employees were unionized in this period. Attempts were made to organize several groups, such as the laundry and culinary workers as well as others, which attempts failed. There was considerably more strife in two strikes of the machinists, one of the teamsters, one of the plumbers, several of the carpenters and operating engineers, the nationwide steel strike

(which does not reflect any local dissatisfaction), as well as some furor in several of the attempts at organizing in which picketing was used. By 1950, there had been established permanently about twenty-five, with approximately 8,000 members.

Conclusions

Before 1900 there was no need for a labor movement, and so there was none. From 1900 to 1920, organization took place mostly in the stranger industries as such was needed to offset the power and control of the larger and better organized industries. Many of the union members were newcomers to the County and had experience in unions elsewhere. The building trades, in organizing during the 20's, did so as a result of the tremendously increased demand for their labor. With the demand great, they saw the chance to raise their standard of living, with a minimum amount of effort. Their failure was due to the depression.

The greatly increased unionization of the 30's was the result of favorable legislation and administrative government, the prosperity of certain industries, and the success of unions elsewhere. There was great improvement made for the working class. The great impetus of the 40's was due in large measure to government sponsorship.

There was bound to be some resistance to the labor movement, but there has been comparatively little. What

disputes have taken place have been rather peaceful affairs because the people were peaceful and demanded such. Out of all this, the union cause has emerged triumphant. It has established itself and has worked, and is working for the improvement in pay, hours and conditions of work for the working man. In some cases, this may have gone too far and certainly there is the possibility that union power may become excessive in the future, but that only the future can tell.

CONCLUSIONS AND FINDINGS

The population of Utah County was established by religious pioneers, who came into a semi-desert country to found a new empire where they could be free and unopposed because of their religious philosophy and practices. The common religion, goals, persecutions and enemies combined to evolve a great brotherhood and fraternity of the people.

Life was principally agrarian, an existence which fosters conservatism and peace, which attributes were also encouraged and assisted by the religious philosophy of the people. No large city was established in the County, but the continual stream of immigrants was dispersed throughout the County in many towns and villages. As a consequence, the evils of the city were nowhere found in the County -- no slums, few taverns, no teeming mass of people with whom the cause of unionism has always found its most pregnant possibilities. An indication of the wide dispersal of the people is found in the census figures of 1940 in which there are listed fifteen towns with a total of about 31,000 people, or an average of about 2,000 in each. The largest city was Provo with only 10,000 people.

The first forty years of existence were troublesome times. Indians were sometimes contentious, lack of proper water storage for the dry growing season often brought severe drouths, and in many years came hordes of crickets to devour the crops which the people had toiled so hard for. But this was not enough for the people brought with them the enmity of many Easterners, persons who opportuned the government to engage upon campaigns of persecution against the people of Utah, of which the citizens of the County were an integral part. The first campaign was in the 50's when President Buchanan ordered an army to Utah to put down a supposed rebellion. This army was resisted by the people, but a truce was arrived at in which the army was allowed to enter the territory and establish a fort in the western part of the County. The second campaign was the "Polygamy War" of the 80's in which the Federal Government put a stop to the practice of polygamy in the course of which many of the County's leading men were put in prison or forced to flee their homes.

Most towns were settled in such a way that they were almost self-sustaining as far as crafts and skills were concerned, and attempts were made to establish industries that would make the people of the State independent of the rest of the country. Each town had its gristmill, sawmill, carpenters, masons, blacksmiths, shoemakers, shops and stores.

All were on a very small scale with few if any hired help. Eventually a few small industries were established, but were generally financed locally; consequently, they remained small and purely domestic. The one or two industries that attained size of any degree were usually operated either by local religious leaders or financed by the Mormon Church, which exercised a certain amount of influence over the operations.

A great many of the industries and businesses established in the pioneer period were eliminated from the economy or else severely depressed during the economic collapse of the nineties. It took many years for them to regain the strength they had lost, and before some of them could recuperate, outside competition had become too great for them.

Exceptions to the general rule that industry was purely local and small were the mining and railroading industries of the County. Most of the mines were owned by Easterners as were railroads. Their purported profitable remuneration and opportunity for employment drew many non-Mormons into the area, as well as enlisted many members of the Church into their employ. The domination and control which they exercised as elsewhere necessitated union of the workers to guarantee a decent standard of living. In such were found the first real unions of the County. Also established were unions of post office employees along with the employees throughout the nation.

