



## Logan Hebner

### Author to Speak on S. Paiutes

Logan Hebner moved to Alta, Utah, in 1978 after graduating cum laude from Vas-sar College. In 1980 he founded the Bit and Spur Mexican Restaurant in Springdale. In 1987 he founded the International State Legislative Exchange, which brought delegations from ex-Soviet parliaments to the United States to study democracy.

He began interviewing S. Paiute elders in 1992, which resulted in his book, *Southern Paiute: A Portrait*. He is also the executive director of Zion Canyon Mesa, an arts and humanities center in Springdale. He currently resides in Rockville with his wife, Angie, with whom he has two sons.

Hebner came to know the Southern Paiute through friendships that developed organically, which over time included attending ceremonies. When the elder Lucille Jake died, Hebner asked her daughter Vivienne if

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### Dinner and Presentation

**TUESDAY, APRIL 16**, Alta Club  
6:30 mingling, 7:00 dinner, 8:00 speech

Reserve space with Craig Smith at [utwesterners@gmail.com](mailto:utwesterners@gmail.com) or at 801-712-6183. Payment of \$45 at the door by cash or check. Drinks available inside by credit card. No reservations after 1:00 April 11.

### Thinking about Topaz

by Lyuba Basin

Topaz. The first time I heard the word I thought of rock. A gemstone, naturally amber in color, sparkling in a pair of earrings or on a necklace. Topaz crystals can be found among rhyolite in the area surrounding the (aptly) named Topaz Mountain, in Utah's Thomas Range. According to the Bureau of Land Management, "Topaz Mountain is located in a remote area where there is no water and no services are provided." Just nine miles southeast of the summit is some 20,000 acres of barren land that was once part of the Central Utah Relocation Authority, later simply called Topaz.

Topaz. The second time I heard the word it was followed by "Japanese-American Internment," which was then followed by surprise. I had always been interested in history, and yet I had never heard of Topaz before 2014. It was my first week working in the Rare Books Department at the J. Willard

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### Southern Paiutes and Author

he could access any interviews with her. Surprisingly, there were none. Hebner began researching and realized that a whole generation was about to pass away without anyone recording their stories. He intensively researched available histories, ranging from John Wesley Powell, Edward Sapir, and Isabel Kelly to Martha Knack, as he was quietly handed from one elder to the next. Award-winning photographer Michael Plyler took their portraits. This work evolved from local exhibits to a book with USU and John Alley, himself a noted S. Paiute historian.

These interviews developed very personally, and so the various histories that we will discuss, and in some cases shine new light on, such as the Mountain Meadows, Circleville Massacres, the San Juan's loss of 9,000 square miles to the Navajo, and the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah's termination and reinstatement, are seen through their personal experiences. This presentation will reflect these aspects, revealing new developments in these histories, the S. Paiute experience within them, Hebner's personal journey within the tribe, and finally a celebration of the persistence of these remarkable people.

### Presentations through October

*May 21*

Erin Thomas Cebreros and Craig Fuller on the May 1, 1900, Scofield (Utah) mine disaster.

*June 18*

Utah Westerner Paisley Rekdahl on her book, *West: A Translation*, which recently won the prestigious Kingsley Tufts Award.

*July 16*

Utah Westerner Jim D'Arc's lecture and showing of historic Utah film, *Warlock* (1959), at Fort Douglas's Post Theater, preceded by outdoor dinner.

*August 20*

Devan Jensen on rare Western panoramas.

*September*

Westerners field trip.

*October 15*

Brent Rogers on the never-before-told history of Buffalo Bill and the Mormons, based on his new book.



*The leadership of the San Juan Southern Paiute band with US Congressman Raúl M. Grijalva of Arizona, April 2023. This band originally avoided interaction with whites, subsequently lost their reservation, and now seek Congressional restoration. There are five S. Paiute bands in Utah (Cedar, Indian Peaks, Kanosh, Koosharem, Shivwits) and other S. Paiute bands and tribes in Arizona, California, and Nevada.*

## About April's Speaker



John Alley first heard Logan Hebner on a radio show speaking fervently about the importance of a museum exhibit Hebner (at left in photo) and photographer Michael Plyler (at right) had put together on Southern Paiute elders. Finding the speaker's enthusiasm infectious and having worked with Paiutes, Alley contacted Hebner to see if there was potential for a book publication.

Hebner is a person with diverse experiences and interests, but they have focused increasingly on the area between Utah's high plateaus and the Grand Canyon. Those lands, as he has written, "continue to hold me like a magnet," and there he lives and directs Zion Canyon Mesa. Phillip Bimstein, leader of the band Red Rock Rondo, said of him, when introducing "Moving Waters," a *Zion Canyon Song Cycle* piece Hebner inspired, as a "river runner, writer, philosopher and former owner of the local Bit and Spur Restaurant and Saloon. Logan loves the canyon dearly and speaks poetically

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about the power of the river that runs through it." That captures some of the passion of the former river guide, who became a go-to guy for river rescues on the Virgin River. As Hebner recalled in *High Country News*, he once rowed his Parkinson's-afflicted father through Grand Canyon's Lava Falls, hoping, apparently successfully, "for some river magic to course through him." In 1988, he joined and worked for the Soviet-American Peace Walk, where he was inspired to organize visits of a Soviet leader and delegations of parliamentarians from the new republics of Estonia, Lithuania, and Latvia, as well as the Tibetan Parliament in Exile, to state legislatures in the U.S., there to show them democracies in action. By then he had

also turned his energy to his restaurant in Springdale, making the Bit and Spur what the *New York Times* designated the "Best Mexican Restaurant in Utah."

