

A sepia-toned photograph of a man in a suit and bowler hat standing next to a large pile of rocks in a field. The man is on the left, holding a walking stick. The pile of rocks is on the right. The background shows a hazy landscape with hills.

BYU

STUDIES

INVOLVING READERS
IN THE LATTER-DAY SAINT
ACADEMIC EXPERIENCE

MOUNTAIN MEADOWS MASSACRE DOCUMENTS

**GUEST EDITORS
RICHARD E. TURLEY JR.
RONALD W. WALKER**

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Site of the initial attack and siege at Mountain Meadows.

Guest Editors' Introduction

Richard E. Turley Jr. and Ronald W. Walker

In writing *Massacre at Mountain Meadows*,¹ we hoped to leave no source unturned. One bystander, hearing of our aspiration, asked where we thought we'd find the richest vein of materials. "Perhaps here in Salt Lake City," one of us said. This special issue of *BYU Studies* bears out that hunch, as does the complete companion volume from which it is distilled, the forthcoming *Mountain Meadows Massacre Documents: The Andrew Jenson and David H. Morris Collections*.²

During years of research, we and our colleagues uncovered a great deal of information about the 1857 massacre in southern Utah, leading to a clearer understanding of how this tragedy happened. A concise overview of our findings appeared in the September 2007 *Ensign*,³ preceding the recent publication of our book by Oxford University Press.

To make publicly available many of the manuscript discoveries that helped shape our thinking and writing, we are pleased to present here, for the first time and with facing transcriptions, selections from two important collections found at the headquarters of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Salt Lake City. Each of these collections of documents has its own story.⁴ The first was gathered in the 1890s by Andrew Jenson (1850–1941), a full-time employee in the Church Historian's Office, and the second a decade or two later by David H. Morris (1858–1937), an attorney and judge in St. George, Utah.

While the massacre continues to shock and distress, we hope that the publication of these documents will be a further step in facilitating understanding, sharing sorrows, and promoting reconciliation. We are honored

to present these documents to readers of *BYU Studies* as supplements to *Massacre at Mountain Meadows*.

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1. Ronald W. Walker, Richard E. Turley Jr., and Glen M. Leonard, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows: An American Tragedy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008). Our coauthor, Glen Leonard, was serving as a missionary in Santa Fe, New Mexico, while this issue was being prepared and thus was unable to join us here as guest editors.

2. Richard E. Turley Jr. and Ronald W. Walker, *Mountain Meadows Massacre Documents: The Andrew Jenson and David H. Morris Collections* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, forthcoming).

3. Richard E. Turley Jr., "The Mountain Meadows Massacre," *Ensign* (September 2007): 14–21, marking the 150th anniversary of this terrible crime.

4. From a more technical, archival point of view, the documents actually ended up in four manuscript collections: the Andrew Jenson collection in the Church Historian's Office (now the Church History Library), the Andrew Jenson collection in the First Presidency's Office (now in the Church History Library), the David H. Morris collection in the First Presidency's Office (now in the Church History Library), and "Collected Material Concerning the Mountain Meadows Massacre," a Church History Library collection that includes the Elias Morris interview and the original Charles Willden affidavit.

Editorial Procedures

Images of the original documents are accompanied by typed transcriptions. We have endeavored to transcribe the documents just as they were written, including typographical errors, ~~striketroughs~~, and <inserted words or characters>. Editorial comments appear in [*italicized characters in square brackets*].

Andrew Jenson wrote some of his field notes on previously used paper. Many sheets contain entries for an index to volumes five through eight of Jenson's *Historical Record* (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson, 1885–1889). During his massacre-related interviews, Jenson, who did not know shorthand, wrote fast in order to capture as much information as he could. In so doing, he typically left off the ending *e*'s in words. We have silently added these characters. He also frequently left off the letter *y* in writing the word *they*. We have inserted the *y*'s in square brackets. We have also selectively added other characters in square brackets to help clarify word meanings.

Jenson sometimes ran his written characters together; one character might contain parts of two letters of the alphabet. The field notes frequently contain write-overs—words written over other words or over erasures. In the interest of readability, we have transcribed just the resultant words in such instances. “T. O.,” with or without periods, appears throughout the field notes and is an indication to the reader to *turn over* the page to see additional information. Jenson also used other symbols, including + signs and numbers in parentheses, to indicate where additional information—generally written on subsequent pages—was to be inserted.

Superscripted characters in the documents, such as th or nd, sometimes contain a single underline, sometimes a double. For consistency, we have used single underlining throughout the typescripts. We have not reproduced blank document pages.



Andrew Jenson

The Andrew Jenson Collection

Ronald W. Walker and Richard E. Turley Jr.

Andrew Jenson, who later became an Assistant Church Historian, collected material on Mountain Meadows for the immediate need of helping Orson F. Whitney write his *History of Utah* and the longer-range purpose of one day bringing to light all of “the true facts” of the massacre.¹ Nearly from its inception, the Jenson material has been housed at the headquarters of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Salt Lake City, Utah—a portion of it in the First Presidency’s Office and the rest in the Church Historian’s Office (now the Church History Library). The Jenson material includes statements made not only by massacre perpetrators but also by contemporaries with less self-interested concerns.²

Jenson’s notes and reports, considered alongside statements of massacre participants and other sources, give us a much clearer picture of what happened and when—from the day the Arkansas company passed through Cedar City until most of its members lay dead at Mountain Meadows just over a week later. The documents shed important light on subjects such as Cedar City leaders’ efforts to spy on the Arkansas emigrants and to incite Paiutes against them, killings of emigrants who were away from the main encampment at the Meadows, and the “tan bark council” in Parowan, at which William Dame, Parowan stake president and colonel of the Iron Military District, reportedly authorized the destruction of the emigrant company.³

Andrew Jenson was a convert to the Church who personified the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century quest for documents. It was a time of “documania.” “Every man was his own historian,” wrote George H. Callcott, “searching for himself in the old manuscripts and



Empty *Historical Record* book cover and scrap-paper folders, apparently used by Jenson to file his field notes.

colonial records, enjoying the mysterious lure of the unknown, standing at the frontier of knowledge.”⁴

Early in his career, Jenson issued an annual chronology of Church events. In the 1880s, he began issuing the *Historical Record*, a publication devoted to retelling important episodes in Church history. He produced a small biographical encyclopedia of prominent members of the Salt Lake Stake in 1888 as a supplement to the *Historical Record*. That would later grow into the *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, published in four volumes between 1901 and 1936. In the 1890s, he began to compile historical data on “most of the ecclesiastical units of the Church,” some of which was printed in 1941 in his *Encyclopedic History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*. Jenson was also responsible for the ambitious “Journal History,” a chronologically arranged scrapbook of Church history and one of the primary source documents of nineteenth- and early

twentieth-century Mormonism. Church leaders recognized the talents of the bespectacled, mustached forty-six-year-old by appointing him Assistant Church Historian in 1897.⁵

Five years before that appointment, during the third week of January 1892, Jensen was invited to the Church President's office, where he received a startling assignment. He was asked to go to southern Utah "on a special mission to gather historical information, concerning the Mountain Meadow massacre." The next day he returned to the office to pick up a "letter of instructions," which became his credentials for obtaining details about the horrific event.⁶ "To whom it may concern," the letter began:

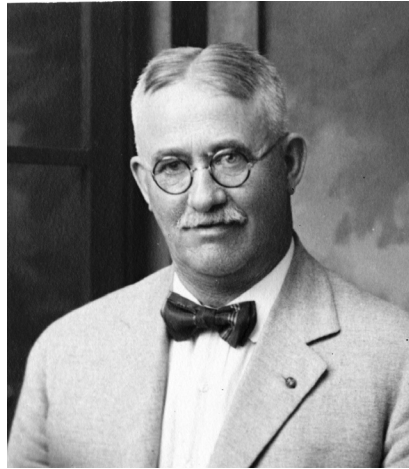
Bishop Orson F. Whitney has been selected to write a History of Utah. Among other important subjects that will have to be mentioned is what is known as the Mountain Meadow Massacre. There have been many facts already published concerning this affair; but there is an opinion prevailing that all the light that can be obtained has not been thrown upon it. Many of those who had personal knowledge concerning what occurred at that time have passed away. Others are passing away; and ere long there will be no person alive who will know anything about it, only as they learn it from that which is written. We are desirous to obtain all the information that is possible upon this subject; not necessarily for publication, but that the Church may have it in its possession for the vindication of innocent parties, and that the world may know, when the time comes, the true facts connected with it.

Elder Andrew Jensen, who is the bearer of this letter, has been selected for the purpose of conversing with such brethren and sisters as may be able to impart information upon this subject. We desire to say to you that he can be trusted, and any communications that you wish to make to him will be confidential, unless you wish them published. Much information might be published, but it might be prudent to not publish names. Upon this point the wishes of those who have this information, if expressed to Brother Jensen, will be fully respected.

The letter was dated January 21, 1892, and signed by the members of the First Presidency: Wilford Woodruff, George Q. Cannon, and Joseph F. Smith.⁷

The next day Jensen left Salt Lake City for southern Utah on a Utah Central Railway train. He reached the terminus at Milford, Utah, the next morning. Time was of the essence. For several years Orson F. Whitney, a bishop serving Salt Lake City's Eighteenth Ward who would later become an Apostle, had been working on the first volume of what would become a multivolume history of Utah. But he was in trouble. Whitney's publisher, George Q. Cannon & Sons, feared "serious financial consequences" and "a loss of reputation through broken promises" if the volume was not released in March, and Whitney's manuscript, which was to include an account of the Mountain Meadows Massacre, was in disarray. Whitney was nervous and seemed on the brink of a breakdown.⁸

George Q. Cannon, publisher and member of the First Presidency, offered Whitney some help. Could Whitney use the ghost-writing of Cannon's son, John Q.? Earlier in John Q.'s career, in the wake of a personal scandal, he had been released as a counselor in the Church's Presiding Bishopric. But no one questioned his ability, especially his ready pen, and in October 1892 he would professionally resurrect himself as editor of the Church's newspaper, the *Deseret News*. Whitney asked John Q. to help draft the portion of the text dealing with the massacre at Mountain Meadows.⁹



John Q. Cannon

Cannon began the research for his writing and was disappointed to find “nothing except what has already been printed” on the subject. Not satisfied merely to rehash old printed accounts, he soon learned that new information could be obtained “if we take the right steps to secure it.”¹⁰ That became Jenson's assignment, and the notes he took south with him included a set of John Q. Cannon's questions.¹¹

Jenson kept a diary of his travel and investigation, which identified the dates and places of his labors, along with some of the people who gave statements to him:

Saturday 23 [January 1892]. I took the stage at Milford, and traveled 33 miles via Minersville, Adamsville and Greenville to Beaver, where I arrived about 1 p.m. and put up with Bro. John R. Murdock.

Sunday 24. I spent the day in Beaver speaking three times (once in the Sunday School, and twice in the public meeting) and had a good enjoyable time, speaking about historical matters with considerable freedom. I also made a few visits during the day and again stopped over night with Bro. Murdock.

