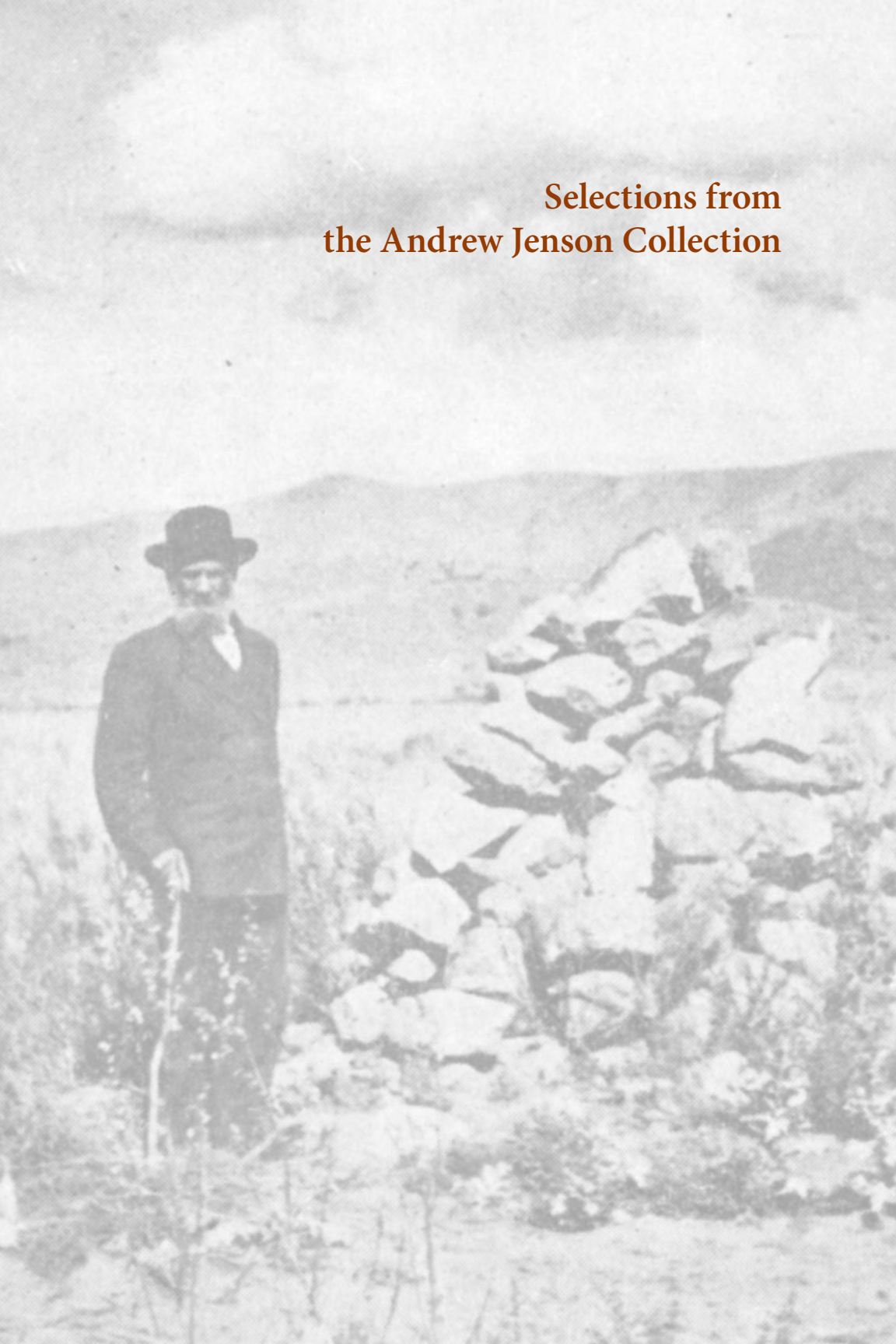
# Selections from the Andrew Jenson Collection



Jan. 24, 1892 (1)

Mary L. Campbell, an aged lady who never resided in Eddarville in 1857, and before the company arrived here they heard that they had poisoned the springs and beeves on past through Mullan's country, and this made the Indians mad, that they also brought a herd of cattle along that they intended to eat with the Meadows and Potten for the soldiers, hence the people despaired what to expect. Before they arrived here, Isaac Haight preached the persecution this and on alluding to their stock said we wanted some stock and the intention was to get the stock away from them. The rumors raised the people, and they were prepared. When finally company came they insulted the people, threatening what they would do, particularly a man on a grey horse was the most loud in the mouth of the lot. No intimation was made or led to kill them. The company simply passed through and bought some provisions. Then passed on to the meadows and the report came to them that they had slipped them and intended to strip their earth, just as they had said they would do the other. On every side Campbell overtook John M. Higbee going towards ~~Benjamin Arthur~~, Elliot Weldon and another young man to go to the Meadows ~~and warn them to move on, as the Mormons were riding to them.~~ They started.

# Mary S. Campbell

(1

Jan. 24, 1892

Mary S. Campbell, an aged lady of Beaver
resided in Cedar City in 1857 and before the
company arrived here they heard how they
had poisoned the springs and beefs in passing
through Millard County, and <that> this made the
Indians mad, that they also brought a herd of
cattle along that they intended to take to the
Meadows and fatten for the soldiers, hence the
people expected what to expect. Before they
arrived Prest. Isaac C Haight preached to the
people about this and on alluding to their
stock, said we 'wanted some stock and ~~th~~
the intimation was to get the stock away
from them. The rumors raised the <ire> ~~th~~ ir
of people, and they were prepared; when finally
company they insulted the people, threatening
what they would do, particularly a man on a
grey horse was the most loud ~~mouthe~~
mouthed of the lot. No intimation was
made at all to kill them. The company
simply passed through, and bought some pro-
visions. Then passed on to the meadows,
and the report came in that they had
stopped there and intended to stop their cattle
their, just as they had said they would for
the soldiers, One evening Sister Campbell
overheard John M. Higbee giving orders to
~~Benjaman Arthur~~, Elliot Wildon and
another young man to go to the Meadows
~~and warn them to move on, as the~~
~~Meadows belonged to them.~~[1] They started.

1. The dots appearing under the stricken text may be an editorial device (stet), suggesting Jenson wanted to retain this material. However, his intent is unclear to modern readers.