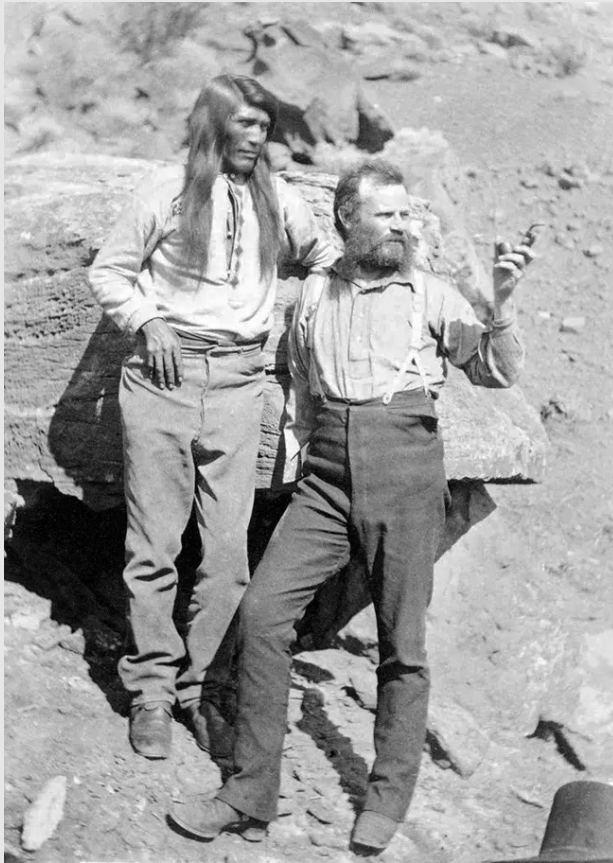
His passions were never more evident than when he joined the opposition to a hazardous waste center on the Kaibab Paiute Indian Reservation. There, he came to work with a Southern Paiute activist, historian, tradition keeper, and former Kaibab chairwoman, Vivienne Jake. She and other elders, especially Lora Tom, then chair of the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah, helped Hebner and Michael Plyler write, compile, and illustrate a timely book, given the passing of another

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generation of tradition bearers, on Southern Paiutes. They, more than any other, are the people of the Colorado River, aboriginally occupying the territory inland from the right bank, or north and west side, all the way from the Fremont River to west of the Colorado's confluence with the Bill Williams River. That territory includes Logan Hebner's personal magnet. Paiute

homelands that run inland from the other, left bank of the Colorado once extended from the Abajo Mountains to roughly the Little Colorado River. *Southern Paiute: A Portrait* contains the perspectives of knowledgeable Paiute elders representing a wider range of communities, experiences, and homelands than found in any other book, combined with the verbal and visual eloquence of Hebner and Plyler.



*John Wesley Powell with a Paiute leader, 1874, during Powell's second expedition down the Colorado River. Powell lost an arm in the Civil War during the Battle of Shiloh, and Tau-gu, left, called him "Arm Off." The photographer was John K. Hillers, one of three camera men with the US Topographical and Geological Survey of the Colorado River, and the photo was a two-lens stereograph.*



*A Paiute mother and child, 1900. In earlier times babies were wrapped in rabbit pelts. In the winter adults also wore rabbit skin robes and blankets, often draped over their shoulders. The robes were made from as many as 180 rabbits, the fur twisted inside and out to be soft. The Paiutes kept their hair long, cutting it at the death of a family member.*



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### Thinking about Topaz

Marriott Library, and my first time holding up a copy of the *Topaz Times*. Nothing in this mimeographed daily newsletter mentioned barracks or barbed-wire. Rather, I noticed movie announcements for the cinema and coverage of local sports.

To understand Topaz is to read between the lines of history. As Utah Westerners, I have no doubt that you have already encountered the word “Topaz” and likely more than just once or twice. It would be foolish of me to take up the space of the monthly newsletter with details of World War II and the United States response to the bombing of Pearl Harbor. After all, *Oppenheimer* was released less than one year ago. Still, more than eight decades after the Topaz Internment Camp was established, history continues to write itself — reimagined, reinterpreted, and redefined.

A few historic details, however, should not be spared.

On February 19, 1942, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, wherein he authorized the Secretary of War “to prescribe military areas in such places and of such extent as he ... may determine, from which any or all persons may be excluded, and with respect to which, the right of any person to enter, remain in, or leave shall be subject to whatever restrictions [he] may impose in his discretion.” Notably, the words “Japanese” and “Japanese-American” were absent from the Executive Order, and yet they were the ones directly targeted. Having been deemed a threat to national security, 110,000 people of Japanese ancestry were evacuated from the Western states and sent inland into ten major detention camps. Two-thirds—or more than 70,000 people—were citizens of the

United States.

One of the ten camps was constructed in a barren wasteland sixteen miles northwest of Delta, Utah. The first train arrived in Topaz on September 11, 1942. Ultimately, over 11,000 Japanese-Americans were processed through the camp's barbed-wire perimeter, making Topaz Utah's fifth most populous city at the time. Topaz consisted of 19,800 acres of farm land with 640 acres set aside for the town. Out of forty-two blocks, thirty-six were residential — each configured with twelve barracks, a central mess hall, a recreation hall, latrine and laundry room, and a block manager's office. Today, all that can be seen are remnants of concrete foundations, stone walkways, portions of the perimeter fence, and simple signs that designate the former location of the blocks.

Although I was never taught the history of Japanese-American incarceration in school, it is no longer difficult to find information about Topaz, or any of the other relocation centers that once existed across the United States. In fact, local and national governments have made attempts to reflect on the events, and “share the charge to ensure that our country not only learns from, but never forgets its past.” Those words came from Congresswoman Doris Matsui of California, after President Joe Biden issued a proclamation declaring February 19, 2022, the National Day of Remembrance of Japanese American Incarceration. The same year, Governor Cox and the Utah Legislature signed Bill SB58 into law, putting the Day of Remembrance on the official calendar for the state's commemorative periods. This February, as I was on the bus driving toward Delta, an article in my news feed announced that the former Granada Relocation Center in Colorado had transitioned



*What Topaz looks like today.*

from Amache National Historic Site to Amache National Park.