Monday 25. About noon in company with Elliott Willden I started with team (horses belong to Bro. Murdock and buggy to Elliott Willden) and traveled 35 miles to Parowan, calling on several persons on our way to obtain the desired information. . . .

Tuesday 26. We continued our journey (19 miles) via Summit to Cedar City, where we put up for the night with C. J. Arthur, and made a number of visits in the evening to obtain information.

Wednesday 27. Spent the forenoon getting information from Daniel S. McFarlane, and Brother Arthur. About 3 p.m we started on our return trip for Parowan, where we arrived about dark . . . I sent a telegram to Abraham H. Cannon about Willden wanting \$50 for some information he could give.

Thursday 28. Drove 35 miles back to Beaver, where I received an answer to my telegram of yesterday to the effect that they [Church leaders] would allow Willden no money; but as he ~~allowed~~ <refused> to give the information without, I agreed to pay him myself if neither the Church or Cannon and sons would. I stopped over night with Prest. Charles D. White, after visiting Brother Nowers, for information.

Friday 29. Spent all day at Elliott Willden's house getting information from him; again stopped over night with Bro. White.

Saturday 30. Spent the forenoon finishing up my labors with Willden, and about noon started for Milford with the mail. . . . At 7 p.m. I boarded the train at Milford and traveled all night [to Salt Lake City].¹²

Jenson's trip through southern Utah had an interesting crosscurrent. His travel companion for much of the journey was fifty-eight-year-old Elliott Willden, who had a role in the massacre. Willden was ostensibly obliging, furnishing a buggy and, presumably, suggestions for many of the people and places the two men visited. But even as southern Utahns gave their reports to Jenson, Willden was tightlipped. Because the publishing of Whitney's history was a semiprivate venture with the hope of a profit, Willden wanted to be paid for his information. At Parowan, he proposed his terms. He wanted fifty dollars and a set of the forthcoming multivolume history—worth another thirty dollars.¹³ Jenson sent a telegram to Church leaders endorsing Willden's terms.¹⁴

When the men returned to Beaver, Willden wrote a letter to the First Presidency in which he explained himself. "I have just returned from a four days' trip with Elder Andrew Jensen to Cedar City during which we gleaned some valuable information concerning that which is mentioned in your letter of instruction to him," he wrote. "I am still in possession of more valuable data and facts which the Church would be perfectly welcome to, were it wanted for Church purposes alone; but as I understand from your letter already referred to that the information is wanted for Bp. Whitney's history of Utah about to be published, I think I am justly entitled to some little remuneration."¹⁵

George Q. Cannon & Sons and Church leaders were willing to meet Willden only partway. They approved giving him a set of the history, but fifty dollars—a considerable sum at the time—seemed too much.¹⁶ Jenson, who was on the scene and understood the value of Willden's testimony, refused

to argue. He “agreed to pay him myself if neither the Church or Cannon and sons would.”¹⁷ He gave Willden a promissory note saying as much.¹⁸

The two men huddled at Willden’s house, and Jenson did his best to get Willden’s story written down. When they were through, Willden had provided an impressive body of information: three of his own first-person accounts of massacre-related events, corrections to the massacre account in Hubert Howe Bancroft’s *History of Utah*, answers to some of the questions posed by John Q. Cannon, commentary on an account by Willden’s brother-in-law Joseph Clewes, and several other bits of information.¹⁹ Jenson got his money’s worth.

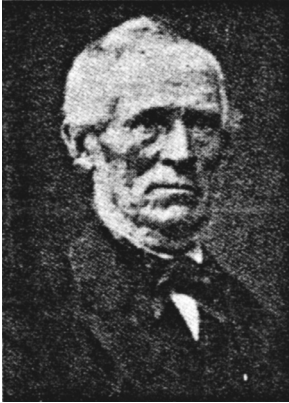
Jenson lingered at Willden’s home until joining the mail coach for its half-day trip to Milford and the railroad for the trip home. Jenson’s nine-day, whirlwind circuit took him 620 miles, 176 of those miles by grueling wagon travel through the southern Utah settlements of Beaver, Parowan, and Cedar City during the wintertime. “I . . . have been successful in getting the desired information for the First Presidency,” he wrote upon returning to Salt Lake City. “But it has been an unpleasant business. The information that I received made me suffer mentally and deprived me of my sleep at nights; and I felt tired and fatigued, both mentally and physically when I returned home.”²⁰

Jenson’s travels netted him a treasure trove of information from the following individuals, some of whose accounts are included in this issue of *BYU Studies* and all of which are included in *Mountain Meadows Massacre Documents*.

Charles W. Willden Sr., Statement, February 18, 1882

Charles William Willden Sr. (1806–83) was born to Jeremiah and Elizabeth Revill Willden in Anston, Yorkshire, England. He married Eleanor Turner on January 21, 1833, in Laughton-en-le-Morthen, Yorkshire; approximately three years later the couple moved their family to Sheffield, where Charles worked in the steel mills. He converted to Mormonism in 1839, his wife four years later. After immigrating to the United States in 1849, the family worked a small farm near Council Bluffs, Iowa, for two years. Once in Utah, Charles’s experience in steelmaking made him an ideal candidate for the Cedar City “Iron Mission”—the Latter-day Saints hoped to establish iron foundries in southern Utah. The Willdens arrived in Cedar City in October 1852.²¹

Charles served in the Iron Militia along with his sons Elliott, Charles, John, and Feargus, though there is no evidence that any Willden but Elliott participated in events at Mountain Meadows.²²



Charles W. Willden Sr.

The elder Charles Willden, however, claimed to witness events leading to the massacre. He testified that fifteen to twenty emigrants had taunted and threatened local people at a time when rumors were circulating of the arrival of U.S. troops through nearby Frémont pass. The acts of these emigrants—perhaps outliers who had joined the Arkansas company or young drovers who had consumed too much of the local sagebrush whiskey—created “grave fears” among the local citizens, he said. According to Willden, the settlers “felt that their lives were in jeopardy from molestation or attack by said company and incoming U.S. troops.”²³

Willden’s 1882 statement had been sworn before Josiah Rogerson, a court reporter at John D. Lee’s two trials. Jensen apparently secured the original statement from Charles Willden’s son Elliott while in southern Utah. He then made a copy of the original to submit to the First Presidency as part of the report on his fact-finding mission. The original differs slightly from Jensen’s copy. For example, the original has several strikeouts not found in the copy made by Jensen.²⁴

Mary S. Campbell, Statement, January 24, 1892

Mary Steele Campbell (1824–1904) was born in Kilbirnie, Ayrshire, Scotland, the daughter of John and Janet Steele.²⁵ Mary and her husband, Alexander, were among the first settlers of Cedar City, where Alexander was employed mining coal for the town’s iron furnace.²⁶ Mary joined the Cedar City Female Benevolent Society on February 4, 1857.²⁷ Her husband was a member of a Cedar City company of the Iron Militia but is not listed among those who participated in the massacre.²⁸

Mary and Alexander had three children while residing in Cedar.²⁹ By 1859, they had moved to Beaver, Utah, where they had several more children.³⁰ Alexander died March 14, 1882, in Beaver, and Mary also died there in August 1904.³¹

On January 24, 1892, Jensen interviewed Mary Campbell, which resulted in field notes and a final written report. There are subtle differences between the field notes and the report. For example, the field notes merely reported that the Arkansas company threatened the people of Cedar, while

the report expanded it to say, “The profanity and bad language used by them, and the oaths they uttered, were something terrible.”³²

Campbell was one of a half-dozen southern Utah settlers who remembered hearing stories of the company’s purported misconduct before the emigrants reached their communities. In reporting on the group’s behavior in Cedar City, Campbell particularly indicted the conduct of a man riding a gray horse—as did other Cedar City citizens. Whether all of her memories accurately described events or anachronistically reconstructed them can never be known for sure.³³

Campbell did not confine her criticisms to the emigrants. She suggested that local people were on edge before the outsiders arrived and that Cedar City stake president Isaac C. Haight had hinted about getting some of the emigrants’ stock from them.³⁴ Further, she claimed that Cedar City leaders incited local Paiutes and monitored events at the Meadows—they knew what was happening. She said that when the massacre was over, settlers were warned “to keep everything quiet.” They were told that “if you should see a dead man lying in your wood pile, you must not say a word, but go about your business.”³⁵

William Barton, Statement, January 25, 1892

William Barton (1821–1902) was born in Lebanon, Illinois, to John and Sally (Sarah) Penn Barton. William married Sarah Esther West at Nauvoo, Illinois, in 1845. Their first child was born in Lebanon in 1848.³⁶ The family crossed the plains to Utah in 1851, locating in Parowan in November of that year.³⁷ William served as a counselor to Bishop Tarleton Lewis and in 1857 was a second lieutenant in the Iron Military District of the territorial militia.³⁸ He was well placed to know what was going on both in his village and in the southern militia command, but he was not present at the massacre.

Barton was called to settle in Minersville, Utah, in 1858 to mine and smelt lead. In 1860, he moved to Beaver, where he became a mill operator. In the late 1860s, he moved his milling business to Greenville, Utah, and in the early 1890s, he moved to Paragonah, Utah, where he farmed with his brother. Barton died on October 11, 1902.³⁹

Jenson produced both field notes and a final report of his 1892 interview with William Barton. As with other interviews Jenson conducted, ambiguous portions of the notes are clarified in his final report. The field notes record, “Later Jesse N. Smith and Edward Dalton were sent to Pinto to ascertain how things were moving in the Meadows,” and when they returned, they “said that Lee and other[s] were taking on the attitude toward the emigrants.”⁴⁰



William Barton

The finished report clarified what was meant by “taking on the attitude,” explaining that “John D. Lee and other white men were assuming a very hostile attitude toward the emigrants in connection with the Indians.” Barton remembered that when word first reached Parowan of a difficulty at the Meadows, it was thought to be strictly an emigrant-Indian affair. Colonel William H. Dame convened a local council, which decided on a hands-off policy—Parowan would give help only if the emigrants requested it. The decision reflected Brigham Young’s recent counsel that the Saints not become involved in emigrant-Indian conflicts while Utah faced the prospect of war with approaching U.S.

troops. Dame decided to send Smith and Dalton to investigate the situation; the men returned, expressing “much disgust” over how Lee and other settlers were acting at the Meadows. Isaac Haight and John D. Lee had not kept Dame, the militia commander, informed of their actions.⁴¹

Barton’s statement also included another key piece of information. On Wednesday, September 9, 1857—two days before the final slaughter—Haight and his counselor Elias Morris went to Parowan seeking Dame’s authority to use the militia against the emigrants. Dame convened a council of Church and militia leaders, which decided just the opposite: the militia should go “to the Meadows, to call the Indians off, gather up the stock of the emigrants and let them depart in peace.” But Haight was unwilling to let the decision stand. Following the council, he sought a private conference with Dame and obtained his approval to kill the emigrants. According to Barton, a repentant Dame later traveled to the Meadows to stop the slaughter but arrived too late.⁴²