2 A short time afterward or about the same time
our Isaac C. Hamblin, Klemensmith
John M. Higbee, John D. Lee, was
passed by the end of their house to the
Cottonwoods about where the Indians
were camped and held a consultation
with them. ~~Then~~ Jam evening the
Indians squaws came into the fort
and the bucks left for the Meadows;
the squaws said the Indians were going
to kill the "Mericats." The Indians
started at once. After that an In-
dian messenger came in every day for
several days and called on Isaac C. Haight.
Finally a council was held, Bro Hamblin
being in that, but he did not tell his wife
and the council resulted in a company
starting for the Meadows, numbering about
20 or 25 men. They were gone several
days and returned on a Saturday night
bringing in ~~some~~ children (perhaps 18 in
number) and goods, including wagons and
camping utensils, including skillets, milk
pans, churns, etc. goods taking to the
tithing office; afterwards sold by auction
and bought by the people generally. The pro-
ceeds was afterwards, or part of it, brought
up to Salt Lake City and offered to Brest Young,

2)
A short time afterward <or about the same time>[2] she
saw Isaac C. Smith [Haight], Klingensmith
John M. Higbee, John D. Lee, ~~was~~
passed by the end of her house to the
Cottonwoods below where the Indians
were camped and held a consultation
with them. ~~Soon~~ Same evening the
Indians squaws came into the fort
and the bucks left for the Meadows;
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to kill the "Mericates." The Indians
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tithing office; afterwards sold by auction
and bought by the people generally. The pros-
ceeds was afterwards, or part of it, brought
up to Salt Lake City, and offered to Prest Young,

2. Insertion in ink; rest of text in pencil.

but he refused it as blood money
and the cattle were put in the corral
and afterwards Alexander G. Ingram after wards
to Salt Lake City traded to Utah Office but when Brad
Jones came and when stock at was he ordered it burned
out in the range, with his brand upon them
wagons and covers, etc, sold also by
auction. Lee's women wore the killed
woman's clothing and jewelry. One girl
supposed to be nine years old in the charge
of Mr Dukes who was meeting a man
in Eden Valley, exclaimed: There go the man
who killed my father. This girl was
afterwards disappeared (being only 17 years
to Forney. Nearly all the children remained
in Beaver and Kanarra. Dukes had
2 Mrs Ingram! Lee 2 at least
and the rest in the Jemez. Afterwards
delivered to Forney. After the massacre
Mrs Brothers were sent around anyone
upon the people to keep their mouths closed
example: If you see a dead man lying
on your road pile dead, you must not tell
but go about your business. The people of
Cedar was aware of the whites being killed
and hence cautioned to be very silent from
the first. The reports reaching Cedar daily about
the progress in the Massacre leaked out
occasionally, among other things how the
emigrants fired into their rifle pits and on
women kicked when coming out to milk her cow

(3

but he refused it as blood money,
and the cattle were put in the corall
and afterwards Alexander G. Ingram after wards
to Salt Lake City to deliver to tithing office, but when Prest
Young found out whose stock it was he ordered it turned
out on the range, would not have them.
wagons and covers, etc, sold also by
auction. Lee's women wore the killed
woman's clothing and jewelry. One girl
supposed to be nine years old in the charge,
of [*blank*] Dukes [Samuel Jewkes] who in meeting a man
in ~~the fort~~ <Cedar or Harmony> exclaimed: There is the man
who killed my father. This girl ~~was~~
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in Cedar and Harmony. Dukes had
2, Mrs. Ingram 1, Lee 2 at least
and the rest in other famil[i]es. Afterwards
delivered to J<acob> Forney. After the massacre
the teachers were sent around enjoining
upon the people to keep their mouths closed
Example: If you see a dead men laying
on your wood pile ~~dead~~, you must not tell
but go about your business. The people of
Cedar was aware of the white's being guilty
and hence causioned to be ~~caref~~ silent from
the first. The <reports> reaching Cedar daily about
the progress in the Medows leaked out
occasionally, among other things how the
emigrants were in their rifle pits, and one
woman killed when coming out to milk her cow

4/ After Haslem had returned to
Carey. he tried in public what
he could young has been to spare
no horseflesh cheap horses but hurry on our
sleigh to let the emigrants pass
and not molest them.

Transcribe 493

4)
After Haslem had returned to
Cedar, he told in public what
Prest Young had told him to spare
no horesflesh <change horses> but hurry on and
tell Haight to let the emigrants pass
and not molest them.

[*The text below is part of an index entry for the* Historical Record, *a project Jenson worked on in the 1880s. In Jenson's field notes, several of the interviews end with a page that is blank except for a brief index entry from the* Historical Record. *Because these pages contain no information about the Mountain Meadows Massacre, we have not included them in this issue of* BYU Studies. *They will appear, however, in the complete Jenson and Morris collections published in* Mountain Meadows Massacre Documents.]

[*bottom of page, upside dow*n] Seventies 593

Mrs. Mary H. White widow of Lt. Samuel G. White and now 73 years old, residing in Beaver, testified in the presence of Aaron Johnson and her son Charles G. White Jan. 24, 1892 that she remembers the Kanas company passing through Hamilton's Fort, when she then lived in the latter part of August, 1807; they begged butter milk and made trades with Bro White a milch for a horse, which was afterwards seen in possession of the Indians. White was a member of the Nauvoo Legion but opposed the killing of the company, and he was not in the council meeting that decided to kill the company. The Company passed through Hamilton's Fort and camped at Quitsampauch, about 6 miles southwest of Hamilton's Fort; which camped there, for several days, a good place to recruit their cattle. White visited the company there and traded the horse, and some of the Indians were also camped at the bottoms, some of them came to Camp and conversed with White, who could talk the Indian tongue. Indians wanted to know why the Mormons did not kill the company, as had been talked of in Cedar

# Mary H. White

[*p. 1*]

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and her son, Charles D. White Jan.
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tons Fort, where she then lived, in the
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Bro White a mule for a horse, which
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High Council, but opposed the killing
of the company, and he was not in the
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through Hamilton's Fort and camped
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good place to recrute their animals,
White visited the company there and
traded his horse; and some of the Indians
were also camped at the bottoms, some
of them came to Camp and conversed
with White, who could talk the Indian
tongue. Indians wanted to know why
the Mormons did not kill the com-
pany, as had been talked of in Cedar

1. *after* can also be read *of br.*

but White tried to pacify them by telling them that the brethren in Cedar meant the soldiers, not the women and children in that company. Afterwards White told Isaac Slaight what he had done, and Slaight appeared to be angry and told White he wished they would let Indians alone. It was soon after the massacre had taken place that the other company passed through, taking the Black Ridge road. Sister White remembers seeing such company goods in the tithing office cellar at Cedar. Sister White and husband spent a sleepless night, when they were informed that the company would be destroyed. And after it was done, everybody was silenced not to speak about it and not to talk about it to any one. Sister White bought a ~~dress~~ little girl's dress from an Indian, that had belonged to a company girl. It was supposed that Lee kept most of the spoil, including a large number of cattle; and only a small portion was ~~sent up to Salt Lake City~~ up north.

[*verso of p. 1*]

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them that the brethren in Cedar
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wards White told Isaac C Haight
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tithing office <cellar> at Cedar. Sister
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White bought a ~~dress~~ little girls dress
from an Indian, that had belonged
to an emigrant girl. It was supposed
that Lee kept most of the spoil, in-
cluding a large number of cattle; and
only a <small> portion was sent ~~up to Salt Lake City.~~ up north.

Bancroft Corrections:

Page 550. It was as early as ~~Wednesday~~ Thursday or ~~Thursday~~ Friday that the emigrants fort went into camp at the Meadow.

Lee was the only white man there in the first attack on Monday, with Indians said.

The attackers did not build parapets.

(Clergyman mistaken ~~also~~ is mistaken about the distance between the spring where Lee was camped and the emigrant camp.)

Bancroft is right.

Lee was alone on the ground on ~~Tuesday~~ Monday; it is apparent that no other whites were with him until Wednesday, when Higbee's men came up, and also from the north. (See names in Lee's Confession.)