How we remember the past is not without its nuance. This was the concept at the heart of the American West Center's recent symposium, *Both Legacy and Memorial*. The three-day symposium was organized by fellow Utah Westerner Paisley Rekdal and co-sponsored by the Utah Humanities Council, the Utah Humanities Book Festival, the National Endowment for the Humanities "United We Stand," the Utah Division of Arts and Museums, and the Asia Center. Featured speakers included Steph Hinnerhitz, professor and author of *Japanese American Incarceration: The Camps and Coerced Labor in World War II*; Brandon Shimoda, poet, non-fiction writer, and author of *A Grave in the Wall*; and TT Takemoto, filmmaker of *Warning Shot; On the Line*; and *Looking for Jiro*. The symposium

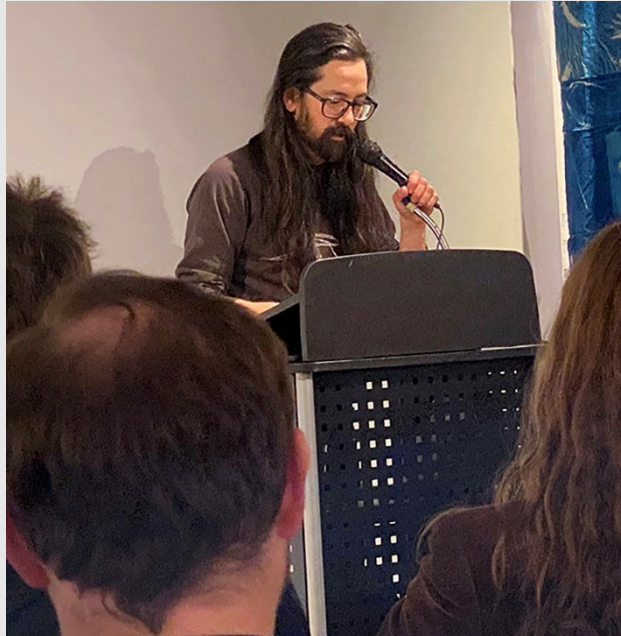
also offered an opportunity to travel to the Topaz site and visit the museum.

Each of the presentations provided an educational and insightful perspective on the topic of Japanese-American incarceration, with projects expressed in different genres and directed toward different audiences. Yet it seemed that within the discussions around forced labor, family connections, and queer possibilities, there was an underlying theme focused on the complexities of language. Language can describe the conditions of Topaz: was it internment, incarceration, or a concentration camp? Language can also describe the ways in which we reflect on the past: with monuments or with memorials. In the words of Matt Basso, a professor of history who led the symposium's final panel discussion, "To memorialize accurately is deeply problematic, and yet we are compelled to do it."

I was struck with both the distance and weight of the words internment and incarceration. For Dr. Hinnershitz, neither was sufficient. She had argued for “concentration camp” in the title of her recent book—*yes, that is in the official record*—but her publisher refused, as they did not want to draw comparisons to the Holocaust. For Shimoda, “internment” is sanitized, and he lamented that this was also reflected in the rosy memories of people he has interviewed, people who were, in fact, *interned*. Dr. Takemoto prefers “incarceration” and sees it embodied not only in the physical surroundings of the camps, but also in the psychology of its prisoners. When I looked up the definition of “internment,” I was surprised to see that all sentiments were included. According to *Dictionary.com*, it is “a prison camp for the confinement of prisoners of war, enemy aliens, political prisoners, etc.; a concentration camp for civilian citizens, especially those with ties to an enemy during wartime.”

Is there a similar difference between monuments and memorials? Dr. Hinnershitz sees memorials as something more, in that they can take the form of different media and mediums. A monument, instead, is a place, a site, or a “ritual grave,” according to Shimoda. When I traveled to the site of Topaz, I thought about the contrast between the two words, but also about the connection. For many, the desert site northwest of Delta provides a sense of closure for those who were incarcerated at the camp, and for their relatives. The Topaz Museum, on the other hand, is a memorial to all the lives that were affected—represented in photographs, in writing, and all the artifacts that were left behind.

The Marriott Library offers a different kind of memorial, one that is organized in archives and collections compiled from



Top: Brandon Shimoda, author of *The Desert*, speaking at the Finch Lane Gallery as part of the American West Center’s February symposium. Also boxes of quickly prepared luggage from the Topaz Museum in Delta.

former Topaz residents, family members, and other interested parties. One memorial archive, named after Chief Warrant Officer Mitsugi M. Kasai, includes stories of Topaz and Japanese-American internment. But that is not the only history of Japanese-Americans in Utah. [The Mitsugi M. Kasai Memorial Archive](#) also includes stories documenting the arrival of the first Japanese immigrants who came to work in the railroad, mining, and agricultural industries. The archive



includes written records, photographs, journals, oral histories, and films from their settlements.

### Topaz.

In Topaz, there is wind, and sand, and a stark silence. The arid landscape of this Utah desert feels like a hostile and uninhabitable space. And then, after a moment, I see the barracks rise up from the ground, I hear the voices of children running in between them, the bustle of movement and industry. In Topaz, there is life, and hope, and survival. When I hear the word now, it is neither a rock nor a place, but rather a deeply complicated memory.



A jersey from a Topaz baseball team. The camp had 42 blocks; most of them had a team.



*Despite being interred, 33,000 young Japanese men volunteered for the US Army or Merchant Marines, of which 800 died. When the survivors came home to visit, they were placed back in the camps. The poem below, evoking the desert and “the world we think we love,” is by Brandon Shimoda, recipient of several awards including the prestigious \$50,000 Whiting Award for Creative*

A man sat beneath a tree.  
 The tree was dry, its leaves hammered teeth  
 the shadows too were dry and hot  
 the sun connected directly

The entire wash looked like it had served fire  
 seasons ago.

[The man] sitting between black roots.  
 was lost, or looking  
 to lose what was following him  
 to the desiccated end of a[n] artery . . .

To sink through the ground of America  
 is to meet the legions who have been buried fall  
 through them

lapse underground,  
 commingle, in its original arrangement, The world

above, the world we think we love is  
 scar tissue

—Brandon Shimoda



## Notices

### Sons of the Utah Pioneers to Meet

Twice a year the 46 SUP chapters get together for national meetings, with one of the gatherings devoted to historical presentations (“National Historic Symposium: Understanding Utah’s History”). It will take place Saturday, April 27, from 1:00 to 7:00 pm at the LDS chapel at 3051 S 2900 E. There will be a dinner and keynote address by Utah Westerner Richard E. Turley Jr. at the national headquarters, 3301 E Louise Avenue. Other presenters are Rios Pacheco of the Shoshone Nation; Westerner Brad Westwood; BYU cartography professor Brandon Plewe; and antiquities dealer and political advisor for George W. Bush, Michael O. Leavitt, and Donald J. Trump, according to promotional material, Ronald L. Fox. The organization publishes *Pioneer* magazine quarterly, has a national encampment, participates in treks to historic sites, and has a July 24th sunrise service. President Val Parrish says Utah Westerners are free to register for the symposium. The organization does not insist on pioneer heritage to be a member. However, women cannot join but are welcome to come to events with members as wives or guests.