John H. Henderson, Statement, January 25, 1892

A native of Belview, Missouri, John Harris Henderson (1831–1915) was born to James and Anna Harris Henderson. He traveled to Utah in 1847, arriving in Salt Lake on October 1 of the same year. Early in 1857, he married Cecilia Jane Carter. That year he served in Parowan as a private in Company C of the Iron Military District of the territorial militia.⁴³ He was living in Parowan when the Arkansas company passed through.⁴⁴ In

addition to Jenson's field notes of his interview with Henderson, the latter's comments also appear in two other places in Jenson's notes.⁴⁵

Henderson recalled skirmishes in and around Beaver between Indians and emigrants who were members of the Missouri company, which was traveling several days behind the Arkansas company. Henderson was part of a militia contingent from Parowan that was sent to help protect the Missouri company, and he recalled spending "a whole day" with them. He noted that Colonel William Dame, after addressing the Beaver disturbance, started "for the Meadows." Henderson also compared the conduct of the Missouri and Arkansas emigrant companies, reporting favorably on the Missouri group but sharing secondhand reports of cursing and swearing by members of the Arkansas party.⁴⁶

Jenson's interview with Henderson resulted in just over a page of field notes concerning Henderson's remembrance of the Missouri company.⁴⁷

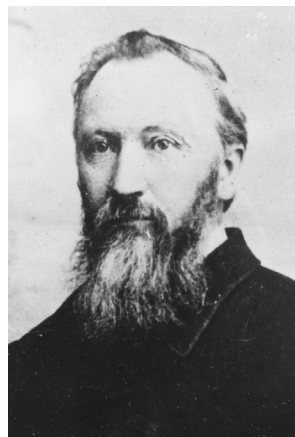
Henderson resided in the Parowan area the rest of his life, where he served in a number of civic offices, including supervisor of roads, justice of the peace, and county treasurer.⁴⁸ He died in Parowan March 31, 1915.⁴⁹

Christopher J. Arthur, Statement, January 26 or 27, 1892

Christopher J. Arthur (1832–1918) was born at Abersychan, Monmouthshire, Wales, the son of Christopher Abel and Ann Jones Arthur.⁵⁰ Arthur and his family immigrated to Utah in 1853 and were called to settle in Cedar City in 1854.⁵¹ His training as a warehouseman and store clerk served him well when he was given the responsibility of keeping the Iron Company's books and clerking at the company's Cedar City store.⁵²

Arthur married Caroline Haight, daughter of Isaac C. Haight, on December 30, 1854. At the time of the massacre, Arthur served as an adjutant in the local militia.⁵³ In later years, he served Cedar City as its mayor, bishop of the local congregation, and finally as a local Church patriarch, giving blessings of comfort and promise to the Saints. Arthur was described as a devoted thespian and musician.⁵⁴ He was called as a possible juror and witness at Lee's first trial but served in neither capacity.⁵⁵

Jenson's 1892 interview with Arthur resulted in a page and a half of field notes and a two-page report; neither has been available to researchers until now. Arthur claimed that some of the emigrants came into the Iron



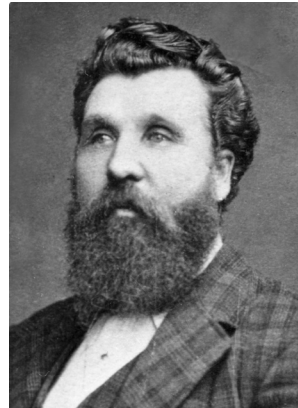
Christopher J. Arthur

Company store and became “very angry, and made use of some very rough and profane language” when told that the goods they wanted were unavailable. The local police tried to arrest the men, but the emigrants united to resist their efforts.⁵⁶

Arthur’s account had a curious footnote. He claimed that on the day of the massacre, he and Isaac Haight’s counselor Elias Morris carried an express to the Meadows calling off the slaughter.⁵⁷ Morris, responding to this claim, said that “neither he nor Arthur carried anything in writing” but asserted that Haight asked Morris to “do everything possible to avert the shedding of blood.”⁵⁸ Arthur stated that an ill horse delayed the two, and they arrived after the killing was done.⁵⁹

Daniel S. Macfarlane, Statement, January 27, 1892

Daniel S. Macfarlane (1837–1914) was born in Stirling, Scotland, on June 21, 1837, to John and Annabella Sinclair Macfarlane. During the 1840s, his immediate family members converted to Mormonism, except his father, who died in Scotland in 1846. His mother, Annabella, and her children embarked for America in February 1852 in a company of Church members led by missionary Isaac C. Haight, who returned to England after guiding the company to St. Louis. In October 1853, after completing his mission to England, Isaac married the widowed Annabella in Salt Lake City as a plural wife, and they set out for Cedar City “the morning after the marriage.”⁶⁰



Daniel S. Macfarlane

In 1862, Daniel Macfarlane married Temperance Keturah Haight, a daughter of Isaac Haight and Eliza Ann Snyder, making Isaac both his stepfather and his father-in-law. The marriage also made Christopher J. Arthur his brother-in-law.⁶¹

In September 1857, the twenty-year-old Macfarlane was a militia adjutant.⁶² On the day of the massacre, according to John D. Lee, Macfarlane carried “orders from one part of the field to another.”⁶³ He conveyed a message from John M. Higbee to Lee—who was negotiating with the Arkansas company—that urged him to hasten the emigrants’ departure from their wagon enclosure.⁶⁴

Macfarlane provided enough information to Jensen to fill ten pages with notes.⁶⁵ It was not the only statement Macfarlane made. In 1896,

he swore an affidavit before his son-in-law Mayhew Dalley—one of several affidavits made in an effort to boost Higbee’s reputation after the federal government dropped murder charges against him.⁶⁶ Both statements have similar themes. Macfarlane claimed he and others went to the Meadows on an errand of mercy, believing the Indians had killed the emigrants and that help was needed to bury the dead. Both of his statements minimized his actions in the final killing and sought to shift the responsibility for the massacre from Haight and Higbee to Lee and Dame. Macfarlane emphasized Indian participation and strongly indicted the emigrants for misconduct, including, he claimed, their supposed use of strychnine to poison springs and kill Indians.⁶⁷

In some places, Macfarlane’s statements contradicted the testimony of others, but he did provide interesting details not found elsewhere. For instance, he told of a fearful young emigrant who left the death march and returned briefly to the Arkansans’ fortified camp, fearing “treachery.” Macfarlane also described how Lee later used some of the captured cattle to settle private debts.⁶⁸

Willson G. Nowers, Statement, January 28, 1892, and Letter, January 1892

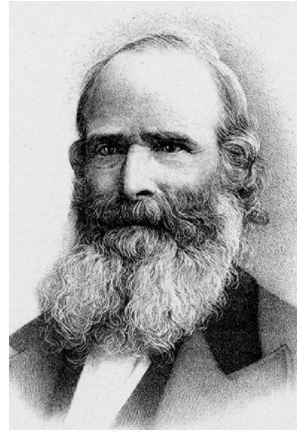
Willson Gates Nowers (1828–1922) was born in Dover, Kent, England, the son of Edward and Susannah Gates Nowers.⁶⁹ As a young man, Willson was apprenticed to a carriage maker, an apprenticeship that proved irksome and made him hope for a freer life in America. His dream was fulfilled when fellow workers shared with him the teachings of the Latter-day Saints, and a way opened up for him to cross the Atlantic with a Mormon emigrating company.⁷⁰

After reaching the United States, Nowers crossed the plains to Great Salt Lake City in 1851. In 1853, he moved to Parowan, where he helped build a mill for George A. Smith. Nowers married Sarah Anderson at Parowan in 1855. The next year they were among the first residents of the new settlement at Beaver, about thirty-four miles north of Parowan.⁷¹

Nowers became prominent in local affairs, serving at various times as Beaver City recorder; Beaver County treasurer, recorder, and surveyor; a justice of the peace; and a city councilman. The Church also made use of his talents. He served for many years as a member of the Beaver stake high council and as the Beaver stake clerk. In 1882, he embarked on a mission to Great Britain but returned later that year “in broken health.”⁷² Nowers died on May 17, 1922, in Beaver.⁷³

Jenson received information from Nowers on two separate occasions. The first was an interview that resulted in just a page of field notes. After the interview, Nowers evidently took time to review what he knew about events in 1857. He then wrote to Jenson, providing three pages of information.⁷⁴

Nowers's statement did not directly relate to the events at the Meadows. As a resident of Beaver, he gave information about the attack in his village by a rogue band of Pahvants upon the Missouri company. The attack occurred less than two days after Lee led the first assault on the Arkansas company at Mountain Meadows, more than ninety miles to the south. In the case of the Beaver fight, Dame moved swiftly to protect the emigrants. Nowers's statements identified several events that took place in Parowan and Beaver in relation to the attack on the Missouri company, but his dating of events was off in several instances.⁷⁵



Willson G. Nowers

Later, Nowers wrote in his letter to Jenson, "Since considering the matter upon which we were conversing I have been able to recall the facts more correctly." Once more, Nowers's main concern was to tell what happened at Beaver with the Missouri company. But this time there were also details about Mountain Meadows.⁷⁶

Nowers admitted that many Mormons had refused to trade even food with the Arkansas company, though their action was contrary to official Church policy as he understood it. On the other hand, Nowers indicted the taunting of one man in the Arkansas company at Beaver and the "cursing and swearing" of others. "The whole country was in an uproar," he said. Although Nowers's letter confirmed other Mormon memories, perhaps enlarged by the passing years, it was hard for him, or any other witness, to point to a single fact that could possibly have justified the fate of the emigrants at Mountain Meadows.⁷⁷

Elliott Willden, Statements and Corrections, January 29–30, 1892

Elliott Willden (1833–1920) was born on September 28, 1833, in Laughton-en-le-Morthen, Yorkshire, England, to Charles and Eleanor Turner Willden. His parents embraced the Latter-day Saint faith in England, and the family

immigrated to the United States in 1849. They lived in Iowa before traveling to Utah in 1852, where they settled in Cedar City.⁷⁸

Elliott married Emma Jane Clewes in Cedar City in 1856. She was the younger sister of Joseph Clewes, who carried messages between Cedar City and Mountain Meadows during the week of the massacre.⁷⁹ As a private in the Cedar City militia, Elliott was present during the massacre on Friday, September 11, 1857.⁸⁰



Elliott Willden

Willden moved to Beaver around 1859, and he and other family members established Willden's Fort on Cove Creek, twenty-five miles north of Beaver, in 1860–61. The family returned to Beaver in 1865. They sold the fort to the Church in 1867, and shortly thereafter it was rebuilt and renamed Cove Fort.⁸¹

For the rest of Willden's life, he resided in Beaver, where he organized the town's first band—he played the organ and violin—and worked in various capacities, including as justice of the peace, Indian interpreter for the district court, and state inspector of weights and measures.⁸²

A grand jury indicted him in September 1874 for complicity in the Mountain Meadows Massacre, and authorities arrested him in August 1876. His case was postponed for more than two and a half years but was finally dismissed in March 1879, never coming to trial.⁸³

Willden's wife Emma Clewes died in 1890. He married Christiana Brown in February 1892, shortly after his interviews with Jensen. Willden died in Beaver in 1920.⁸⁴

Willden provided key testimony on such things as the changing plans of attack, Lee's role, the first assault at the Meadows, the killing of three emigrants on the road outside Cedar City, the conduct of Indians during the siege, Willden and Clewes's desperate run through gunfire in Indian dress, the number of militia and where they came from, the location of militia camps, the councils and plans before the killing, the rationale for the slaughter, the events of the massacre, the burying of the bodies, and the disposition of the emigrants' property. Along the way, Willden corrected more than a dozen small errors that had crept into previous narratives.⁸⁵

Willden also admitted to having been at the Meadows before the first shot was fired. Haight had sent him west, along with Josiah Reeves and perhaps Benjamin Arthur, to learn of the intention of the Arkansas

company and to build a case against them. Accordingly, they visited the Arkansans' encampment and witnessed key events during the week that followed.⁸⁶

Like the statements of most of the Mormon witnesses, Willden's revelations must have had an element of restraint. There was little self-incrimination as he insisted that he had no role in the initial attack or in the final killings. The rest of his information was more convincing. The details he provided fit a general mosaic of events and testimony offered by others.