Besides shooting in the day time two or three night attacks were made during the siege, but it is not known whether any of them were killed or not.

## Corrections to Bancroft History

Bancroft Corrections:
Page 550. It was as early as ~~Wednes~~ <Thursday>
day or ~~Thursday~~ <Friday> that the emigrants first
went into camp at the Meadows
Lee was the only white man there in the
first attack on Monday, so the Indians
said

The attackers did not build parapets
(Clewes is mistaken ~~abo~~ is mistaken about
the distance between the spring where Lee was
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Bancroft is right

Lee was alone on the ground on ~~Tuesday~~
Monday; it is supposed that no other whites
were with him—until Wednesday, when
Higbees men came up, and also some from
the south. (See names in Lees Confession)

Besides shooting in the day time two
or three night attacks were made during
the seige; but it is not known whether
any of them were killed or not.

Bancroft page 552

B. His contradictory evidence refuted, but "supposed proof" matter all wrong. Isaac C. Haskett was not present on the ground till morning after the massacre.

Hamblin's ranche at the ~~extreme~~ north end of the Meadows

The militia was stationed ~~one~~ nearly ½ mile from camp, (not 200 yards) militia in single, not in double file, so that the wagons could pass on the front or west side of them.

When militia were reached the men halted a little while but the women continued the march after the wagon (two of the wounded men walked along). Here Higbee disobeyed orders in not giving the signal "halt", which (instead of the word "do your duty") was the signal to let the wheel pass by the place where the Indians lay, and the point which had been agreed on as the point of attack, thus made the Indians mad, who through 76

[*p. 2*]

Bancroft page 552
B. His contradictory evidence right, but
"sufficent proof" matter all wrong. Isaac
C Haight nor Dame did not arrive on
the ground till morning after <the> massacre,
Hamblin's ranche at the ~~extreme~~
north end of the Meadows

The militia was stationed ~~over~~ <nearly> ½ mile
from camp, (not 200 yards) militia
in single, not in double file,)
so that the wagons could pass on
the front or west side of them.

(When militia was reached, the men
halted a little while but the women
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of the wounded men walked along). Here
Higbee disobeyed orders in not giving
the signal "halt," which (instead of
the word "Do your duty") was the signal
he let the whole pass by the place where,
the Indians lay, and the point which had
been agreed on as the point of attack. This
made the Indians mad, who though[t] T O [turn over]

they were going to be received. Higbee ~~was there~~ did this in the hope of a last chance to receive orders countermanding the fatal order. Gee afterwards scolded Higbee for the delay after the company had passed about 14 or 1 mile further than the point agreed upon. Higbee reluctantly almost terrified gave the fatal order "halt", upon which the Indians, who had been awaiting, (see other slip). Scared the militia were not armed (among them Wilder and Benjamin Arthur),

John Corrill

[*verso of p. 2*]

they were going to be deceived, Higbee
~~was there~~ did this in the hope of
a last chance to receive orders coun-
termanding the fatal order. Lee after
wards scolded Higbee for this delay,
After the company had passed about
¼ of a mile further th[an] the point
agreed upon Higbee reluctantly
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order "halt," upon which the
Indians, who had been anxiously
waiting (see other slip).[1] Some of
the militia were not armed
(among them Willden) and Benjamin
Arthur).

[*The text below is part of an index entry for the* Historical Record, *a project Jenson worked on in the 1880s.*]

[*bottom of page, upside dow*n] South Jordan, <[*illegible*]> 341

1. The "other slip" is on the following page.

Bancroft. page 552.

+ Welden says: Clyde did not obey orders at this point, hoping the orders would be countermanded. The Indians in the meantime became very uneasy and kept approaching on all fours, anxious to do their work of destruction which emigrants were allowed to pass by about 4 miles further that I had agreed upon

[*p. 3*]

Bancroft. page 552.

+ Wilden says: "Higbee did not obey orders at this point, hoping the orders would be countermanded," the Indians in the meantime became very uneasy, and kept approaching on all fours, anxious to do their work of destruction while emigrants were allowed to pass by about ¼ mile further that place agreed upon

Bancroft 553,

"~~Half an hour later as the women emigrants passing~~ Emigrant men stopped a few moments while the women and large children moved on, but soon again took up line of march, with wagons on the right or each side and emigrants on the rear, & the killing commenced after the women had passed ¼ mile past the ambuscade, and the killing commenced. None escaped of those who marched out. Two or three ~~had~~ escaped during the siege & time and started for California. They were however, overtaken and killed by Indians or the Mormon traveling in fast to California. Two Mormons in disguise among those who killed the women. Then the women are ripped & raped ~~29 in all~~

[*p. 4*]

Bancroft 553,
"~~Half an hour later as the women emigrants passing~~ emigrant
men stopped a few moments while
the women and larg[e]r children moved
on, but soon again took up line
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right or east side and emigrants
on the west, The killing commenced
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during the seige some time
and had started for California,
They were, however, overtaken and
killed by Indians on the Muddy
traveling on foot towards California.
(No Mormons in disguise among
those who killed the women.
Some of the women are reported to
have fallen

[*The text below is part of an index entry for the* Historical Record, *a project Jenson worked on in the 1880s.*]

[*bottom of page, upside dow*n] ~~Springfield Ill. 680~~

Page 554. It is supposed they only a very few, if any, scalps were taken by the Indians. ~~Those~~ Young Lives who helped bury the dead remembered nothing of the kind and on the contrary that no scalps were taken, and that no bodies were mutilated only so far as it had been done in the killing. Only one child known to be killed and that was carried out by its father, as Bancroft states, but by a German, who carried something else that the was known as a German, as he talked to the militia as he passed along. The wagons was perhaps 1/2 mile north of where the militia was, at home of Kelley.

Johnston Ia 559

[*p. 5*]

Page 554, It is supposed that
only a <very> few, if any scalps were taken
by the Indians. ~~Those~~ <Some of those> who helped
bury the dead, remembers nothing
of the kind, and are of the opin[io]n
that no scalps were taken, and
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in the killing. Only one child
known to be killed, and that was
carried not by its father, as Bancroft
state, but by a German, who carred
somebody elses child. He was known
as a German, as he talked lively
with some of the militia as he
passed along. The wagons was
perhaps ½ mile north of where the
militia was, at time of killing.

[*The text below is part of an index entry for the* Historical Record, *a project Jenson worked on in the 1880s.*]

[*bottom of page, upside dow*n] Springfield. Ill 899

Page 555.

We arrived after Kelley went to supper at Hamblin's Ranch ~~by~~ northern nearly sundown. ~~Dear~~ ~~bury~~ the dead buried next morning, as spades and other digging implements had to be gathered. Big graves could be dug, near by the tents gotten at company camp. Some ~~men~~ ~~to~~ of militia went home the next morning and not back to help bury the dead. During the skirmish Wm. B. Stewart disobeyed orders (also Joel White) and took after some of the emigrants who did not fall at first fire, who ran west to escape. Indeed if Kelley the horsemen finish them up as Stewart and White ran after them and overtook them several miles and took from the militia. About three or four only broke and ran. Running thus S. + W. had come near getting killed by their comrades, who thought they were

[*p. 6*]

Page 555.