Until the twentieth century the Mormon leaders, alert to all changes affecting their people, expressed no great concern over the labor movement of the State and country. There was no movement to speak of in the County, and so it could not influence any remarks of the religious leaders. However, about the turn of the century the miners of the State and County began to organize. Then unorthodox conduct and extreme activity caused alarm in the minds of the leaders. In 1903, the first recorded public utterance of a Church leader was made in regard to union activities. The speaker, John Henry Smith, upheld the right and goodness of unionism, but denounced the "unlawful" tactics of some. His remarks set the tone for the labor philosophies of the Church leaders until the present time.

Following the violence of the miners' strikes and the unpeaceful activity of the Industrial Workers of the World and kindred organizations, as well as the abundance of closed shop contracts, the leaders in 1917 voiced themselves as to certain union practices and then remained quiet on the subject for about twenty years.

At first the population was homogenous in its religious and fraternal affiliations. Gradually, however, non-Mormons came into the area. They were "outsiders" or "gentiles", and often felt antagonistic to the "powers that be." With them,

there accumulated a group of apostates and others who gradually drifted away from dynamic membership in the predominant faith. This amalgamated group needed something to weld them together. They did not gain any great size or strength until later years.

The State Law, beginning with the Constitution, proved to be progressive and liberal insofar as enunciating the rights and immunities of labor was concerned. The Constitution, established in 1895, provided for the protection of the right of labor to organize, and freed them from many evils current elsewhere in that day. In 1917 the Legislature again provided more adequate protection for labor, in the face of many abuses by certain unions in the State.

Unionism in the State had experienced by 1922 several periods of growth and decline. The depression of the 90's was as unkind to unions as it was to business, and most of the unions in the industrial centers of Ogden and Salt Lake City were put out of commission, and the rest greatly diminished in influence. After the depression of the 90's labor once again began to organize on a large scale, especially in Salt Lake City, and by the time of World War I had gained great power, operating in many establishments under closed shop agreements. Except for the mining and smelting industries, peace reigned in the labor picture of the State until World War.

In 1919, the businessmen in organized areas began to retaliate against the unions, and instituted the ingenious "American Open Shop Plan," which became nationwide in scope. With this plan, labor within the State, as well as the nation took a terrific beating, most of them becoming disorganized. The condition of labor elsewhere in the State gave little encouragement to that in the County.

* * *

During the 20's, outside industry began to enter the industrial picture of the County. The iron industry, along with several subsidiaries found that the area was most favorable for the establishment of factories because of the adequate quantities of iron ore, coal, lime and industrial water within a desirable radius. The labor market was also favorable, as was the development of lines of communication. The building of these factories and the consequent spurt in building activities served as a stimulus for the organization of several trade unions, as well as the establishment of new economic immigrants, within the area. They were peaceful movements and occasioned virtually no resistance by employers. Except for the depression of 1929 and the 30's, they would probably have had continued growth. During that period, however, several were eliminated temporarily, and the others greatly diminished in membership.

* * *

About the middle of the 30's, the local construction industry, with a great deal of Federal assistance, began to revive in the building of schools, other public buildings, roads and waterworks. This expansion encouraged the building trades, with their experience of the 20's and the success of unionism throughout the nation and State, to unionize again. They have been leaders because they are greatly skilled workers, and as such have greater bargaining power when the demand during prosperous times becomes great. Then as poor times come, without unions, standards of employment would degenerate excessively without the protection of unions. The iron industry, unorganized in the 20's, now was made union with the assistance of international organizers. State, County and municipal employees were caught in the great move. With the increased activity there came of necessity increasing demands for shorter hours, more pay and more union security. Comparative peace reigned in the County, but elsewhere violence and strike went on the rampage. Several instances of opposition and strike were occasioned, but nothing of a very serious nature. Most of these instances ended in victory for the cause of unionism.