Mary H. White, Statement, January 1892

Mary Hannah Burton White (1818–94) was born on August 31, 1818, in Putneyville, New York, the daughter of Samuel Burton Jr. and Hannah Shipley Burton.⁸⁷ Mary's family moved to Ohio, where they joined the Church, Mary being baptized in the spring of 1838. The family later moved to Illinois, where Mary married Samuel Dennis White in October 1841. Leaving Nauvoo, Illinois, in February 1846, the couple spent several years in Atchison County, Missouri, before moving west in the spring of 1850. They lived for three years in Lehi, Utah, and were then called to settle in Iron County.⁸⁸ They moved to Hamilton's Fort, just south of Cedar City.⁸⁹



Mary H. White

At the time of the massacre, Samuel White was a private in the territorial militia at Hamilton's Fort and a member of the Cedar stake high council.⁹⁰ He is identified as a massacre participant in a list at the end of John D. Lee's memoirs, *Mormonism Unveiled*, but is not mentioned in the narrative of the massacre earlier in the book.⁹¹

Samuel's widow, Mary, spoke with Andrew Jenson at Beaver in January 1892. She reported that Samuel had "opposed the killing of the company." According to Mary, before the massacre, Indians had asked Samuel why the Mormons did not kill the emigrants as planned in Cedar City. Samuel responded that the Mormons had been referring to "the soldiers who were coming in, . . . not women and children." Mary said that when Isaac Haight afterward learned of the conversation, he appeared upset, telling Samuel "he wished they would let the Indians alone."⁹²

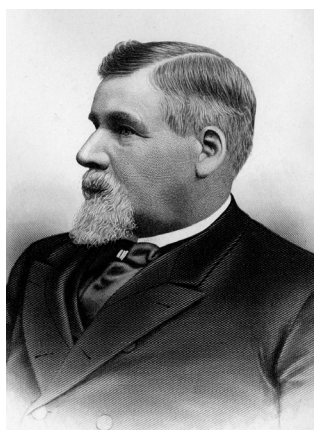
Samuel's brother Joel was a massacre participant and testified at the John D. Lee trials in 1875 and 1876.⁹³ Samuel White died in October 1868 without leaving a written account of the massacre. Mary died in Beaver on December 2, 1894.⁹⁴

Elias Morris, Statement, February 2, 1892

Two days after returning to Salt Lake, Jenson interviewed Elias Morris (1825–98). Few Mormons had such a sterling reputation as Morris. Born to John and Barbara Thomas Morris in Llanfair-Talhaiarn, Denbighshire, Wales, he converted to Mormonism in 1849 and in early adulthood distinguished himself in Church activity and professional enterprise. Apostle John Taylor recognized his abilities as a mason, mechanic, and furnace maker and asked him to immigrate to Utah in 1852 to help with the territory's budding sugar industry. The next year, Church leaders assigned him to oversee the building of the masonry, blast furnaces, and iron works at Cedar City. In 1856, Isaac Haight made him one of his counselors in the Cedar stake presidency.⁹⁵

Morris later returned to Salt Lake City, where his building company was responsible for the construction of some of the major buildings in the city's new commercial district, as well as for the blast furnaces for almost all of the territory's mines. In 1890, he became bishop of Salt Lake City's Fifteenth Ward. "He was a man of great ability and resource, while his philanthropy was a proverb," wrote the *Deseret News* upon his death.⁹⁶

At the time the Arkansas company passed through Cedar City, Morris was scouting the mountain passes east of town for U.S. troops. But on returning home, he may have gotten an earful from his mother, Barbara Morris, who had been crossing the road east of her home when she was reportedly accosted by an emigrant. Elias Morris said, "One man on horseback, a tall fellow, addressed her in a very insulting manner, and while he brandished his pistol in her face he made use of the most insinuating and abusive language, and with fearful oaths declared that he and his companions expected soon to return to use up the 'Mormons.'"⁹⁷



Elias Morris

This passage was typical of the rest of Morris's statement to Jenson—self-serving and without a hint of Morris's personal involvement in events leading to the massacre. Rather, he described his role as advocating delay and forbearance when the topic of punishing the Arkansas company came up. Likewise, choosing his words carefully, Morris refused any responsibility in the “tan bark council” that led to the decision to kill the emigrants, though he was present when Dame and Haight discussed the matter.⁹⁸ Morris's full role in the massacre planning and discussion can never be known, and his statement to Jenson was not entirely forthright, though it did provide some useful details.

Jenson Continues to Collect Material

The statements of Charles Willden Sr., Mary S. Campbell, William Barton, John H. Henderson, Christopher J. Arthur, Daniel S. Macfarlane, Willson G. Nowers, Elliott Willden, Mary H. White, and Elias Morris were among the main documents in the Jenson collection.⁹⁹ Over time Jenson gathered additional information. After returning to Salt Lake City from his fact-finding mission, he took his rough field notes and prepared more formal transcripts—and like many note takers, he expanded his sometimes cryptic notes from memory as he did so. He also rearranged information to make it more understandable or omitted details that may have seemed unimportant. Scholars must use both the field notes and the finished transcripts to get as full a version of events as possible.

On February 2, Jenson had “a lengthy conversation” with First Presidency counselors George Q. Cannon and Joseph F. Smith, reporting on his successful mission to southern Utah and sharing what he had learned about the massacre.¹⁰⁰ He must have also told them about the payment he and Willden had agreed upon and the financial note or obligation he had given his interviewee.

Eleven days later, the troublesome chapter 32 of Whitney's *History of Utah*, with all its new details of the massacre, was ready for review. “I spent the day in the office,” wrote Church President Wilford Woodruff in his journal. “I listened to the reading of a Chapter in the History of Utah, including the Mountain Meadow Massacre which was a painful Chapter.”¹⁰¹ The process required most of the day and occupied Apostle Franklin D. Richards and perhaps the two other members of the volume's reading committee, Robert T. Burton and John Jaques, as well as A. Milton Musser.¹⁰²

Despite determined efforts, the first volume of Whitney's *History* did not meet its announced date of publication (though its frontispiece

would perpetuate the date of “March 1892”). Apostle Abraham Cannon of George Q. Cannon & Sons described the project in his diary on February 19, 1892. “I found that the manuscript of the first volume of the History of Utah has been finished by O. F. Whitney and John Q. [Cannon], and the most of it is now in print,” he wrote. “I am now doing my utmost to crowd ahead the plates so that the binding may be done without any delay. We desire to deliver the book during the next month.”¹⁰³ In May the *Deseret News* announced at last that the volume “is now ready, and will be furnished to subscribers.”¹⁰⁴ The next month, the First Presidency paid Jenson’s obligation to Willden.¹⁰⁵

The indefatigable Jenson was not through collecting Mountain Meadows material. In mid-February he embarked upon another tour through Latter-day Saint settlements to lecture and collect historical data. This time he traveled in his new buggy, his wife Bertha at his side. The trip ranged through southern Utah, northern Arizona, and southern Nevada, and Jenson again chronicled his labors with mathematical sums. He traveled 1,435 miles by team and preached fifty-two times, he said—“1,350 miles with my own conveyance.”¹⁰⁶ Along the way he collected three more statements by massacre participants.

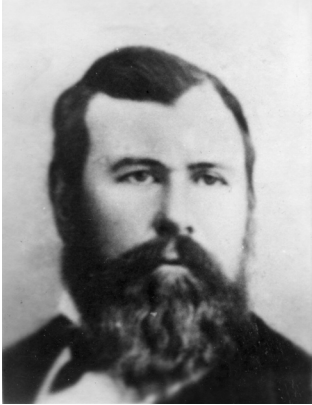
Richard S. Robinson, Statement, circa March 1892

The first of these undated statements was by Richard Smith Robinson (1830–1902).¹⁰⁷

Robinson was born on November 25, 1830, in Upton, Cheshire, England, the son of Edward and Mary Smith Robinson.¹⁰⁸ After embracing Mormonism, the Robinson family immigrated to the United States in 1842, stopping first in St. Louis, next in Nauvoo, and then in Iowa for three years.¹⁰⁹ Robinson reached Salt Lake City in 1849 before heading to the California gold fields at age nineteen.¹¹⁰

Robinson returned to Utah in 1852 and settled in American Fork, where he married Elizabeth Wootton. In 1854, the couple was sent to colonize Harmony, where Richard helped lay the rock and adobe for a fort. In the fall of 1856, the Robinsons, along with Rufus C. Allen and Amos G. Thornton, were among the first settlers at Pinto, located about six miles from Mountain Meadows. Though Pinto was the closest settlement to the Meadows, no Pinto residents are known to have participated in the massacre.¹¹¹

In the fall of 1857, Robinson was an Indian missionary and a second lieutenant in the territorial militia at Pinto. Following the massacre, Robinson served as branch president and bishop in Pinto,



Richard S. Robinson

1859–76; branch president in what is now Alton, Utah; and bishop in Kanab, 1884–87.¹¹² He was a witness for the defense at the first John D. Lee trial; his testimony focused on what he observed in Pinto at the time of the massacre.¹¹³ He died in Sink Valley, Kane County, Utah, on May 8, 1902.¹¹⁴

Robinson's short statement confirmed Joseph Clewes's claim about being sent to the Meadows on Monday, September 7, to call off the hostilities. It also confirmed that Haight sent another expressman, James Haslam, to Brigham Young for instructions. Robinson remembered Clewes's message as saying that "Lee was to draw the

Indians off and satisfy them with beef if necessary but not to kill the emigrants."¹¹⁵ If the accounts of Clewes and Robinson are accurate, Haight knew of the initial attack on the Arkansas company before sending Clewes and Haslam on their missions. The precise wording of Haight's message to Young remains one of the mysteries of the massacre story, as the dispatch has long since disappeared.