Lee and associate after killing
went to supper at Hamblin's Ranch
being ~~was~~ then nearly sundown. ~~Dead~~
~~not~~ The dead burried next mor-
ning, as spades and other digging
implements had to be gathered big [before?]
graves could be dug; most of the
tools gotten at emigrant camp
Some ~~went ho~~ of militia went home
the next morning and not back to
help bury the dead. Dur[in]g the
killing, Wm. C. Stewart disobeyed
orders (also Joel White) and ran
after some of the emigrants who
did not fall at first fire, who run
west to escape. Instead of letting the
horsemen finish them up as planned
Stewart and White ran after them and
overtook them several hundred yards
from the militia. About three or four
only broke and run. Running thus S. [Stewart] &
White came near getting killed by
their comrades, who thought they were T O [turn over]

emigrants. They were told to stop
~~[illegible]~~ by the cannon. The reason
why the three or four men escaped
was that some of the militia men
fired in the air, unwilling to ~~[illegible]~~
do the foul assignment them. More
militia men than emigrant men.

Oliver Pratt 1843

[*verso of p. 6*]

emigrants. They were told to stop
~~to stop~~ by their comrades. The <supposed> reason
why the three or four men escaped
was that some of the militia men
fired in the air, unwilling to ~~kill~~
do the part assigned them. More
militia men than emigrant men.

[*The text below is part of an index entry for the* Historical Record, *a project Jenson worked on in the 1880s.*]

[*bottom of page, upside dow*n] South Jordan 343

Page 556. not horribly mangled
nor scalped, the dead not
dragged to ravines, but in graves
about 3 or 4 feet deep, ~~[illegible]~~ graves
dug right on the spot, about 3 or four
in each grave, each of the dead and they
had ground prevented graves
from being made deeper, not
but that graves opened by first
floods, but wolves may have
unearthed some. It remains
to be supposed that all the bodies
were unearthed by wolves, even
the ones the emigrants buried them-
selves in their rifle pits.

[*p. 7*]

Page 556. not horribly mangled
nor scalped. The dead not
dragged to ravines, but in graves
about 3 <to 4> feet deep, ~~lack~~ graves
dug right on the spot; about 3 or four
in each grave, lack of tools and <very>
hard ground prevented graves
from be[in]g made deeper. Not
true that graves opened by first
floods, but wolves may have
unearthed some of the [remains?].
It is supposed that all the bodies
were unearthed by wolves, even
the ones the emigrants buried them-
selves in their rifle pits.

Page 557 David (Goldsmith)
Phillips

Page 559, He was committed
for murder in Camp Floyd and
not ~~there~~ any other participation in the M. M. affair

Springville Jan 6 02

[*p. 8*]

Page 557 David (not Daniel)
Tullis

Page 559, The men committing
for murder in Camp Floyd were
not ~~those~~ any of those who par-
ticipated in the M.M. affair.

[*The text below is part of an index entry for the* Historical Record, *a project Jenson worked on in the 1880s.*]

[*bottom of page, upside dow*n] Springfield Ill 602

Welden
Arkansas Company passed through Cedar not later than the 28th of August (Cor. Weldon 8/85) because he arrived from [illegible] a prolonged trip on that day and when he came home, the company had already passed through.

Weldon knows positively it was Adam Rankin was killed by Lynch from his own statement to him and the other ~~two~~ 14, afterwards saw the bodies of the other two being carried over a ridge. Adam was killed the first day he left and the other two on the night of the later day. Benjamin Rankin and Grant Rankin. McFarlan went on with the company. This last was on Wednesday night. Adam killed on Monday, or perhaps Tuesday

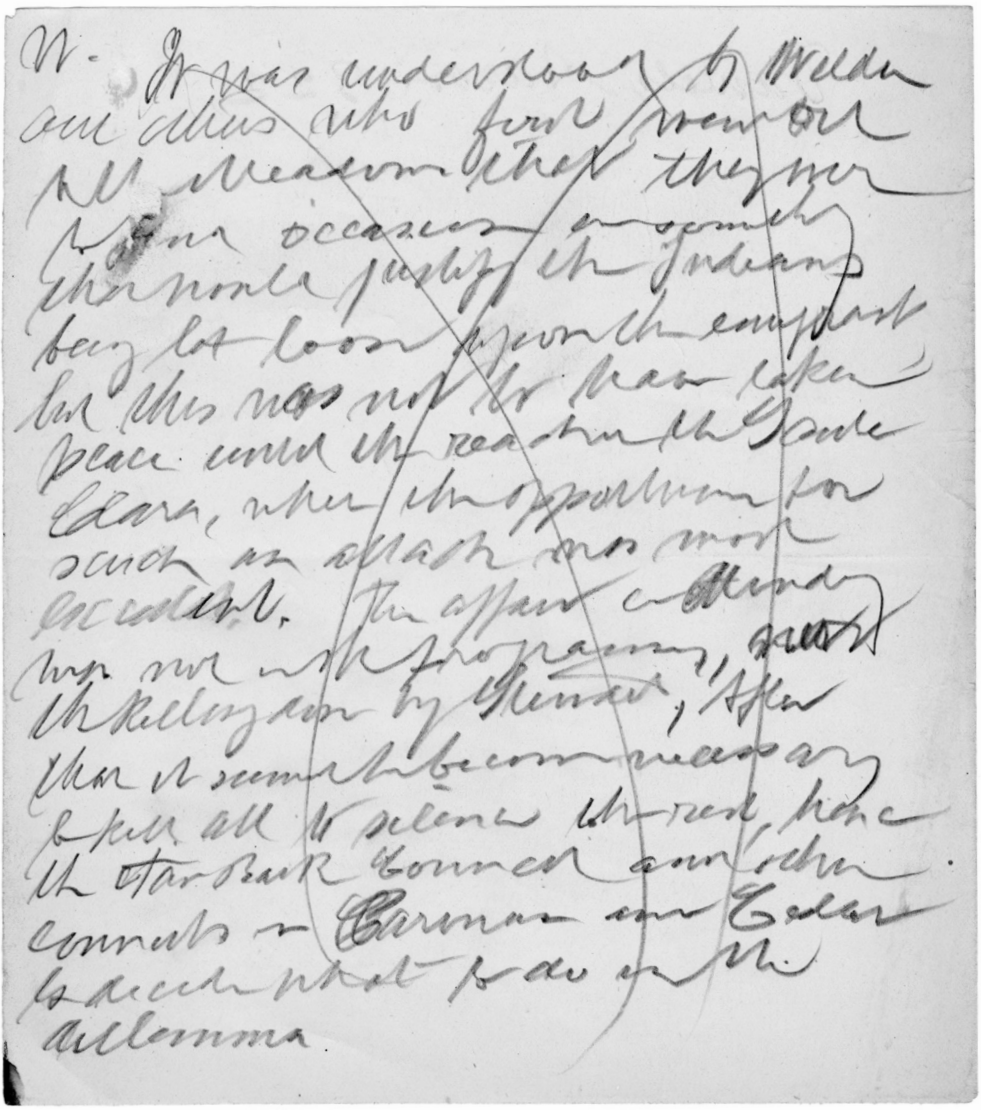
## Ellott Willden

[*p. 1*]