### Junior Livestock Show

The Utah State Junior Livestock [Show](#) will take place at the Utah County Fairgrounds in Spanish Fork, April 30-May 4, as the largest stock show in the state. Other counties have shows, as does the state at the Utah Fairgrounds, but none as large as Spanish Fork. Last year at the show sixteen youngsters received about \$2,000 each for steers they raised that weighed over 1,000 pounds. The show includes cattle, hogs, sheep, and goats raised by 4-H and FFA students. The principal buyers pass the “fat stock” to packers for personal use, or they take breeding stock home to improve their herds. The schedule in Spanish Fork includes weigh-ins (April 30), breeding animals (May 1), animals for market (May 2), showmanship and awards (May 3), and sales (May 4).

These stock shows have a different purpose than the normal raising and selling of animals for market. “Currently most of the cattle” in Utah, according to the USU Extension, “are sold as calves that are then taken out of state to be finished” at feedlots and abattoirs (*Potential for Growth in Local Processing*, Dec. 2020, [p. 3](#)). The animals at the stock shows are prized adults with desired genetic effects. There are five auction companies in Utah, where small numbers of animals are sold for fattening. Herds are sold to cattle buyers representing the feedlots. There were 740,000 cattle and calves in the state in January [2023](#).

### A History of Special Collections

There are two nights scheduled, limited to 40 people each, in which Utah Westerner Lyuba Basin will show and explain artifacts from the early “Utah Room to the most contemporary iteration,” including some of the most “unique holdings.” It is surprising to see these items up close, different than one imagined from photos. Contact Basin to register ([lyuba.basin@utah.edu](mailto:lyuba.basin@utah.edu)).

### Time to fish

April is an ideal time for anglers to visit the reservoirs, the snowfall last year having brought the water content to 80 percent [capacity](#). The fish are biting in the tributaries. Restrictions: one cannot catch walleye in the lower Provo River (Center Street to I-15) until the first Saturday in [May](#). The Duchesne River (headwaters to Wolf Creek) is closed for cutthroat trout to mid-July. At the lower Weber River (Great Salt Lake to Echo Reservoir Dam), cutthroat need to be released.

The females go to deep water in the reservoirs as males guard the nests in the rivers. A few fish are protected when they are large enough to reproduce, including 15-22 inch tiger trout in Panguitch Lake. Photo to right, Vladan Zoranovic holding his 45-inch, 26-pound pike caught in the Yuba Reservoir.



### Utah Bibliographical Society

The Bibliographical Society welcomes Westerners to join. It meets semi-annually at the Alta Club, with a \$50 membership and \$50 for the dinner. The next presentation will be May 14, 6:30-8:30, by map collector Stephen Boulay, otherwise known as co-owner of MagicSpace Entertainment, which brings Broadway shows to Utah. He began collecting Russian maps while studying at Colgate University in New York a half century ago, and when he moved here in 1987 he added a map of John C. Fremont’s 1842-44 expeditions and an 1871 map that includes “orejas del oso” (Bear’s Ears). He received an MBA from the University of Utah. Members receive a fine-press keepsake for every UBS event and can purchase the illustrated and numbered edition of *The Utah 100*, an annotated list of books for every bibliophile, prepared by Westerners Brad Westwood, Kent Tschanz, and Mark Edlund, with two others.

### Mormon History Association

The 59th Annual MHA conference will be held in Cleveland, Ohio, June 13-16. This year’s topic is “Conversions, Aversion, and Reversion: Mormon Identity from Ohio to Utah.” There will be fifty or sixty sessions featuring mostly university professors. The president this year is David Howlett, a Visiting Assistant Professor of Religion at Smith College in Northampton, Massachusetts, and eighth-generation member of the Community of Christ. There are pre- and post-conference tours. Rooms are available at Marriott Cleveland East Hotel.

## Emeritus Status

by Nelson Wadsworth

My tenure in the Utah Westerners began shortly after I retired from teaching journalism and photojournalism at Utah State University in Logan. Hal Schindler, one of the charter members, invited me as a guest at the Alta Club several times.

Hal and I were long-time friends. In the late 1950s, we were both police beat reporters in Salt Lake City, Hal for the *Salt Lake Tribune* and I with the *Deseret News*. Even though we were rivals working for competing newspapers, we were still friends and maintained that friendship years after we both retired from the newspaper profession.

At one point, the Westerners invited me to be a speaker at one of their monthly meetings. I had just published a book on frontier photography and showed a slide/sound presentation, "Through Camera Eyes," featuring examples of the pioneer photographers' work and visually documenting frontier Utah.

Hal then sponsored my membership, and I was inducted into the Utah Westerners in 1996. At the time, I had just retired from teaching at USU and was still living in Logan. I drove the 90 miles (!) every month to attend meetings, and after the meetings I drove all the way back to Logan, often not getting home until well after midnight.

The meetings were well worth the inconvenience. Looking back, I can relish everything from national historian David McCullough's quest to get to know America's founding fathers to our own Oscar Olson's exploration of the Colorado Plateau, from Jim D'Arc's film clips of classic movies from *When Hollywood Came to Utah* to Will Bagley's views on the Mountain Meadows

Massacre. The list goes on and on, with a wide variety of speakers who shed light on intriguing elements of Western history.