Samuel Knight, Statement, circa March 28, 1892

Jenson's second additional statement came from Samuel Knight (1832–1910), whom he praised for rendering "efficient aid" in his historical labors.¹¹⁶ Knight was the son of Newel and Sally Colburn Knight, two of the Church's earliest and staunchest converts from the famed Colesville Branch in the state of New York.¹¹⁷ Samuel was born on October 14, 1832, in Jackson County, Missouri, after the Colesville Saints moved to the region. His mother died less than two years after his birth, and his father perished in 1847 en route to Utah "on Ponca Indian Lands" in Knox, Nebraska.¹¹⁸ The orphaned Samuel successfully reached Utah in 1847. By 1854, Knight was in southern Utah laboring as a missionary to the Indians and helped found the Indian missionary outpost of Santa Clara.¹¹⁹

In 1856, Knight married Caroline Beck, a recent Latter-day Saint convert from Denmark. In August 1857, the month before the massacre, their first child was born, a daughter. The birthing took place in the family's wagon box on Jacob Hamblin's newly established ranch at Mountain Meadows. The new mother did not do well. She took cold and never fully recovered. Despite her semi-invalid condition, she and

Samuel would become the parents of five more daughters.¹²⁰

When the Arkansas company reached Mountain Meadows in September 1857, the Knights were living in their wagon box at the north end of the Meadows “by the side of Jake Hamblins shanty.”¹²¹ Knight pointed the emigrants to a camping spot at the south end of the Meadows, about four miles away.¹²² The location, away from the Knights’ and Hamblins’ cattle, was the usual place for emigrants to camp and refresh their animals before taking the next difficult section of the California road, with its long stretches of desert.



Samuel Knight

Knight received orders from Cedar City to rouse Paiutes near Fort Clara “to arm themselves and prepare to attack the emigrant train.”¹²³ At first, the plan called for an attack at the junction of the Santa Clara River and Magotsu Creek.

Knight went as ordered despite Caroline’s precarious health. Because of his mission, he was not at the Meadows when Lee led the initial precipitous attack on the emigrants Monday morning, September 7. But Knight, with his team and wagon, were mustered into action on September 11, the day of the final massacre. Knight’s wagon, “loaded with some guns, some bedding and a few individuals,” led the procession out of the emigrants’ redoubt and up the road to the north. Knight claimed that when the slaughter began, he was fully occupied in trying to manage his young horse team, which was spooked by the gunfire.¹²⁴ Lee, on the other hand, claimed that Knight helped kill adult passengers in his wagon.¹²⁵

Knight spoke or wrote of the massacre on at least five occasions. He talked with Brigham Young’s counselor, Daniel H. Wells, probably before Lee’s second trial, though no details of their conversation were preserved. At the trial, he testified for the prosecution. Jenson interviewed Knight about the massacre in March 1892. Jenson’s field notes of their conversation survive, but a formal report is lacking. Knight discussed the massacre again with Apostle Abraham H. Cannon in 1895, and Cannon recorded the details in his diary. Finally, Knight swore an affidavit before David Morris on August 11, 1904.¹²⁶

Knight’s statement to Jenson carried the same themes as his expanded formal affidavit of 1904. Several pieces of information, however, did not make their way into his later statement. For instance, Knight told Jenson

that the Arkansas company began to filter into the Meadows on Friday or Saturday before the first attack—important information for dating their arrival. In the Jensen interview, Knight also revealed that “about 4” of the perpetrators were from Santa Clara, one of the few sources to place men from this community at the final killing.¹²⁷

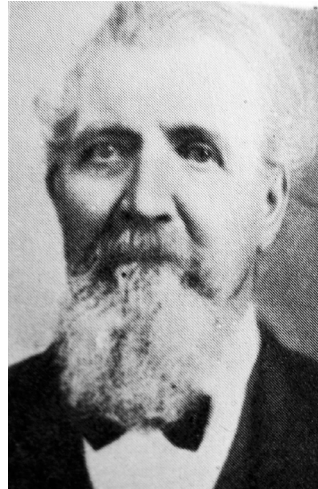
David W. Tullis, Statement, circa April 8, 1892

Jenson’s travels took him to Pinto during the second week of April 1892, which dates the statement of David Wilson Tullis (1833–1902), the third man with whom Jenson spoke about the massacre during his trip.¹²⁸

Tullis was born on June 3, 1833, in Fifeshire, Scotland, to David and Euphemia Wilson Tullis. In 1851, he “emigrated to America with [his] parents” aboard the ship *Olympus*; he was baptized into the Church during the voyage. He stayed in St. Louis before crossing the plains to Utah in 1853. Shortly after his arrival, he was called to the Indian mission in southern Utah. He located at Harmony, then moved to Pinto, where he claimed to have “built the first log cabin there for Rufus C. Allen.”¹²⁹

In the fall of 1857, Tullis was a resident at Jacob Hamblin’s ranch, building a house and corral for Hamblin and watching livestock. Tullis spoke with members of the Arkansas company as they passed Hamblin’s ranch on their way to the south end of the Meadows. A child who survived the massacre reportedly identified him as the killer of one of her parents.¹³⁰

In 1859, Jacob Forney, superintendent of Indian affairs for Utah Territory, traveled to southern Utah to gather up the surviving emigrant children. Tullis was among those from whom Forney gleaned information during his trip. One evening after Forney and his group had made camp, “a man [Tullis] drove up near us with an ox wagon.” In the ensuing visit, Tullis told them that the Arkansas emigrants had treated him “perfectly civil and gentlemanly.”¹³¹ But Forney was not misled by Tullis’s polite words. When Forney returned to Salt Lake, he responded to a request from Washington asking him “to ascertain the names of white men, if any, implicated in the Mountain Meadow massacre.” Forney listed Tullis among “the persons most guilty.”¹³²



David W. Tullis

In truth, Tullis was more a caught-up bystander than an originating ringleader in the massacre. Because of his residence at the Meadows, he was thrust into the situation and became a participant as well as an important eyewitness. According to Tullis, Benjamin Arthur, Elliott Willden, and Josiah Reeves arrived before the Arkansas company pulled in. Tullis put Pinto missionary Amos G. Thornton at the Meadows before the first attack. Tullis's account also included small details about the Paiutes' camp before the Monday morning attack.¹³³ Finally, Tullis witnessed the execution of John D. Lee on March 23, 1877.¹³⁴

Tullis married two women: Alice Hardman Eccles, a widow, and, two years later, her sixteen-year-old daughter, Martha Eccles.¹³⁵ In August 1882, still living in the small community of Pinto, Tullis received a call to serve a Church mission in his native Scotland.¹³⁶ Alice passed away while he was gone.¹³⁷ He died in Pinto "of asthma and complications" on November 26, 1902.¹³⁸

Jesse N. Smith, Journal Extracts, August 8 to September 9, 1857

During his career, Jenson also collected at least two other documents about the mass killing. The first was a single page of extracts taken from the journal of Jesse N. Smith (1834–1906).

Smith, who was born on December 2, 1834, in Stockholm, New York, to Silas and Mary Aikens Smith, played an indirect role in massacre events.¹³⁹ When his Apostle cousin, George A. Smith, toured southern Utah in August 1857, the month before the massacre, Jesse Smith joined his party. Jesse remembered that the Church leader told local people not to sell their grain to feed the horses of emigrants passing through the region but to allow them flour for their personal needs. Jesse observed this advice when the Arkansas company camped near his home in Parowan: he sold them flour and salt. Later, when William H. Dame heard disturbing rumors about the besieging of the company at the Meadows, he asked Jesse to investigate. The extracts from Jesse Smith's journal told this story, along with Isaac Haight's response to Smith and his companion, Edward Dalton, as they traveled from Parowan to Pinto via Cedar City.¹⁴⁰



Jesse N. Smith

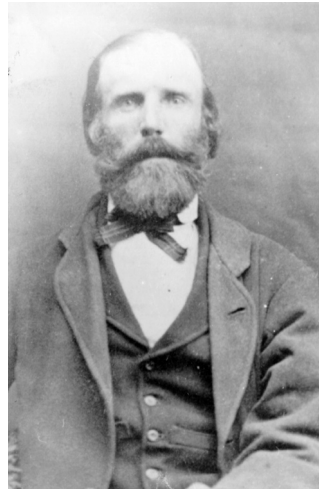
About five years after the massacre, Smith was made president of the Scandinavian Mission, and in 1887 he became president of the Snowflake (Arizona) Stake.¹⁴¹ At an undisclosed date, possibly in February 1894, Andrew Jenson copied excerpts from Smith's journal of August 8 to September 9, 1857.¹⁴² After Smith's death, a large volume of his autobiography and journal covering his entire life was placed in the Church Historian's Office.¹⁴³ Internal evidence suggests that he kept an ongoing journal and later copied his entries into this large volume, occasionally adding bits of reflective information. The Jesse N. Smith Family Association published the journal in 1953.¹⁴⁴

John Chatterley, Letter, September 18, 1919

Jenson also secured two letters from John Chatterley (1835–1922), the second of which survives. John Chatterley was born in Manchester, Lancashire, England, to Joseph and Nancy Morton Chatterley. The Chatterleys immigrated to America in 1850 and spent the winter in St. Louis before crossing the plains to Utah in 1851.¹⁴⁵

John Chatterley married Sarah Whitaker on March 12, 1862.¹⁴⁶ He served in a number of civic capacities in Cedar City, including justice of the peace, postmaster, and city recorder. He also served as mayor from 1876 to 1878.¹⁴⁷

Jenson had asked Chatterley to provide him with information about the massacre, and though more than sixty years had passed since the tragedy, Chatterley remembered important events. As a twenty-two-year-old, he had carried Haight's initial request to Dame in Parowan to call out the militia, which was refused. He reported being at Fort Harmony, southwest of Cedar City, before the initial attack when Lee, dressed in makeshift military attire, tried to rally his Indian cohort. And he was called to scout roads east of Cedar City because of the fear of approaching U.S. soldiers.¹⁴⁸



John Chatterley

Chatterley recalled the “insane . . . religious fanaticism” in the period that preceded the massacre, and the danger he risked in standing against it. The zealots said they were to “be free of any intercourse with the Gentiles

world, and . . . were just to wait the coming of our Redeemer.” Chatterley’s name does not appear on any lists of massacre participants.¹⁴⁹

Two Sets of Documents

Eventually, the Jenson collection of Mountain Meadows documents included over thirty items, about a third of them being expansions or emendations of Jenson’s field notes. During most of the twentieth century, these documents were housed at Church headquarters in two separate groups.

The First Presidency maintained most of the polished reports Jenson delivered after his January 1892 tour, some of his field notes, and two versions of John Q. Cannon’s questions. The last set of documents included questions and answers written in Jenson’s handwriting and another copy written in an unknown hand with Jenson’s insertions.¹⁵⁰

The First Presidency’s collection served as an information resource for chapter 32 in Whitney’s *History of Utah*, a fact to which Whitney alluded. In writing his narrative of the massacre, he maintained he had used “the most reliable sources,—some of which have never before been drawn upon.”¹⁵¹ But his claim was muted by his failure to cite his sources or even many of the names of people involved in the massacre. The First Presidency had promised anonymity, and Whitney made good on the promise.