[*The two paragraphs on this page are crossed out. Jenson apparently crossed out some of his notes after incorporating the information into other documents. For other examples, see pages 80, 82, 84, 86, 88, 90, 92, and 94 of this issue.*]

Welden
Arkansas Company passed
through Cedar not later than the
28th of August (Cor. Haslem p. 85)
because he arrived home from
a prolonged trip on that day,
and when he came home,
the company had already passed
through

Welden knows positively
it was Aden was killed by Stewart
from his own statement, to him
and the ~~other~~ ~~W~~. afterwards saw
the bodies of the other two being
carried over a ridge. Aden was
killed in broad daylight and
the other two in the night, as
stated, by Klinginsmith and crowd
going to the Meadows. McFarlane
went out with this company. This
last was on the Wednesday <night> Aden killed
on Monday, or perhaps Tuesday



N. It was understood by Weldon and others who first went out that all measures that they were to use on occasions of complaint should justify the Indians but not to lose upon the emigrant but this was not to have taken place until the reaction the Sioux Indians, when the opportunity for such an attack was most excellent. The affair at Attendance was not with programs, such the killing of Gleason, After that it seemed to become necessary to kill all to silence the rest hence the Starbuck Connor and other connects in Carman and Cedar to decide what to do in the dilemma.

[*p. 2*]

W. It was understood by Welden
and others who first went out
to M Meadows that they were
to find occasion or something
that would justify the Indians
being let loose upon the emigrants
but this was not to have taken
place until th[ey] reached the Santa
Clara, where the opportun[ity] for
such an attack was most
excellent. The affair on Monday
was not in the programme, nor
the killing done by Stewart., After
that it seemed to become necessary
to kill all to silence the rest, hence
the tan Bark Council and other
councils in Parowan and Cedar
to decide what to do in the
dillemma

Welden Camp

The earth, yokes to each wagon, their hauled the wagons from the meadows to the Garden City, and ~~turned out~~ taken out north ~~to the Hamilton Fort Range~~ to range along Hamilton Fort where they would be out of the way and not be identified by Dukes Missouri Company. This was expected to pass through right away. What afterwards became of them is not known, only some men gathered up and sold

[*p. 3*]

Welden Cont.
The cattle, 2 yokes to each wagon,
that hauled the wagons in
from the Meadows to ~~the~~ Cedar
City, was ~~turned out~~ taken
out onto ~~to the Hamilton~~
~~Range,~~ to range about Hamiltons <Fort>
where they would be out of the
way and not be identified
by Dukes Missouri Company
that was expected to pass
through right away. What
afterwards became of them is
not known, only some were
gathered up and sold

See p. 307. How could Geo. A. Smith meet the Arkansas Company at Corn Creek on the 25 of August when they did not pass through Cedar Valley than the 28? August ? Geo A Smith must be mistaken about dates

[*p. 4*]

[*The following notes are not clearly identified as deriving from Andrew Jenson's interviews with Ellott Willden.*]

Lee p. 307.[1] How could Geo. A. Smith
meet the Arkansas Company at Corn
Creek on the 25 of August when
it did not pass through Cedar later
than the 28th of August? Geo A
Smith must be mistaken about dates

1. William W. Bishop, ed., *Mormonism Unveiled; or The Life and Confessions of the Late Mormon Bishop, John D. Lee; (Written by Himself)* (St. Louis: Bryan, Brand & Co., 1877), 307.

Paroman

The Arkansas Company passed through Paroman and camped over night ~~on the~~ on the flat below what is locally known as Barton's Bluff about 3/4 mile southwest of the center of Paroman. While traveling from Paragonah to Paroman several of the colony heard them make use of the most terrible oaths, one man calling his ox Brigham, denominating him as a whoremaster etc. Among the band of Apostates, Thomas Flowers, remembers Elias L. Smith talking about this, and others

[*p. 5*]

Parowan
The Arkansas Company passed
through Parowan and camped
over night ~~at wha~~ on the flat
below what is locally known
as Barton's Spring about ¾ mile
southwest of the centre of Parowan.
When traveling from Pargoonah to
Parowan several of the citizens heard
them make use of the most terrible
oaths, one man calling his ox
Brigham, denouncing him as a
whoremaster etc., using all kinds
of epithets. Thomas Henderson
remembers Silas S. Smith talking
about this, and others[2]

2. The last sentence suggests that information on this page probably came from John Henderson, although embedded in a group of pages attributed to Ellott Willden. See p. 37, n. 45.

The first plan was that
the Indians should not attack
the company until they got down
on the Santa Clara and then
the white men should take
part, and only men to be killed
and both taken, but no women
and children killed. The attack
on Monday was not then a part of
the plan, although in determining
Get Down and Plain Dealing, the
treachery might, because you could
not hold the Indians back. This
was known before the treaty was
made, and to the Santa Clara affair
hence the boys at Plantation's ner
attempted to learn of the attack on Monday
morning. Connected this with Clewes
expression to you to keep the Indians back
but this treach was met before the notice
got to the Meadows on Monday. The
original plan was to have the
Indians near to attack on Santa Clara
upon the same authority according
the Indians in Cedar, because of Clews
intimacy

[*p. 6*]

The first plan was that
the Indians should not attack
the company until the[y] got down
on the Santa Clara, and then
no white men were to take
part, and only men to be killed
and booty taken, but no women
and children killed. The attack
on Monday was not "then a part of
the plan according to statements of
Lee Dame and Haight afterwards; the
break was made because Lee could
not hold the Indians back. This
was known before the break was
made—that is the Santa Clara affair—
hence the boys at Hamblin's were
astonished to learn of the attack on Monday
morning. Council then with Clewes
express to Lee to keep the Indians back,
but this break was made before Thornton
got to the Meadows on Monday. The
original plan was to ~~kill~~ have the
Indians were to attack on Santa Clara,
instead of the civil authorities arresting
the offenders in Cedar because of their
profanity

The calling of men by Higbee and
Klingensmith to go to the Pearson
was done in Connection, for Higbee
did claim to act under orders from
Haight and Lee. A number of
councils were held.