I also delighted in the yearly field trips, every year walking the battlefields of

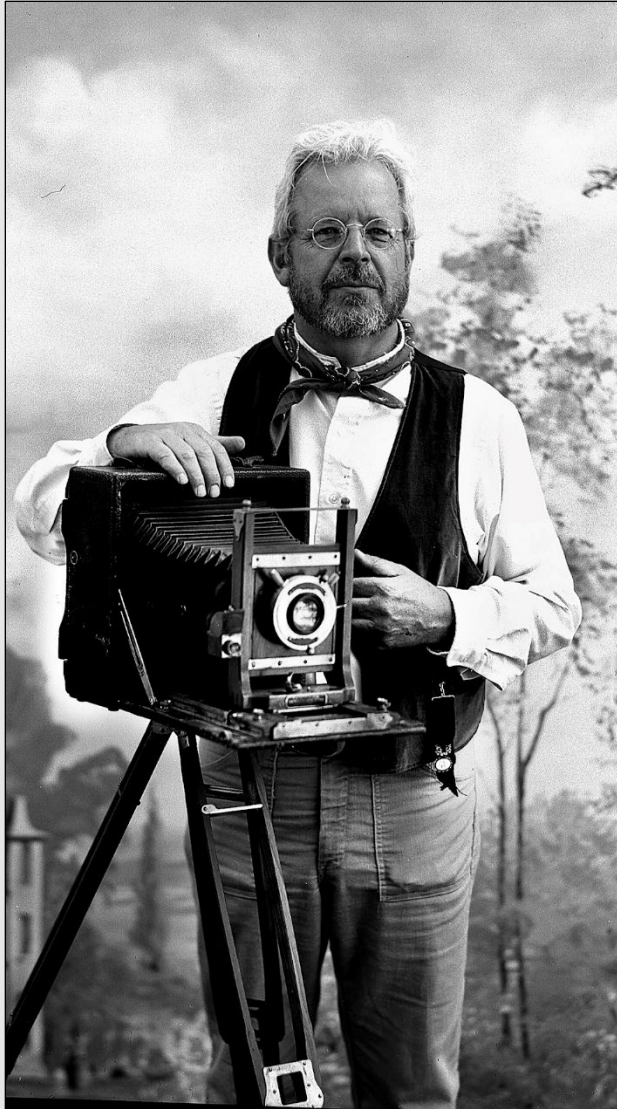


*Wadsworth in his thirties at the Deseret News office, with typewriter and the Associated Press teletype machine.*

Western America where frontier soldiers and native Americans massacred each other, standing beneath John Borglum's heroic sculptures at Mt. Rushmore, straddling the Continental Divide, visiting nearly every museum of consequence in Western America, and once even standing where General George Armstrong Custer made his last stand at Little Bighorn in Montana. There was never a dull moment.

I attended nearly every field trip until later in my life, when health problems with my wife, Gayle, prevented me. After we moved into a retirement community, and Gayle was under hospice care, she





*Playing a traveling frontier photographer at the Festival of the American West in 1990.*

encouraged me to put her on respite care in a nursing home and go on the trips. She was on and off hospice for five years.

Doctors were certain she would die within six months, but she often fooled them, got better, and survived. Then, on the field trip to Colorado in 2017, I put Gayle on respite care in the Valeo Hospice facility in Holladay and set out on the Westerners bus headed for Denver. After only one day into the trip, my daughter, Geri, called from Salt Lake City and told me Gayle had slipped into a coma and doctors did not expect her to

survive the day.

With the help of Steve Gallenson, I arranged to fly home from Denver, and while I was waiting to board the airplane, Gayle passed away. Her Hospice nurse informed me of her death by cellphone text just before I boarded.

With Gayle's passing, my life took an abrupt nosedive. Old age, health problems, and loss of hearing after four mini strokes prevented me from going on the field trips after 2019.

Now, I live alone in an Olympus Ranch Retirement Community apartment in Murray, and because of the *Deaf Sentence*, where unlike David Lodge's novel nothing is "funny or moving" about going deaf, I can't attend monthly meetings or go on the annual field trips. Though my Westerners membership is at a standstill, I still manage to stay connected by producing the annual directory, a job I have conducted every year since 2008. I cherish my emeritus status and the on-going association I still have with such a distinguished group of men and women who share their profound love for Western history.



*Wadsworth with the Westerners; the sign on top of the pole indicates the direction to the Spanish Trail.*

## Pioche and Mountain Meadows

There is a small town in Nevada, 90 miles west of Cedar City and 70 miles northwest of Mountain Meadows, that in the 1870s had the wealthiest silver mine in the world, producing \$20 million worth of high grade silver. The town had 10,000 inhabitants and all the nightlife attractions one could imagine in a boom town. It remains much like Silverton, Colorado, or Virginia City, Nevada.

The silver vein was discovered in 1861 by William Hamblin, a missionary to the Paiutes, rifleman (known as "Gunlock Bill"), and brother of the more famous Jacob Hamblin. William and other prospectors held a meeting in 1864 to establish a sixty-mile square mining district with a center point across the border in Warm Spring, Utah Territory. A year later the group met and repealed several articles of the contract, and two years later moved the center point to Nevada and enlarged the square mileage. In 1870 they made more changes to the articles. That fact, the proximity of competing claims, and crime (in 1873 the safe was stolen from a leading company), and the fact that mine owners hired gunslingers as guards led to violence and endless court cases where the police were often bribed (Mel Gorman, "Chronicle of a [Silver Mine](#)," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, 70-71, 78; Dennis Cassinelli, "Guns, Corruption, and Fire," [Nevada Appeal](#)).

Like so many people involved in Pioche mining, William Hamblin was to testify against the claims of George Hearst's Hermes Mining Company but was beforehand poisoned and died (William Logan Hebner, *Southern Paiute*, 6). The town says 72 people were shot "with their boots on," meaning killed rather than dying naturally, and buried in Boot Hill, a common name for the graveyards of [outlaws](#).

Mining claims were bought and sold early on for the Meadow Valley Mining District, later called the Ely District. Hamblin and others sold their titles to John Ely and William Raymond to mine and erect a smelter. San Francisco financier François Pioche drew investors together and sent his own smelting machinery from California. Something of a dandy, he never visited the Nevada border town. Two years after his mill began operation and production approached its peak in 1872, Pioche died by suicide in San Francisco (Gorman, 71).

The mines attracted young men from nearby Panaca, an LDS village, and from as far away as St. George. The miners made \$3.00 a day (\$84 today), which was good, except that they risked contracting miners' diseases. In a gold mine in Delamar in the same county, miners a decade later began coughing from the [dust](#) and died by the hundreds.

Some people found Pioche to be a convenient place to hide from Mormon settlements. Philip Klingensmith, while preparing a statement about his involvement in the Mountain Meadows Massacre in 1870, moved there. After he testified in court in 1875, he moved south to Arizona and then to Sonora, [Mexico](#), and was killed. It was also where attorney William W. Bishop, who represented massacre leader John D. Lee, had his office beginning in 1875, following Lee's first trial, and into 1877 (Richard E. Turley Jr., "Clash of the Legal Titans," 6; Lee, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 35).