The second part of the Jenson collection was placed in the Church Historian’s Office. These materials included the Charles W. Willden Sr. statement; several sheets of Jenson’s January 1892 field notes; an 1892 letter from Willson G. Nowers; three statements secured during Jenson’s second 1892 tour (Robinson, Knight, and Tullis); a copy of Elias Morris’s interview, conducted by Jenson on February 2, 1892 (the same day when he presented his other interview reports to the First Presidency); extracts from Jesse N. Smith’s journal; and John Chatterley’s 1919 letter. In total, these materials make up about half of the documents Jenson collected or generated regarding the massacre and the largest selection of statements from people Jenson interviewed. In the late 1960s or early 1970s, historian Donald R. Moorman used some of these documents in writing *Camp Floyd and the Mormons*, which was finished by Gene Sessions after Moorman’s death in 1980 and published in 1992.¹⁵²

The division of the Jenson documents into two separate collections reflected how they had been secured. The First Presidency received those items used in the writing of the *History of Utah*; this collection remained closed until the documents were made available for the writing of *Massacre at Mountain Meadows*. The Historian’s Office received Jenson’s rough draft “leftovers” and his later collecting. Until the late 1970s or early 1980s,

many of these documents were housed in collections according to subject, including the Mountain Meadows subject file. Some documents were then filed elsewhere in an effort to reconstitute collections based on authorship. Several documents were placed in a to-be-catalogued Andrew Jenson collection, which was then set aside and largely forgotten.

In 2002, the Jenson material again resurfaced when employees combed through collections looking for massacre references. One of the authors of *Massacre at Mountain Meadows* spent several days closely examining the field notes before realizing their full importance.

We hope readers will recognize Jenson's significant contribution, as well as the First Presidency's foresight in sending him south to gather information on the massacre in January 1892. We are pleased to bring Jenson's Mountain Meadows collection back together again for the first time and to make this rich resource available for further study.¹⁵³

1. Wilford Woodruff, George Q. Cannon, and Joseph F. Smith, "To Whom it may Concern," January 21, 1892, in First Presidency Letterpress Copybooks, 1877–1949, 24:477, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City; George Q. Cannon, Journal, January 21, 1892, Church History Library.

2. Andrew Jenson, Interviews, January–April 1892, Mountain Meadows file, Andrew Jenson Collection, ca. 1871–1942, Church History Library (hereafter cited as AJ1); Andrew Jenson, Interviews, January–February 1892, Church History Library (formerly in possession of the First Presidency; hereafter cited as AJ2).

3. AJ2; AJ1. Because of the predominance of Arkansans in the train, the company massacred at Mountain Meadows came to be known as "the Arkansas company." See, for example, "Lee's Last Confession," *San Francisco Daily Bulletin*, March 24, 1877, 1; "Lee's Confession," *Sacramento Daily Record*, March 24, 1877, 3.

4. George H. Callcott, *History in the United States, 1800–1860: Its Practice and Purpose* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1970), 114–15, quoted in Ronald W. Walker, David J. Whittaker, and James B. Allen, *Mormon History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 14–15.

5. Walker, Whittaker, and Allen, *Mormon History*, 16; Davis Bitton and Leonard J. Arrington, *Mormons and Their Historians* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1988), 41–55; Keith W. Perkins, "Andrew Jenson: Zealous Chronologist" (PhD diss., Brigham Young University, 1974), which formed the basis for an article by the same title in *Supporting Saints: Life Stories of Nineteenth-Century Mormons*, ed. Donald Q. Cannon and David J. Whittaker (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1985), 83–99; Andrew Jenson, *Church Chronology* (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson, 1886); Andrew Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia* (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson, 1888); Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia: A Compilation of Biographical Sketches of Prominent Men and Women in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 4 vols.

(Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson, 1901–36); Andrew Jenson, *Encyclopedic History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1941). Much of this paragraph is drawn from Walker, Whittaker, and Allen, *Mormon History*, 16.

6. Andrew Jenson, Journal, January 21, 22, 1892, Church History Library; *Autobiography of Andrew Jenson* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1938), 197.

7. Woodruff, Cannon, and Smith, “To Whom it may Concern,” January 21, 1892. Wilford Woodruff’s signature appears to have been stamped, not handwritten. The letter, with slight variations, also appears in *Autobiography of Andrew Jenson*, 197–98; Jenson, Journal, January 21, 1892.

8. George Q. Cannon, Journal, January 21, 1892; Abraham H. Cannon, Diary, January 14, 1892, typescript, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, copy at Church History Library; Jenson, Journal, January 22–23, 1892; *Autobiography of Andrew Jenson*, 198. For information on Orson F. Whitney, see Jenson, *Encyclopedic History*, 752–53.

9. George Q. Cannon, Journal, January 21, 1892; Ronald W. Walker, *Qualities That Count: Heber J. Grant as Businessman, Missionary, and Apostle* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 2004), 202–5; “John Q. Cannon ‘News’ Editor Dies of Illness,” *Deseret News*, January 14, 1931, 1, 7. See also “Notice,” *Deseret News*, September 13, 1892, 2.

10. George Q. Cannon, Journal, January 21, 1892.

11. Questions prepared by John Q. Cannon, AJ2.

12. Jenson, Journal, January 23–30, 1892.

13. Elliott Willden to Wilford Woodruff, George Q. Cannon, and Joseph F. Smith, January 29, 1892, Wilford Woodruff General Correspondences Files 1887–98, Church History Library; Jenson, Journal, January 25–30, 1892; Abraham H. Cannon, Diary, January 28, 1892; Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon and Sons, 1892–1904), 3:vi.

14. Jenson, Journal, January 27, 1892.

15. Willden to Woodruff, Cannon, and Smith, January 29, 1892.

16. Abraham H. Cannon, Diary, January 28, 1892; George Q. Cannon, Journal, January 28, 1892.

17. Jenson, Journal, January 28, 1892.

18. George Reynolds to Andrew Jenson and George Reynolds to Elliott Willden, June 8, 1892, First Presidency Letterpress Copybooks, 25:354.

19. Jenson, Journal, January 29–30, 1892; Andrew Jenson, interview with Elliott Willden, January 29, 1892, AJ2; Andrew Jenson, additional interview with Elliott Willden, ca. January 29, 1892, AJ2; Andrew Jenson, undated interview with Elliott Willden, ca. January 29, 1892, AJ2; Elliott Willden, corrections to Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Utah: 1540–1886* (San Francisco: History Company, 1889), 550–59, given to Andrew Jenson, January 28, 1892, AJ2; Elliott Willden’s corrections of Joseph Clewes’s statement, as given to Andrew Jenson, January 28, 1892, AJ2; Questions prepared by John Q. Cannon; Family group record for Elliott Willden and Emma Jane Clews, www.familysearch.org (accessed September 2, 2008); “Mountain Meadows Massacre: Joe Clewes’ Statement Concerning It,” *Salt Lake Daily Herald*, April 5, 1877, republished in Ronald W. Walker, “‘Save the Emigrants’: Joseph Clewes on the Mountain Meadows Massacre,” *BYU Studies* 42, no. 1 (2003): 139–52. Clewes had been sent to Pinto, near Mountain Meadows, as

a courier on the same day as the initial attack and witnessed many of the events leading up to the final killing. Though Clewes's account was published in the *Salt Lake Herald* in 1877, modern historians have largely overlooked it.

20. Jensen, Journal, January 23–31, 1892.

21. Family group record for Charles William Willden and Eleanor Turner, www.familysearch.org (accessed September 2, 2008); "Charles Willden, Sr.," in *Our Pioneer Heritage*, comp. Kate B. Carter, 20 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1958–77), 13:228–29; Jennie Hancock, Charles and Eleanor Turner Willden Biographical Sketches, 1963, Church History Library.

22. William H. Dame, "Organization of the Iron Military District," June 1857, Perry Special Collections; Muster Rolls for Iron Military District, October 10, 1857, U.S. War Department, Utah Territorial Militia Records, 1849–77, Utah State Archives, Salt Lake City, microfilm copy located at Family History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.

23. Charles Willden Sr., deposition, February 18, 1882, AJ2 and Collected Material concerning the Mountain Meadows Massacre, Church History Library; Joseph Fish, *The Life and Times of Joseph Fish, Mormon Pioneer*, ed. John H. Krenkel (Danville, Ill.: Interstate Printers and Publishers, 1970), 57–58. The original Willden deposition is found in the Mountain Meadows subject file, Collected Material concerning the Mountain Meadows Massacre, and has been accessible to researchers for years. Will Bagley quoted from this affidavit in his book *Blood of the Prophets: Brigham Young and the Massacre at Mountain Meadows* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), 116, 407 n. 111.

24. Willden, deposition, February 18, 1882. On Josiah Rogerson, see Josiah Rogerson to the First Presidency of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, March 9, 1905, First Presidency Miscellaneous Documents, 1887–1918, Church History Library.

25. Patriarchal blessing for Mary Campbell, November 30, 1877, in Church History Department, Patriarchal Blessings, 1833–2008, vol. 50, p. 93, Church History Library; Utah, Beaver County, Beaver, 1880 U.S. Census, population schedule, 18; Utah, Beaver County, Beaver, 1900 U.S. Census, population schedule, 20. A family group record for Alexander Campbell and Mary Steele, www.familysearch.org (accessed July 23, 2008), incorrectly identified Mary's birth date as May 7, 1835.

26. Morris A. Shirts and Kathryn H. Shirts, *A Trial Furnace: Southern Utah's Iron Mission* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 2001), 156, 348.

27. Cedar City Ward, Parowan Stake, Relief Society Minute Book, 1856–1875 and 1892, February 4, 1857, Church History Library. Mary and several other women were accepted by vote into the Cedar City Female Benevolent Society on February 4, 1857. The Female Benevolent Society was later renamed the Relief Society.

28. Muster Rolls for Iron Military District, October 10, 1857; W. 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 and Co., 1877), 379–80.

29. Alexander was born January 29, 1854; Mary Jane was born November 1855; and Janet Alexandra was born August 1858. See Cedar City Stake, Record of Children Blessed, 1856–63, Church History Library; family group record for Alexander Campbell and Mary Steele.

30. Family group record for Alexander Campbell and Mary Steele shows John Steele Campbell being born in Beaver on August 15, 1859. This group record lists two other children being born to Alexander and Mary in Beaver during the 1860s.

31. Family group record for Alexander Campbell and Mary Steele.

32. Andrew Jenson, notes of discussion with Mary S. Campbell, January 24, 1892, AJ1; Andrew Jenson, interview with Mary S. Campbell, January 24, 1892, AJ2.

33. Jenson, notes of discussion with Mary S. Campbell; Jenson, interview with Mary S. Campbell.

34. Jenson, notes of discussion with Mary S. Campbell; Jenson, interview with Mary S. Campbell. For another perspective on this statement, see Ronald W. Walker, Richard E. Turley Jr., and Glen M. Leonard, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows: An American Tragedy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 338 n. 16.