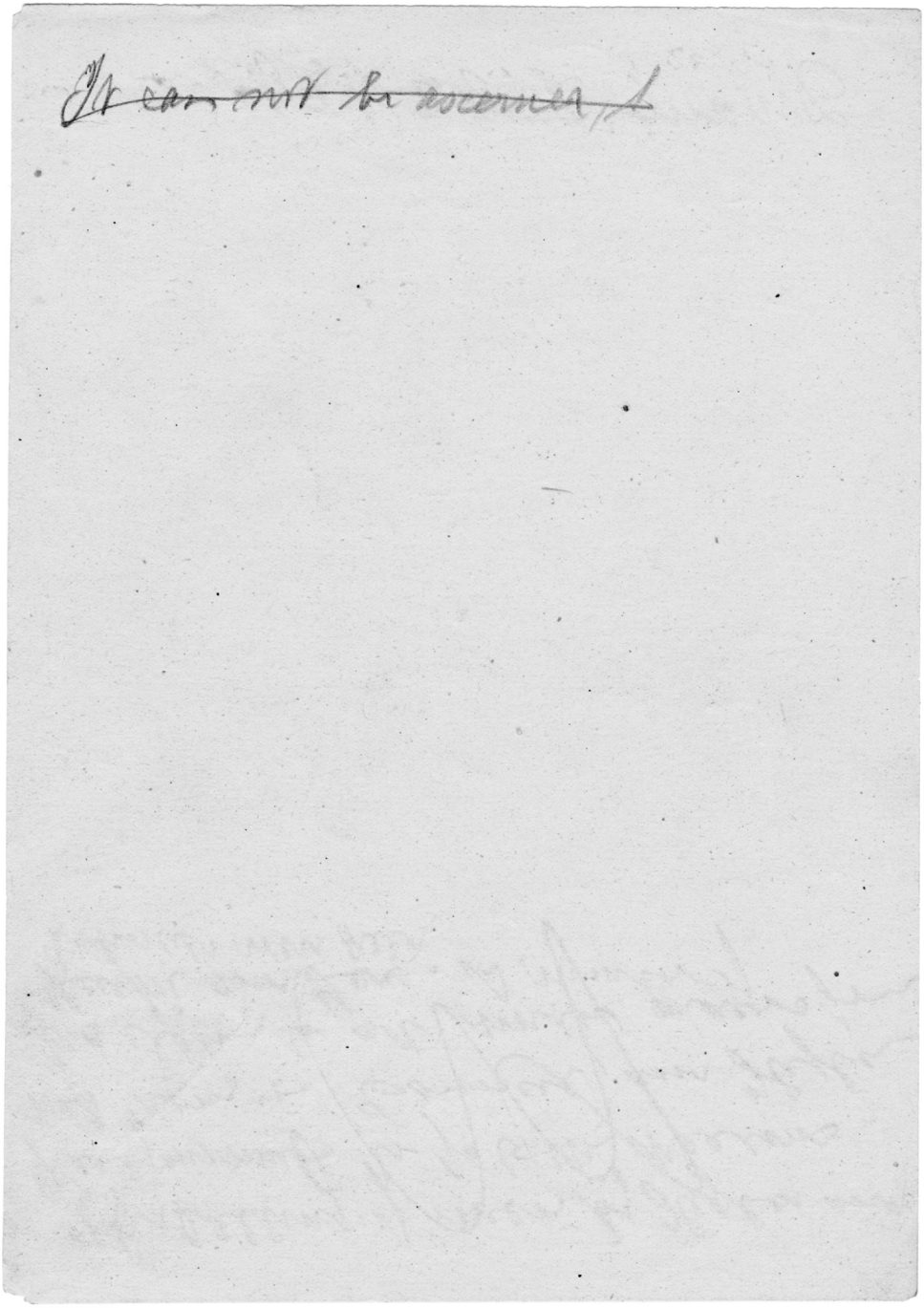
Pearson, Daniel, 725-

[*p. 7*]

The calling of men by Higbee and
Klingensmith to go to the Meadows
was done in Council, and Higbee
did claim to act under orders from
Haight and Lee. A number of
Councils were held.

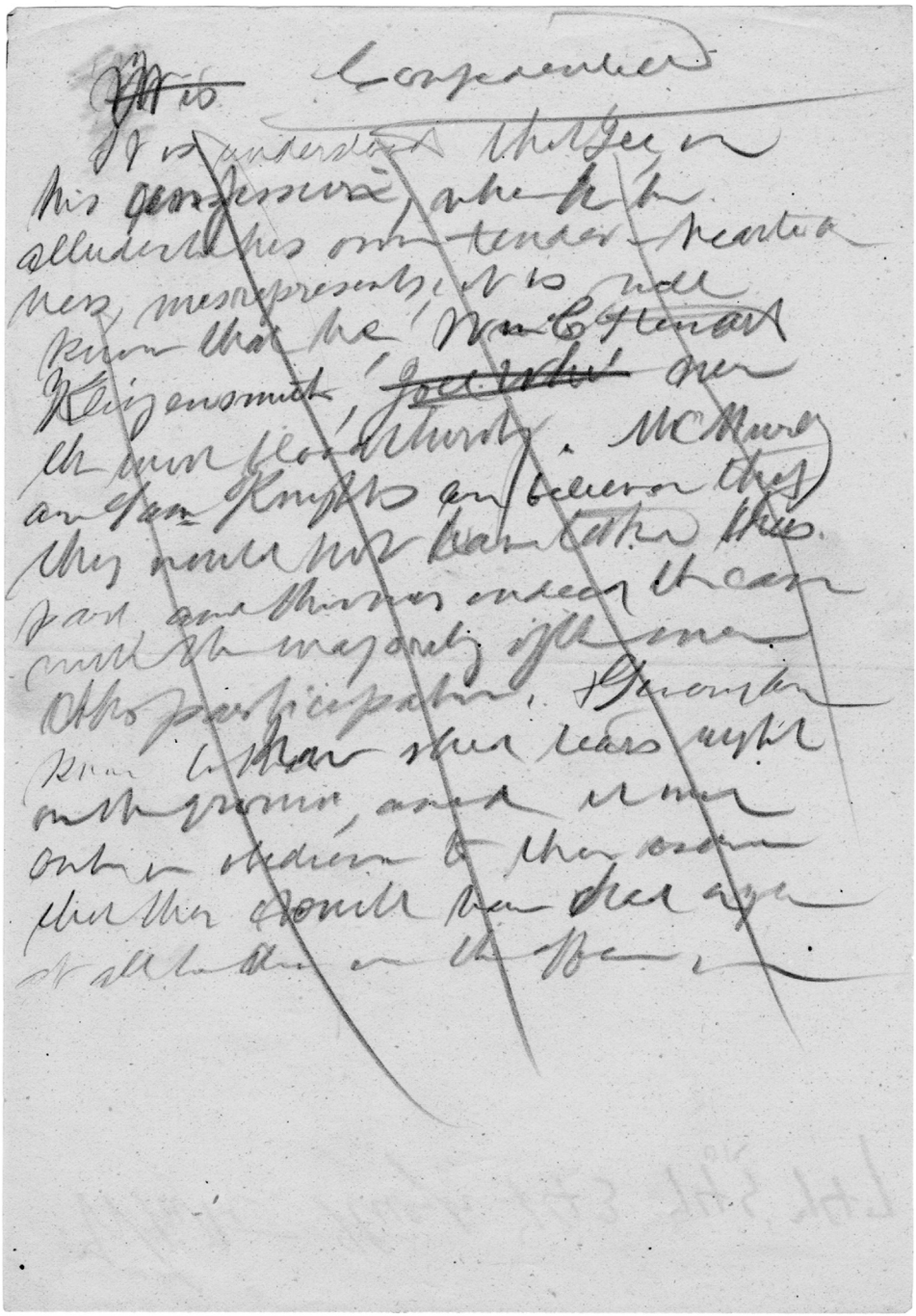
[*The text below is part of an index entry for the* Historical Record, *a project Jenson worked on in the 1880s.*]

[*bottom of page, upside down*] Devaul, Daniel, 725



[*verso of p. 7*]

~~It can not be ascerned, S~~



[*p. 8*]