Tales of Pioche assassinations sometimes made it into the newspaper. In one instance there was a dispute over someone's disciplining of a dog. A pistol was drawn and four people shot, one [fatally](#). In another case, as written on the cemetery marker for



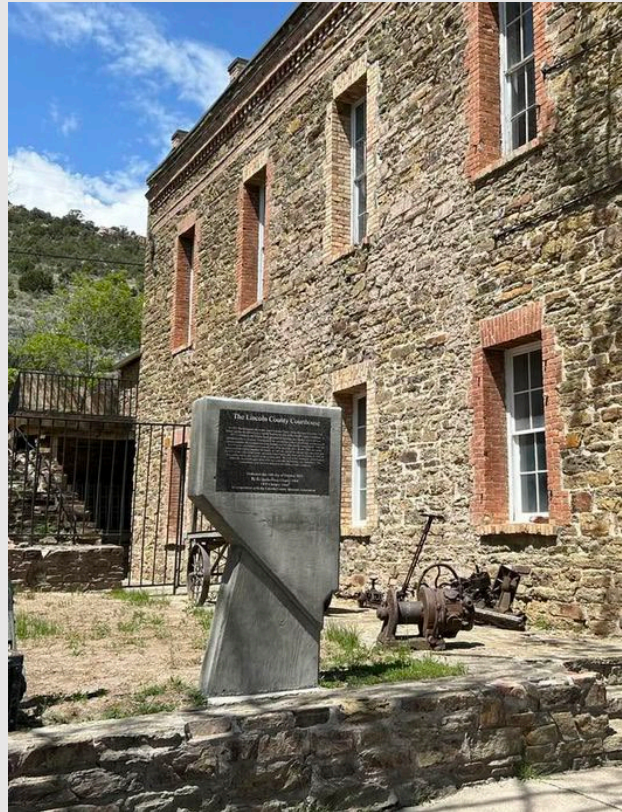
Morgan Courtney, he was said to have been “feared by some, respected by few. Detested by others. Shot in back 5 times from ambush.” For Fanny Pearson, her grave [marker](#) reads, “They loved till death did them part. He killed her.” Wells Fargo paid highwayman Jack Harris, not to hold up [stages](#).

As the mines opened in 1870, the ore was taken ten miles away to the stamp mills in Bullionville, where the ore was crushed and the silver extracted and molded. Pioche survived a fire that eliminated the downtown in 1871. Two years later floods devastated the area, again in 1874. Each time the town was rebuilt. In 1873 a railroad was built to Bullionville. However, reserves began dwindling in 1876, the two largest mining companies ceasing operations; one of them sold to LDS dissenter William S. Godbe of Salt Lake City. In 1871 Pioche was made the county seat for Lincoln County and remains so today. The mines were reactivated in 1912 with an aerial tramway but mining stopped during the Depression.

Today the town is known for its picturesque old buildings, including a saloon or two; slot canyons in nearby Cathedral Gorge State Park; and rural accent. The nearby town of Caliente is pronounced Cal-yen-dee.

Marshal’s office, April 1st, 1877  
Wm. W. Bishop, Pioche, Nevada

My Dear Sir: Yours of the 28th of March at hand and contents noted. As requested, I send you all the facts of the arrest of John D. Lee, from the time the warrants were placed in my hands until I arrested him and brought him to Beaver City. I tell it in my own way, and you can use it as you see proper. . . .



*When the Pioche courthouse (above) and jail were built in 1871 at a bid of \$26,400, kickbacks to politicians, cost over-runs, and interest for missed deadlines brought the final price to a million dollars.*



*After the first play, Pygmalion and Galatea, was performed in the new opera house in 1873, the lead actor, Pierpont Thayer, swallowed a bottle of opium-based laudanum and died.*



## Editor's Clickable History

### Old Universal Pictures videos of Utah

A French video restorer has taken scenes from a 1948 New Universal Pictures travelogue and restored them. He has boosted the frames per second, turned them into high definition, improved the sharpness and brightness, colorized them, and added sound. They are meant, he writes, to be entertainment more than documentaries: "Please be aware that colorization colors are not real, and fake colorization was made only for the ambiance and do not represent real historical data." Fascinating still. The Utah remastered film is available [here](#).

### Recent Bancroft winner at BYU

Elliott West's most recent book, *Continental Reckoning: The American West in the Age of Expansion*, shared a \$10,000 award this year from Columbia University. He is an Alumni Distinguished Professor of History at Arkansas University. On March 7 he was hosted by the BYU Redd Center at the Harold B. Lee Library, and his remarks were recorded by the Redd Center for [YouTube](#). West's previous books, *The Contested Plains: Indians, Goldseekers, and the Rush to Colorado* and *The Last Indian War: The Nez Perce Story* won (*Contested Plains*) the Francis Parkman Prize from the Society of American Historians and Ray Allen Billington Prize from the Organization of American Historians and (*Last Indian War*) the Caughey Prize from the Western History Association and Westerners International Co-founders Award.

### An eagle's view of Moab

What does Moab look like from the air? A little spot of green in a vast expanse of red rock. What you see in this photo taken out the window of a Cessna jet by Long Bach Nguyen is remarkable. You can see the course of the Colorado River and mountains in the distance. The photo was taken for the American Southwest group at Facebook, where people share photographs for others to comment on. Nguyen is a professional pilot in Seattle. The Moab picture is [here](#).

### Dead Outlaw plays Off Broadway

An amusement park mannequin in Long Beach, California, when examined by the crew of a TV show, turned out to be a real man, Elmer McCurdy, a bank robber who held up a train in 1911 in Arkansas and was killed by police. When no one came to claim the body, the undertaker displayed him in the corner of the mortuary with a rifle in his hands and the comment that he was "the bandit who wouldn't give up." The train McCurdy targeted was carrying \$400,000 in cash for the Osage Nation. McCurdy's cadaver was shipped west on a train bound for California and was stolen by carnival owners on the train. It's a true story, portrayed artistically in what the *New York Times* [reviewer](#) called "a Western, kind of," an "odd slice of Old West history," with "a high-energy onstage band" that plays, in part, country music. The play is staged at the Minetta Lane Theater in Greenwich [Village](#).