35. Jenson, interview with Mary S. Campbell; Jenson, notes of discussion with Mary S. Campbell.

36. Family group record for William Barton and Sarah Esther West, www.familysearch.org (accessed July 23, 2008); Alvaretta Robinson, ed., *They Answered the Call: A History of Minersville, Utah* (Minersville, Utah: Minersville Centennial Committee, 1962), A19. The family group record for William Barton and Sarah Esther West gives the marriage date as 1845. Robinson, *They Answered the Call*, A19, gives the marriage date as 1847.

37. "Barton, William," in Mormon Pioneer Overland Travel, 1847–1868, www.lds.org/churchhistory/library/pioneerdetails/0,15791,4018-1-7300,00.html (accessed July 23, 2008); George Crooks, diary excerpts, in Elna P. Atchison, Genealogical information on the Crooks family, ca. 1955, 15–16, available on Mormon Pioneer Overland Travel, www.lds.org/churchhistory/library/source/0,18016,4976-6251,00.html (accessed July 23, 2008); Andrew Jenson, notes of discussion with William Barton, January 1892, AJ1; Andrew Jenson, interview with William Barton, January 25, 1892, AJ2. Robinson, *They Answered the Call*, A20, is incorrect in its chronology on William Barton's immigration to Utah and settlement in Parowan. More contemporaneous sources and William's statement to Andrew Jenson all place the family's immigration in 1851.

38. Jenson, notes of discussion with William Barton; Muster Rolls for Iron Military District, October 10, 1857.

39. Robinson, *They Answered the Call*, A20–A21; J. Cecil Alter, *Utah: The Storied Domain* (Chicago: American Historical Society, 1932), 3:475–76; family group record for William Barton and Sarah Esther West.

40. Jenson, notes of discussion with William Barton.

41. Jenson, interview with William Barton; Brigham Young, Discourse, August 16, 1857, reported by George D. Watt, in Historian's Office, Reports of Speeches, ca. 1845–85, Church History Library.

42. Jenson, interview with William Barton; Jenson, notes of discussion with William Barton.

43. John H. Henderson, Autobiography, ca. 1909, 1, 18–24, 40, photocopy of typescript, Church History Library; Dame, "Organization of the Iron Military District," June 1857. Henderson's autobiography gives a marriage date of March 10, 1857. Family group record for John Harris Henderson and Cecilia Jane

Carter, www.familysearch.org (accessed September 2, 2008), gives a marriage date of May 10, 1857.

44. Family group record for John Harris Henderson and Cecilia Jane Carter.

45. Andrew Jenson, notes of discussion with John H. Henderson, January 1892, AJ1; Andrew Jenson, Miscellaneous notes, January 1892, AJ2; Andrew Jenson, notes of discussion with Elliott Willden, ca. January 29–30, 1892, AJ1. Under the notes of his discussion with Elliott Willden, Jenson incorrectly attributes information to a Thomas Henderson; comparison with the information given by John Henderson shows that John was in fact the informant.

46. Jenson, notes of discussion with John H. Henderson; Jenson, Miscellaneous notes, January 1892. Although called “the Missouri company,” members of this train also included people from Arkansas and Texas. Henderson incorrectly identified Jesse N. Smith, instead of Jesse’s brother Silas, as leading the Parowan contingent to Beaver to help settle these difficulties. Jenson, notes of discussion with John H. Henderson. In John D. Lee’s first trial, Silas Smith testified that he was the one sent by Dame with ten men to Beaver “to try to relieve them [the Missouri company] of an attack by the Indians.” *United States v. John D. Lee*, first trial, Jacob S. Boreman transcript, 5:223, Jacob S. Boreman Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif. Willson Nowers also identified Silas, not Jesse, as the one sent by Dame. See Andrew Jenson, notes of discussion with Willson G. Nowers, ca. January 28, 1892, AJ1.

47. Jenson, notes of discussion with John H. Henderson.

48. Henderson, *Autobiography*, 53.

49. “John H. Henderson, Pioneer, Is Dead,” *Deseret Evening News*, April 3, 1915, 22.

50. Family group record for Christopher Jones Arthur and Caroline Eliza Haight, www.familysearch.org (accessed September 2, 2008); Frank Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Utah Pioneers Book Publishing, 1913), 723.

51. Andrew Jenson, comp., *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia: A Compilation of Biographical Sketches of Prominent Men and Women in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson History Company, 1901–36), 2:187.

52. Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 2:187; Andrew Jenson, notes of discussion with Christopher J. Arthur, January 1892, AJ1.

53. Family group record for Christopher Jones Arthur and Caroline Eliza Haight; William H. Dame to James Ferguson, August 5, 1857, Utah Territorial Militia Records, Series 2210, Utah State Archives, Salt Lake City; Hamilton Gardner, “The Utah Territorial Militia,” 329, unpublished typescript, ca. 1929, Church History Library; Muster Rolls for Iron Military District, October 10, 1857.

54. Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 2:187; Jenson, *Encyclopedic History*, 122; Evelyn K. Jones and York F. Jones, *Mayors of Cedar City* (Cedar City, Utah: Cedar City Historical Preservation Commission, 1986), 51–54; L. W. Macfarlane, *Yours Sincerely, John M. Macfarlane* (Salt Lake City: By the author, 1980), 55–56.

55. Christopher J. Arthur, *Autobiography and Journal, 1875–1916*, Part 2, p. 33, typescript, Perry Special Collections.

56. Jenson, notes of discussion with Christopher J. Arthur; Andrew Jenson, interview with Christopher J. Arthur, January 26, 1892, AJ2. A Cedar City ordinance provided, "Any Person who shall be guilty of using indecent or obscene language . . . shall be punished by imprisonment not more than three months or by fine not more than one Hundred dollars." "An Ordinance defining Offences against the Public Peace," sec. 3, August 2, 1856, in "Cedar City Ordinances," Document Collection, MS 124, Special Collections, Gerald R. Sherratt Library, Southern Utah University, Cedar City, Utah.

57. Jenson, notes of discussion with Christopher J. Arthur; Jenson, interview with Christopher J. Arthur.

58. Andrew Jenson, interview with Elias Morris, February 2, 1892, AJ2, also in Collected Material concerning the Mountain Meadows Massacre. Joseph Clewes said in his 1877 account, "Morris hurriedly told me that they were going out with an order to save the emigrants and render them all the assistance that could be given." "Joe Clewes' Statement."

59. Jenson, notes of discussion with Christopher J. Arthur; Jenson, interview with Christopher J. Arthur.

60. Macfarlane, *John M. Macfarlane*, 34–35, 37, 39–40, 50. Haight led the 1852 company as far as Kansas City, at which point Abraham O. Smoot assumed leadership for the trek across the plains. Editorial, *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* 14 (March 1, 1852): 73; Macfarlane, *John M. Macfarlane*, 41–43. Haight returned to England, whence he departed for Utah on January 8, 1853. He reached Salt Lake City on August 29, married Annabella Sinclair on October 16, and "started my family for Iron County" on October 17. Isaac C. Haight, Journal, January 8, August 29, October 16–17, 1853, photocopy, Church History Library.

61. Family group record for Daniel Sinclair Macfarlane and Temperance Keturah Haight, www.familysearch.org (accessed September 3, 2008).

62. Macfarlane was appointed sergeant in the militia in June 1857, and on July 28 became adjutant to Company D in Cedar City. Dame, "Organization of the Iron Military District," June 1857; Dame to Ferguson, August 5, 1857.

63. Bishop, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 237.

64. "Lee's Last Confession"; "Lee's Confession."

65. Andrew Jenson, interview with Daniel S. Macfarlane, January 27, 1892, AJ2.

66. Daniel S. Macfarlane, affidavit, June 29, 1896, Collected Material concerning the Mountain Meadows Massacre. Juanita Brooks placed a copy of this affidavit in her 1950 book *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1950), 178–80. Historians have thought that this and several other affidavits were related to the indictment against Higbee. However, the affidavits were made after the indictment was dismissed. It appears, then, that the affidavits were part of an effort to restore Higbee's reputation so that he could reintegrate into the community.

67. Jenson, interview with Daniel S. Macfarlane; Macfarlane, affidavit.

68. Jenson, interview with Daniel S. Macfarlane.

69. Family group record of Wilson Gates Nowers and Sarah Anderson, www.familysearch.org (accessed September 2, 2008); Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 2:39.

70. Reinhard Maeser, *Sketches from Life and Labors of Willson Gates Nowers* (Beaver, Utah: Weekly Press Print, 1914), 14–18.

71. Whitney, *History of Utah*, 4:421–22; family group record of Wilson Gates Nowers and Sarah Anderson; “First Settler of Beaver Dies after Long Illness,” *Deseret Evening News*, May 19, 1922, 3; Thomas Bullock, “Table of distances from G S. L. City to Harmony,” May 1854, copy in Journal History of the Church, May 19, 1854, 4, Church History Library, microfilm copy in Harold B. Lee Library.

72. Whitney, *History of Utah*, 4:422; Jensen, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 2:39; biographical sketch of Willson G. Nowers, Church History Department Biographical Sketches, 1891–2008, Church History Library; Willson G. Nowers, autobiographical sketch fragment, in Jensen Collection.

73. Family group record of Wilson Gates Nowers and Sarah Anderson.

74. Andrew Jensen, notes of discussion with Willson G. Nowers; Willson G. Nowers to Andrew Jensen, January 1892, AJ1.

75. Jensen, notes of discussion with Willson G. Nowers.

76. Nowers to Jensen, January 1892. Nowers identified Silas Smith as the captain in charge of the detail of men that Dame sent to Beaver to assist in resolving the conflict there. Jensen incorrectly changed this to Jesse Smith to agree with what John Henderson had told him. On Tuesday, September 8, Jesse Smith had been sent with Edward Dalton to Pinto to learn more of what was happening at Mountain Meadows. The pair returned on Wednesday. Jesse N. Smith, *Autobiography and Journal*, September 8–9, 1857, Church History Library.

77. Nowers to Jensen, January 1892.

78. Gary D. Young, “Biography of Elliott Willden,” undated, [1–2], Mountain Meadows Massacre Research Files, Church History Library.

79. Family group record for Elliott Willden and Emma Jane Clews; Walker, “Save the Emigrants,” 139–52. Several sources spell Willden’s first name as *Elliot* or *Elliott*. He signed his name as *Ellott* in two letters addressed to Church headquarters in 1892. Willden to Woodruff, Cannon, and Smith, January 29, 1892; Elliott Willden to George Reynolds, June 16, 1892, Woodruff General Correspondence Files. Emma’s surname is alternately spelled *Clewes* and *Clews*. See Walker, “Save the Emigrants,” 141 n. 4.

80. Dame, “Organization of the Iron Military District,” June 1857; Muster Rolls for Iron Military District, October 10, 1857.