Confidential

~~It is~~

It is understood that Lee, in
his confession, which he
alludes to his own tender-hearted-
ness, misrepresents; it is well
known that he, W$^{m}$ C Stewart
Klingensmith, ~~Joel Whit~~ were
the most bloodthirsty. MCMurdy
an[d] Sam Knights an[d] believes that
they would not have taken their
part, and this was indeed the case
with the majority of the men
who participated, & Several were
kno[w]n to have shed tears right
on the ground, and it was
only in obedience to ther orders
that they would have had ayh [anything?]
at all to [*illegible*] in the affair—

Confidential about 71 years old. (1

Wm. Barton, who resides near Old Paragonah, ~~an old Mormon~~ through same battle, came West in 1851, and located in Paroman in November 1851, lived there in 1857. Remember the Arkansas Company passed through & Barton was a Counselor to Bp Lemb. ~~of course was~~ After company passed through they heard that the company had got into trouble with the Indians at the Meadows and Pres Wm. H. Dame had the mail left on a corner of Cedar, in which it was decided to aid the company against the Indians, if the company of emigrants called for aid; otherwise they would let them fight it out with the Indians. Later Jesse N. Smith and Edward Dalton were sent to Pinto to ascertain how things were moving in the Meadows, and returned disgusted with what was ~~being done~~ done, and they said that he was ashamed of the attitude toward the emigrants. The night after their return, Isaac C. Haight and Elias Morris came up to Parowan from Cedar to confer with Col Dame about the situation. A council was called at Bro. Dame's house, and attended by Col Dame & Morris

## William Barton

(1

Confidential
Wm. Barton <about 71 years old.> who resides near ~~Red~~
Paragoonah, ~~an old Missouri~~ through Nauvoo
troubles, came to Utah—1851, and located
in Parowan, in November, 1851, lived
there in 1857. Remember the Arkansas
Company passed through, (Barton was a
Counselor to Bp. Lewis) ~~A council was~~
After company passed through, they
heard that the company had got into
trouble with the Indians at the Meadows
and Prest Wm. H. Dame laid the matter
before a council of brethren, in which it
was decided to aid the company against
the Indians, if the company of imigrants
called for aid; otherwise they would
let them fight it out with the Indians.
Later Jesse N. Smith and Edward Dalton
were sent to Pinto to ascertain how
things were moving in the Meadows, and
returned disgusted with what was ~~being~~ <going>
~~orders~~ on, and th[e]y said that Lee and other[s]
were taking on the attitude toward the emi-
grants. The night after their re-
turn, Isaac C. Haight and Elias Morris
came ~~up~~ to Parowan from Cedar to
confer with Col Dame about the situation
A council was called at Bro. Dames
house, and attended by Col Dame, E. Morris

James H Martineau

Isaac C Haight & Jesse N Smith, (2)
Calvin C Pendleton, Elijah Newman and Tarlton Lewis, I think
council a proposition made by Pendleton
was adopted with effect, that a compa-
ny should be sent out from Parowan
~~and then~~ to call the Indians off Gathe-
ring the stock into company, and let
them continue their journey in peace.
The council then dismissed, but later
in the same ~~day~~ occasion a consultation of three
consisting of I. C. Haight & Wm D. Dame
and another man, was held ~~in the~~ by
the gate of the Parowan fort where
the three sat upon a pile of bark hence
known in certain circles as the "Bark Council." Right there and then
the whole programme and plan was
changed and it was decided to destroy
the whole company. ~~Thos.~~ Barton
saw the three in consultation himself
but heard not what was said, but I have
C. Haight afterwards told Barton
that that was the decision and Mr
Haight said ~~"There~~ to Barton after-
ward "there is where we did wrong
and I would give a world if I had
it, if we had abided by the decision

(2

Isaac C. Haight, <James H Martineau> Jesse N. Smith,
Calvin C. Pendleton, Elijah New-
man and Tarlton Lewis, In that
council a propos[i]tion made by Pendleton
was adopted to the effect, that a compa-
ny should be sent out from Parowan
~~and Cedar~~ to call the Indians off, gather
up the stock for the company, and let
them continue their journey in peace.
The council then dismissed, but later
in the same ~~day~~ <occasion> a consultation of three
consisting of I. C. Haight, Wm. H. Dame
and another man,[1] was held ~~on the~~ by
the east gate of the Parowan fort wall
The three sat upon a pile of bark, hence
known in certain circles as the "Tan
Bark Council." Right there and then
the whole programme and plan was
changed, and it was decided to destroy
the whole company. Bro. Barton
saw the three in consultation himself
but heard not what was said, but Isaac
C. Haight afterwards told Barton
that that was the deci<s>ion and he
Haight said ~~There~~ to Barton after-
ward "There is where we did wrong
and I would give a world if I had
it, if we had abided by the decision

1. The words *another man* were written over an erasure. A capital *E* is partially visible at the beginning of the erasure and the characters *is* are visible at the end, suggesting that the name was Elias Morris.

of the council; but alas it is too late, the consultation of the men has taken place ~~either~~ about Wednesday the 9th. Immediately after that consultation of three, before daylight Knight and Morris started back to Cedar, and Wm. McDaine. Afterwards McDaine, accompanied by James Ferris, Benson Ferris and Barney Carter, went on an express to the Meadows, for the purpose of putting a stop to the massacre. But McDaine having repented of what he had agreed to do, but that four men arrived at the Meadows too late, the deed having then already been done. These men were from Paroman in the massacre. The only men that went to the Meadows from Paroman were the express company of the four men named.

~~Mormon Massacre~~

874

(3

of the council; but alas it is too
late. The consultation of these
three must have taken place ~~either~~
about Wednesday the 9th. Imme-
diately after that consultation of
three, <before daylight> Haight and Morris started
back to Cedar, and Wm. H. Dame
Afterwards Dame, accompanied
by James Lewis, Beson Lewis and
<Barney> Carter, went on an express to
the Meadows, for the purpose of
putting a stop to the massacre, Bro.
Dame having repented of what he had
agreed to do, but these four men
arrived at the Meadows too late,
the deed having then already been
done. There were none from Parowan
in the massacre. The only men that
went to the Meadows from Parowan was
the express consist[in]g of the four
men named.

[*The text below is part of an index entry for the* Historical Record, *a project Jenson worked on in the 1880s.*]

[*bottom of page, upside dow*n] ~~Graves, Reuben, 768.~~

Sam. Knight! thinks John D. Lee relement about the killing of the wounded was correct about Knight. Lee & Dan'l Dancy sent his family there; wife just confined Aug. 6, sick; K. received order from Cedar City to go and rouse the Indians on the Clara; responded reluctantly; was told he must go; went down; Indians got excited. K. returned with Dudley Leavitt on the Monday evening; was hailed by Lee (10 miles down from Clara) who was waiting for them, expecting to meet them they had brought the Indians up with them. He told them about the Monday affair, showed bullet holes through his clothes and hat; had been in the attack with Indians gathered by his orders & Harmony. Disappointed at no many Indians with K & L., for he had a special force with which he meant to attack the next morning (Tuesday) Indians from Clara came on Tuesday. In the final massacre about 4 participated from Clara, perhaps 8 or more from Washington and some of the others from Cedar City. K. had to stand near their because wife was sick. On Friday, Hoyt and others came and forced him with his team to go with them to emigrant camp, for life threatened if he did not go; did not like leave his wife. McWhordy from the wagon brought from Cedar with supplies, all others had come on horseback. Two wagons needed; hence they waited K. When shooting commenced, K's horses, young colts, new to shy, and he had all he could do to hold them; but Lee and Indians and others dis-ch killing. Emigrants guns also in the wagon with children and wounded. Emigrants must have camped in meadow Friday or Saturday previous to Monday attack. When they waited, some of the boys told K. telling him that they had not Hatchet & Corn Creek and that he has become M.M. as a