It was in this period that the Church leaders became most adamant in their denunciation of the union tactics of the closed shop, automatic checkoffs, violence and inordinate

demands. It was a rather natural development for they were looking at labor from a local viewpoint. Their immediate concern was for the spiritual, as well as temporal welfare of their people. They could see in these new organizations a threat to the peace and morals of the people. Their resistance was not to labor unions alone, but opposition was expressed to anything which they felt harmful, such as big industry and Federal welfare doles. Joseph F. Merrill quickly came to the fore in this opposition. No real measure could be made of the effect of these expressed attitudes on the people of the County, but it most likely threw a great many

Church members into a state of confusion torn between two loyalties. Some probably left the Church altogether, while others decided to just wait it out and hope that opinions would change, or the tactics of some of the unions be altered.

This period of the 30's also was one of great improvement in the law of the State as far as giving advantages to labor unions were concerned. They were freed from the misuse of the injunction and given all of the advantages accruing to interstate commerce through the Wagner Act. This certainly served to encourage unions to become organized.

* * *

In the war and post-war period, the industry of the County grew. Geneva Steel was established, and the Ironton

Blast Furnace No. 2 added. Several other industries were established and some of the older ones greatly expanded. This activity gave great impetus to the labor movement. However, there seemed to be a larger number of unions established, only to drop out of existence in a matter of months, or others attempted, only to fail completely. This has been the case especially since the war. There have been two local influences which may possibly have been at least the partial cause of this.

The Church leaders have become increasingly in opposition to some of the tactics used by labor. While it is doubtful that their attitudes would greatly affect the already well established unions, they may have served as a deterrent to further union efforts. In 1947, the Legislature passed the Clegg-Vest Act as an amendment to the law of 1937. It was along the same lines as the Taft-Hartley Law, and was possibly the result of reaction to the misuse of labor power in some areas. It served notice upon unions that they could be guilty of certain unfair labor practices as could management. This law gave into the hands of the employer a little of the power which had been acceded to labor under the previous law.

In spite of this retardation, the new arrival on the industrial scene of America -- the Congress of Industrial

Organization -- found root in the County through the United Steelworkers of America. This was a dynamic and vigorous youngster, and it quickly gained control over the steel and iron industry of the area. It made a few attempts that failed, but it has become and remained strong and a powerful influence on the economy of Utah Valley.

There have been more labor disputes in the County within the last few years than throughout the rest of the history. To gain a clearer picture of these disputes, they have been treated chronologically. The nationwide strikes of the railroads and steel industries, of course, little reflect contention in the County. The others show that there have been strikes, but all have been quite peaceful.

There are at present approximately twenty-five locals represented in the Valley with about 8,000 members, out of a work force of probably twice that many, excluding agriculture. Exact measurements can not be made because of the unavailability of company or union membership files, and the anachronistic figures of the 1940 census.

The lack of industrialization, accompanied by the homogenous and conservative population of the County, and bolstered by the presence of many vexatious problems until recent times, prevented the development of any great labor organization. As industry has entered, bringing with it

people not so conservative, and as a greater portion of the population has left its typically conservative tone, unions have been able to find their place. The law has been progressive, and while not causing unionization has certainly provided fertile ground for such. Unionism elsewhere in the State experienced a vacillating history, and in turn discouraged and then encouraged development within the County. A consistent deterrent has been the attitudes expressed by certain leaders of the Church toward some of the activities of labor unions. No measure can be made, however, of the total effect.

The County is not yet a union community, but great strides have been made. While the people have not accepted unions with open arms, they have not actively fought them to any great degree, and as a result there has been a good degree of peace when comparison is made with other areas. It is difficult to know the extent to which unions will grow. They have decreased greatly in membership from the war period and have had no great upsurge since.

If greater industrialization takes place and the people become a little less conservative, it will grow; otherwise not. Unions have kept within reasonable bounds in their attempt to organize the County. No violence has occurred, nor has management been unfair in its resistance. Of course, the

factions have opposed each other to some degree, as would be expected and wanted, for each has some courage of convictions and should express it by some kind of action.

The labor movement has gained much for the laboring man, giving him shorter hours, better pay and an improvement of working conditions. It has served to provide the workers with more power in the bargaining process -- something much needed.

If the cause of unionism all over the country would be conducted as it has been in this County, there would be little reaction on the part of management. There have been a few cases of what have seemed to be excessive or unreasonable demands, and where such has been the case the cause of labor has been injured.

There is a possibility that with greater industrialization, more dilution of the old Mormon stock, and a moderation in the conservativeness of the local citizenry, that unionism will continue to grow. But to have its greatest growth it must maintain the friendship of the established population by controlling its methods of extending its cause.

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