### Falls from Angel's Landing, Zion National Park

Once every two years, someone falls from Angel's Landing, and it's sobering to read the [names and ages](#)—a thirteen-year-old girl from Colorado City, Utah; a 36-year old man from Provo; a 63-year-old woman from Upland, California. A man had a heart attack at the beginning of the top in [January](#). But the accomplishment for those who make it to the top is invigorating, as in this GoPro film by Korean Yongsung Kim accompanied by [Coldplay](#).

## Steve Berlin's Standard Links

### Utah Westerners newsletters

Archived newsletters from 2018 to the present are available [here](#). The UW directory is also at the same link; its pages are in the printer's order. Newsletters, 2008-17 are [here](#).

### Reading list

A list of books and other publications for the well-read Utah Westerner recommended by John Alley, Will Bagley, and Steve Madsen is [here](#). If you would like to add a book or a link to a podcast, video, or website to the list, please do so [here](#).

### Utah Westerners bylaws

In case you've never read these but have a burning desire, they're [here](#).

### *Celebrating Fifty Years*

The Utah Westerners anniversary booklet tells who spoke on what topic each month and where we went on field trips, carefully prepared by Laura Bayer and Linda Thatcher, [here](#).

### Utah Centennial County History Series

This impressive accomplishment involves 28 volumes of about 400 pages each, written by a qualified historian in each case. They are free to read or download [here](#). A companion to the county history series is *A History of Utah's American Indians* edited by former Westerner Forrest Cuch with a chapter by long-time Westerner Dennis Defa, available online or to download [here](#).

### *Utah Historical Quarterly*

Every issue of the journal is available from its inception in 1928 through two years ago for reading online or for downloading [here](#).

### *Those Other Westerners*

Utah Westerners has been associated with but independent from Westerners International, which is comprised of 80 groups in the US and internationally, since our inception. The Westerners International website is [here](#). Current and previous editions of their newsletter may be found here: [Buckskin Bulletin](#).

### Oregon-California Trails Association

The Utah Crossroads Chapter of OCTA, one of eleven, is [here](#). OCTA identifies, explores, promotes, protects, and preserves the emigrant roads that led pioneers of every stripe into the West. The OCTA convention this year, July 21-25, is in Pendleton, Oregon. Many Westerners are members of OCTA, and David Bigler and Vern Gorzitze were president of both.

### Utah History Encyclopedia

This publication from the University of Utah Press is invaluable, the articles available for free online [here](#). The information extends to 1994 when the book was published.

### Utah Westerners on Facebook

We have a Facebook presence now, administered by Elaine Clark, a Westerner and news editor at KUER. Read her posts about unearthing a Chinese village in Silver Reef, the Kanab Relief Society in 1912 throwing out the city's booze and the men's response. Ask to join Utah Westerners, a private group, and Elaine will admit you. There are 91 members.

## Committee Members' Theater Recommendations

### *Butch Cassidy and the Sunburnt Kid at Desert Star*

In a comedy about Butch Cassidy and his sidekick looking for a hideaway, which they find in “a town (Murray) where truly nothin's happening,” Butch is surprised to be attended by a female physician and sings “Doctor, Doctor,” to which she sings “Let Me Diagnose You.” Deadeye Dawson connives with French saloon owner Miss Floozy to help him take over the copper mine. The doctor is abducted, and Butch rescues her from the railroad tracks. *Butch Cassidy and the Sunburnt Kid* is a nice way to spend an evening on Park City's Main Street through June 9.

### *Mice and Men on State Street*

Playing through April 27, this drama, derived from John Steinbeck's tale of two friends working at a California ranch, is at the Parker Theater, 3605 South State Street in Salt Lake City. The bunk house where the two men are placed has “shelves loaded with those Western magazines ranch men love to read and scoff at and secretly believe.” “Guys like us,” one of them says, “are the loneliest guys in the world.” The other, who is mentally challenged, sees himself one day with “a cow and some pigs an' living off the fatta the lan.”

### *A musical in Wyoming*

If you have reason to pass through Cody, Wyoming, from June 27 to August 10, a presentation called the *Wild West Spectacular* is performed by the Rocky Mountain Dance Theater, with thumbs up from *True West* magazine and *Tripadvisor*. The troupe also produces *Masterpieces of Ballet*, *Swing into Spring*, and the *Nutcracker*. This show is about Buffalo Bill, Annie Oakley, Frank Butler, and Wild Bill Hickok, and is said to be “historically based, comedic.”

### *Salt Lake Acting Company*

The *Summer Show*, June 26 through August 18, at the Marmalade Chapel (168 W 500 N) is about past, present, and future Utah, and is as funny as can be. A version is performed each year. Last year they poked fun at a fictional rare book dealer named “Ken Sanders.” Brigham Young made an appearance as a PBS children's character.

### *Ira Glass at Eccles Theater*

The host of *This American Life* will talk about his experiences running a non-fiction PBS show and interviewing and researching Americans. His appearance will be titled “Seven Things I've Learned,” performed on the stage of the Eccles Theater, 131 Main Street in Salt Lake City. For Utah stories, Glass has been assisted by Utah radio producer Scott Carrier, winner of a Peabody Award and former professor at Utah Valley University. Some of Carrier's segments include “The Hiker and the Cowman Should Be Friends,” “More Powerful than a Locomotive,” “Running after Antelope,” “On the Green River,” “Religious Faction,” and “Book of Job.”



*The 1896 meetinghouse of the 19th ward in Salt Lake City's Marmalade District has provided a stage for SLAC since 1982.*



## Marriage in the West

by R. Priddis

The first Europeans to settle in the West were Catholic monks, accompanied by soldiers. In the 1700s the Franciscans encouraged emigrants to marry Native American women, thereby extending the influence of the church (Alison Lake, *Colonial Rosary*, 80-81). Ten percent of the population of Mexico during the colonial period were of mixed birth, as was the majority of Californios. In what was called the "liberalized Alta California," ranchos were established by men who had large families, the children coming from their wives and other women, with no stigma attached to non-wedlock births, despite church objections. Between 1780 and 1848 in Misión San Gabriel and Los Angeles, 11 percent of the children baptized were born to married couples (Miroslava Chavez-Garcia, *Negotiating Conquest*, 47-50).