## Samuel Knight

[*p. 1*]

*MMM*

Sam. Knight thinks John D. Lee statement
about the killing of the wounded was <about> correct
Knight lived at Hamblin's Ranch (his family there;
wife just confined Aug. 6, sick; K. received order
from Cedar City to go and rouse the Indians
on the Clara; responded reluctantly; was told he must
go; went down; Indians got excited; K. returned
with Dudley Leavitt on the Monday evening;/ was
hailed by Lee <10 miles down from Meadows> who was waiting for them
<or meet them>, expecting
they had brought the Indians up with them. He told them
about the Monday affair, and showed bullet holes through
his clothes and hat; he had led the attack with
Indians gathered by him around Harmony. Disappointed
at not seeing Indians with K & L., for he had expec[t]ed force
with which to renew the attack the next morning (Tuesday)
~~Disa~~ Indians from Clare come on Tuesday. In the final
massacre about 4 participated from Clara, perhaps 8 or more
from Washington, and most of the others for Cedar City
K. back to ranch staid there because wife was sick
On Friday, Higbee and others came and forced him
with his team to go with them to emigrant camp.
his life threatened if he did not go; did not like to
leave his wife. McMurdy drove the wagon brought
from Cedar with supplies, all others had come on
horse back. Two wagons needed; hence they
wanted K. When shooting commenced, K's horses,
(young colts) <were> shy, and he had all he could do to
hold them; but Lee and Indians and others did
the killing. Emigrant's guns also in the wagon
with children and wounded. Emigrants must have
camped in Meadows Friday or Saturday previous
to Monday attack. When they arrived, some of them spoke
to K. telling him that they had met Hamblin on
Corn Creek and that he had recomen M.M. as a

in Hancock County, Ill.
Green Plains was quite a
famous locality at the time the
Saints lived in that county, as mob headquarters.
Green parts of what are now
Nauvoo, Walker, Wilcox and Rocky
Run Townships, the post office for
which was at Levi Williams the
notorious mob leader. His house
was about 18 miles south of Nauvoo, or
6 miles southeast of Warsaw. 9/1848
and the camp ground where they stood before
going onto desert is adjacent to camp
in South end of the Meadows, which they left.
It is thought that the first monument erected
by Jacob Forney was torn down about 1859
perhaps by some Red Group company who
passed through, afterwards restored by Mormon troops; the second monument then seen
gradually disappeared.

Exp 1

[*p. 2*]

[*Jenson apparently crossed out the text on the top half of this page because the notes were from another project and were irrelevant to the Mountain Meadows Massacre. His notes on his interview with Knight resume halfway down the page.*]

Green Plains <in Hancock County, Ill.> was quite a
famous locality at the time the
Saints lived in that county <as mob headquarters.> It em-
braced parts of what are now
Wythe Walker Wilcox and Rocky
Run Townships, the post office for
which was at Levi Williams the
notorious mob leader. His house
was about 18 miles south of Nauvoo, or
6 miles southeast of Warsaw. 91, 848

suitable camp ground to rest their stock before
going onto desert. K. advised the[m] to camp
in south end of the Meadows, which they did.
It is through that the first monument erected
by Jacob Forney was torn down about 1859
perhaps by some of Prest. Youngs company who
passed through; afterwards restored by Con-
nors troop's; this second monument has since
gradually disappeared.

[*The text below is part of an index entry for the* Historical Record, *a project Jenson worked on in the 1880s.*]

[*bottom of page, upside down*] ~~Daviess County 683~~

Richard S. Robinson, Priest of Pinto, in 1857, testifies that a messenger or two came to him with a certain written note, signed by Isaac C. Haight for John D. Lee, with instructions for Robinson to forward it to the Meadows. R. opened the note, and read it. Its purport was thus: "Word had been sent to Hatch by Lee was to draw the Indians off and satisfy them with beef if necessary but not to kill the emigrants." R. did not know whether the note was forwarded or not. Ask Shearson (Amos G.) who still resides in Pinto.

## Richard S. Robinson

Richard <S.> Robinson, Prest. of
Pinto, in 1857, testifies that a messenger
or two came to him with a certain written
note, signed by Isaac C. Haight, for
John D. Lee, with instructions for Robin-
son to forward it to the Meadows: R.
opened the note, and read it. Its purport;
<was that> Word had been sent to Salt Lake City,
"and Lee was to draw the Indians off
and satisfy them with beef if necessary
but not to kill the emigrants." R.
did not know whether the note
was forwarded or not. Ask Thornton
(Amos G.) who still resides in
Pinto.

Mountain Meadows.

D. W. Tullis was sent for Jacob Hamblin to come up from Santa Clara to Meadows in 1857. (He had no house in Meadows till then) He came in 1857, taking care of stock for Hamblin. Afterwards built Isaac Knapp and other children to live (Tullis hauled the first lumber for the house — 1857 possibly). Remembers Benj. Arthur and Elliott Wilson coming Reaves with message or note from Cedar, telling of Indian concerns. This was before company arrived. Soon after this men of company came along inquiring after feed etc. Shown to south end of Meadow, away from settlers stock; company went into camp on Saturday in Meadows. On Sunday night Indians camped along 3 miles above Pinto, digging potatoes, taking Richard & Robinson and Benj. Knell. Indians never come through Pinto; the path of potatoes is off to the Gap; from there Indians went across hill to Meadows (Emigrants passed through Pinto on Cedar City road). Afterwards Amos G. Thornton and two others visited the emigrant in Meadows. Lee held council with Indians a dozen men near Hamblin's house on the day of massacre. After council John D. Lee ordered all men out with their guns.

## David W. Tullis

Mount. Meadows.
D W Tullis, worked for Jacob Hamblin putting
up house and corall in Meadows in 1857
(He had no house in Meadows till then) was the[re]
in 1857, taking care of stock for Hamblin. After
house was built, Sam Knight and others do[wn]
there to live (Tullis hauled the first lumber for
the house—1857 positively). Remembers Benj.
Arthur and Ellott Wilden and Reaves
with message or note from Cedar, telling of their
sauciness. This was before company arrived. Soon
after two men of emigrant train came along
inquiring after feed etc, shown to south end of
Meadows, away from settlers stock; company
went into camp on Saturday in Meadows. On
Sunday night Indians camped about 3 miles
above Pinto, digging potatoes, belonging to Richard S
Robinson and Benj. Knell; Indians never came
through Pinto; the patch of potatoes at forks of
Canyon; from there Indians went across
hill to Meadows (Emigrants passed through
Pinto on Cedar City road.) Afterwards Amos
G Thornton and two others visited the emi-
grant in Meadows. Lee held council with
about a dozen men near Hamblin's house
<on the> day of massacre. [*blank*] <on>[1] After council
John M. Higbee ordered all men out with their
guns.

1. Insertion may have belonged with erased text.