The fur trappers who arrived in the early nineteenth century married Native Americans in unions that could be dissolved by either party at any time, the trappers returning to their families back home and native children staying with their mothers. At the first town in the Northwest, located at the doorstep of Fort Vancouver, Hubert Howe Bancroft wrote that "in every house an Indian woman presides as mistress, and the street swarmed with children of mixed blood" (*History of Oregon*, 9).

When Brigham Young traveled north to Fort Limhi in 1857, he passed a trader, Fred Burr, who would marry four Shoshone women and have twelve children with them. To the LDS men who were called to build the fort, Young suggested "intermarriages with the Indians." "There are men here," Young's counselor Heber C. Kimball said, "if they did not see their Wives and

children [in Utah] again until they were 80 years old they would not flinch a particle" (Smith, *Brigham Young diaries*, 1:552, 607, 610). The fort was subsequently attacked and abandoned.

Next came the miners in the mid-1800s. Few of them lived in family settings, preferring "bachelor marriages," mail order brides, common law marriages to young women who came west due to scandalous events back home or for a sense of adventure. As they were replaced by farmers, especially in the Willamette Valley and Wasatch Front, the new settlers established homes, churches, and had large families in contrast to the rest of the West.

However, as Rod Decker elaborates in *Utah Politics: The Elephant in the Room*, "Utah and America change in the same demographic direction. Utahns resist family change, but their families change anyway. Though lagging behind, Utah moves steadily in the American direction in families and demography" (86).

Looking at the number of children a woman had, in 1850 the national level was 5.82 children compared to 8.95 children per woman in Utah. As the national fertility dropped to 4.8 children in 1880, the Utah amount lowered but was still high at 5.73. In 1910 the rate was 3.64 nationally and 3.82 in Utah, or little difference. Today it is 1.64 nationally and 1.92 in Utah, three states ahead of Utah in children per family (Pamela S. Perlich, "Utah's [Fertility Rate](#)").

Divorce is similarly instructive. From 1870-1970 there were two to four times as many divorces in the West as in the rest of the country (Ira Mark Ellman, "[Divorce Rates](#)," 10). Brigham Young issued 1,645 divorces (Eugene E. and Bruce L. Campbell,

“Divorce among Mormon [Polygamists](#),” *Utah Historical Quarterly*). Looking at the amount of time people spend in marriage by state, Utahns today spend 18 years on average before divorcing, while in the Midwest and East Coast people spend 22 years married. Utah is comparable to Colorado at 18.2, Washington at 18.3, and Idaho at 18.6. The shortest marital times are Nevada, 17.7 years, and Texas, 17.6 years, the South rivaling the West (map of marriage rates, “How Does Marriage Vary by State?” [USA Facts](#).)

An interesting phenomenon, according to Decker, is (1) how many young people move in together without getting married and do not have children until after college graduation and marriage versus (2) young people who do not go to college and thereby move in together and have children without getting married. In Utah the number of non-wedlock births since 1960 has increased ten-fold, although at 15 percent, it is a long way from 40 percent of births nationally (79).

The myths about marriage in the West come from novels and films about families living as farmers in isolated towns, with a sheriff and pastor and school and emphasis on the family, while unmarried outlaws come into town to visit the saloon. In fact, there were few “traditional”

families in the West or any marital difference between the miners and early farmers or between cowboys and rustlers.



*A caste painting by Miguel Cabrera, 1763, showing a Spanish man and woman of Indian and Black ancestry and their light-skinned child. The teaching in New Spain was that ethnic mixing led to a desired outcome, a “pure” race. The figure at the bottom of the painting is an angelic representation of the [union’s](#) blessing.*

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I would prefer, like all my reptile kind, the still  
space between clock ticks, sandbars in silent rivers;  
man’s first mistake was ever to see time pointed  
somewhere beyond us. Break the spell then,  
stop the pendulum, sign  
this document with a scaled hand and no  
dateline.

—Loren Eiseley, “In the Fern Forest of All Time I Live”

## Westerners Day Trip

Bear River Migratory Bird Refuge

Saturday, May 4, 9:00 on site

Meet us at the Wildlife Education Center, ¼ mile west from I-15, exit 363. We'll spend an hour in the museum and 1.5 hours on a 12-mile loop with 4 guides and about 2 vans. Afterward we'll go Dutch at the Maddox Ranch House at 12:00, 5 miles away at 1900 S. Highway 89.

Right: three American avocets, by Brian Ferguson, USFWS volunteer.



## May's Presentation

“The Rattle of Dead Men’s Skin’: The May 1900 Scofield Mine Disaster”

Erin Thomas Cebreros and Craig Fuller.

On May 1, 1900, shortly after the morning shift of the Pleasant Valley Coal Company began, the community around the Scofield Mine felt a shock followed by a noise that sounded like cannons going off. Word quickly spread through the community that a powerful explosion had occurred deep underground. Dozens of local families soon gathered near the portals of the mine, awaiting news of their men working within the earth. Their anxiety turned to grief as some 200 victims were carried out of the mine throughout the day. About sixty were Finnish immigrants. The explosion was the worst coal mine disaster in Utah history and the fourth-deadliest in United States history.

**Erin Thomas Cebreros** employs historical research, autobiography, and journalism to intertwine the history of coal and her ancestors' lives mining coal. Based on her chapter, “The Rattle of Dead Men’s Skin,” in her book *Coal in Our Veins: A Personal Journey* (Utah State University Press), Cebreros will detail the story of the Scofield Mine Disaster and her ancestors who perished in it.

**Craig Fuller** worked for the Utah State Historical Society and for the Public History section of the Division of State History. He has published his research on Finnish immigrants in articles such as “Finns and the Winter Quarters Mine Disaster” (*Utah Historical Quarterly*) and “Finnish Americans,” *Utah History Encyclopedia* (University of Utah Press)



**Excerpt from Cormac McCarthy:** “He felt a loneliness he’d not known since he was a child and he felt wholly alien to the world although he loved it still. He thought that in the beauty of the world were hid a secret. He thought the world’s heart beat at some terrible cost and that the world’s pain and its beauty moved in a relationship of diverging equity and that in this headlong deficit the blood of the multitudes might ultimately be exacted for the vision of a single flower.” –*All the Pretty Horses*, 282.