81. Young, “Biography of Elliott Willden,” [2]; Brigham Young to C. Willden, January 22, 1867, Letterpress Copybook 9:358, Brigham Young, Office Files, Church History Library; Jensen, *Encyclopedic History*, 161–62.

82. “Pioneer Musician Is Laid to Final Rest,” *Deseret News*, October 9, 1920, 9. For references to Willden as a musician, see Robert Glass Cleland and Juanita Brooks, eds., *A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee, 1848–1876*, 2 vols. (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1955), 1:228, entry dated December 21, 1859; George K. Bowering, *Journal*, August 23, 1869, Church History Library.

83. Historian’s Office Journal, August 28, 1876, Church History Library; “An Assassin Arrested,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, August 29, 1876, 4; *People v. Elliott Willden*, Utah Territory, Second Judicial District Court, commitment papers, filed October 4, 1876, Criminal case file 36, Utah Second District Court Criminal Case Files, 1874–77, Series 24291, Utah State Archives; Minute Book B, 1869–81, pp. 433–38, Utah, Second District Court (Beaver County), Court Records, 1865–81, film no. 485241, Family History Library, original at Southern Utah University, microfilm copy at Utah State Archives, and photocopy at Church History Library; Minute

Book 1, 1874–77, pp. 57, 444–45, 481, 494, 662, 787, Utah, Second District Court (Beaver County), Court Records, 1865–81, film no. 485239, Family History Library, original at Utah State Archives.

84. “Pioneer Musician Is Laid to Final Rest”; family group record for Elliott Willden and Emma Jane Clews; family group record for Elliott Willden and Christiana Brown, www.familysearch.org (accessed September 3, 2008).

85. Jenson, notes of discussion with Elliott Willden; Andrew Jenson, manuscript corrections to Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Utah*, ca. January 1892, AJ1; Elliott Willden’s corrections to Joseph Clewes’s statement; Elliott Willden, corrections to Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Utah*; Jenson, interview with Elliott Willden; Jenson, additional interview with Elliott Willden; Jenson, undated interview with Elliott Willden.

86. Jenson, interview with Elliott Willden; Jenson, undated interview with Elliott Willden; Jenson, notes of discussion with Elliott Willden. In Willden’s discussions with Andrew Jenson, he identified only Josiah Reeves as traveling with him to the Meadows. Mary Campbell “overheard John M. Higbee giving orders to Benjamin Arthur, Elliot Wildon and another young man to go to the Meadows.” Jenson, notes of discussion with Mary S. Campbell. David Tullis, who was working at Hamblin’s Ranch at the time, “Remembers Benj. Arthur and Elliott Willden and Reeves with message or note from Cedar, telling of their sauciness. This was before company arrived.” Andrew Jenson, notes of discussion with David W. Tullis, ca. April 8, 1892, AJ1.

87. Family group record for Samuel Dennis White and Mary Hannah Burton, www.familysearch.org (accessed September 1, 2008); *Pioneer Women of Faith and Fortitude*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: International Society Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1998), 4:3336.

88. *Pioneer Women of Faith and Fortitude*, 4:3337.

89. Andrew Jenson, notes of discussion with Mary H. White, January 24, 1892, AJ1; Andrew Jenson, interview with Mary H. White, January 24, 1892, AJ2.

90. Dame, “Organization of the Iron Military District,” June 1857; Jenson, notes of discussion with Mary H. White; Jenson, interview with Mary H. White.

91. Bishop, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 213–59, 380.

92. Jenson, notes of discussion with Mary H. White; Jenson, interview with Mary H. White.

93. Joel White, testimony, *United States v. John D. Lee*, first trial, Boreman transcript, 3:119–34, 4:3–24; Joel White, testimony, *United States v. John D. Lee*, second trial, Boreman transcript, 1:15–18.

94. Family group record for Samuel Dennis White and Mary Hannah Burton; *Pioneer Women of Faith and Fortitude*, 4:3337.

95. Family group record for Elias Morris and Mary Parry, www.familysearch.org (accessed September 2, 2008); Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:636–37; Cedar City Stake, General Minutes, October 24, 1856, Church History Library.

96. “Bishop Elias Morris,” *Deseret Evening News*, March 17, 1898, 4; Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:637–39.

97. Jenson, interview with Elias Morris.

98. Jenson, interview with Elias Morris; in this issue, see 99 n. 1.

99. For a complete copy of all the materials in Jenson's collection, see *Mountain Meadows Massacre Documents: The Andrew Jenson and David H. Morris Collections* (Provo, Utah: BYU Studies, forthcoming).

100. Jenson, Journal, February 1–3, 1892.

101. Wilford Woodruff, Journal, February 13, 1892, Church History Library.

102. Franklin D. Richards, Journal, February 13, 1892, Church History Library. For the membership of the reading committee, see Richards, Journal, September 11, 1891; George Q. Cannon, Journal, January 28, 1892; Whitney, *History of Utah*, 1:iv.

103. Abraham H. Cannon, Diary, February 19, 1892.

104. "The History of Utah," *Deseret News*, May 21, 1892, 4.

105. George Reynolds to Andrew Jenson and George Reynolds to Elliott Willden, June 8, 1892, First Presidency, Letterpress Copybooks 25:354. While Willden was pleased to get the cash, he reminded the First Presidency he was also owed a set of Whitney's historical volumes. Willden to Reynolds, June 16, 1892, Woodruff General Correspondence Files.

106. *Autobiography of Andrew Jenson*, 198–99.

107. According to Jenson's journal, he visited the Robinson family at the end of February 1892; so Robinson's statement can best be dated late February or early March 1892. Jenson, Journal, February 28, 1892.

108. Family group record for Richard Smith Robinson and Elizabeth Wootton, www.familysearch.org (accessed July 24, 2008); Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 3:221.

109. Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 3:221; Harriet R. Judd, "Biograph[y] of Richard S. Robinson and Wives," International Daughters of Utah Pioneers, Salt Lake City.

110. "Robinson, Richard Smith," in Mormon Pioneer Overland Travel, 1847–1868, www.lds.org/churchhistory/library/pioneerdetails/0,15791,4018-1-4279,00.html (accessed July 24, 2008); Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 3:221.

111. Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 3:221; family group record of Richard Smith Robinson and Elizabeth Wootton.

112. Muster Rolls for Iron Military District, October 10, 1857; Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 3:222; Jenson, *Encyclopedic History of the Church*, 388, 656–57.

113. Richard Robinson, testimony, *United States v. John D. Lee*, first trial, Boreman transcript, 5:319–24.

114. Family group record for Richard Smith Robinson and Elizabeth Wootton.

115. Andrew Jenson notes of discussion with Richard S. Robinson, ca. March 1892, AJ1; "Joe Clewes' Statement."

116. Jenson, Journal, March 28, 1892.

117. Biographical sketch of Samuel Knight, Church History Department Biographical Sketches; Arthur Knight Hafen, "A Sketch of the Life of Samuel Knight, 1832–1910: Frontiersman, Indian Missionary, Early Dixie Pioneer and Churchman," typescript, Daughters of Utah Pioneers; William G. Hartley, *"They Are My Friends": A History of the Joseph Knight Family, 1825–1850* (Provo, Utah: Grandin Book, 1986), 51–62.

118. Florence C. Youngberg, ed., *Conquerors of the West: Stalwart Mormon Pioneers* (Salt Lake City: Sons of Utah Pioneers, 1999), 2:1357–58; Hafen, “Sketch of the Life of Samuel Knight”; biographical sketch of Samuel Knight.

119. “Knight, Samuel,” in Mormon Pioneer Overland Trail, 1847–68, www.lds.org/churchhistory/library/pioneerdetails/0,15791,4018-1-104,00.html (accessed July 24, 2008); Hafen, “Sketch of the Life of Samuel Knight”; Robert Hafen Briggs, “Researching Samuel Knight: A Preliminary Study” (unpublished paper written for the Swiss Days Celebration and Samuel Knight Reunion, September 21–23, 2001, Santa Clara, Utah), 12, copy in Mountain Meadows Massacre Research Files; Robert Hafen Briggs, “The Missing Memoir of Samuel Knight: A Preliminary Study” (unpublished paper written for the Swiss Days Celebration and Samuel Knight Reunion, September 21–23, 2001, Santa Clara, Utah), 3, copy in Mountain Meadows Massacre Research Files; Robert H. Briggs, “The Life and Times of Samuel Knight, 1832–1910,” 59, undated typescript, Mountain Meadows Massacre Research Files; Pearl Hunt Rogers, “The Life of Caroline Justina Be[c]k Knight,” 1, undated typescript, Daughters of Utah Pioneers; Joyce Wittwer Whitaker, comp. and ed., *Santa Clara, Utah—“A Blossom in the Desert”* (St. George, Utah: Santa Clara Historical Society, 2003), 133–39.

120. Hafen, “Sketch of the Life of Samuel Knight”; Rogers, “Life of Caroline Justina Be[c]k Knight,” 1–2; Robert H. Briggs, “Samuel Knight and Events Incident to the Utah War 1857–1858: A Preliminary Study,” (unpublished paper written for the Swiss Days Celebration and Samuel Knight Reunion, September 21–23, 2001, Santa Clara, Utah), 4, Mountain Meadows Massacre Research Files; “Caroline Beck Knight,” [3–4], undated typescript, Daughters of Utah Pioneers; Andrew Jenson, notes of discussion with Samuel Knight, ca. March 28, 1892, AJ1; Samuel Knight, testimony, *United States v. John D. Lee*, second trial, Boreman transcript, 1:19.

121. Samuel Knight, testimony, *United States v. John D. Lee*, second trial, Boreman transcript 1:19.

122. Andrew Jenson, notes of interview with Samuel Knight; Abraham H. Cannon, Diary, June 13, 1895.

123. Jenson, notes of interviews with Samuel Knight; Abraham H. Cannon, Diary, June 13, 1895.

124. Samuel Knight, testimony, *United States v. John D. Lee*, second trial, Boreman transcript 1:25–26, 28–29. Nephi Johnson also claimed to see Knight occupied with his horses during the massacre. See Nephi Johnson, testimony, *United States v. John D. Lee*, second trial, Boreman transcript, 1:62–63.

125. “Lee’s Last Confession”; “Lee’s Confession.”

126. Abraham H. Cannon, Diary, June 13, 1895; Samuel Knight, testimony, *United States v. John D. Lee*, second trial, Boreman transcript, 1:18–32; Jenson, notes of interview with Samuel Knight; Samuel Knight, affidavit, August 11, 1904, First Presidency Cumulative Correspondence, 1900–49, Church History Library.

127. Jenson, notes of interview with Samuel Knight.

128. Jenson, Journal, April 7–9, 1892.

129. Biographical sketch of David W. Tullis, Church History Department Biographical Sketches. On Tullis’s call to the Indian mission, see T. H. Haskell to George A. Smith, October 6, 1858, George A. Smith Papers, Church History Library; Thomas D. Brown, Diary, May 1, 1854, Church History Library.

130. Andrew Jenson, notes of discussion with D. W. Tullis, ca. April 8, 1892, AJ1; James Lynch, affidavit, July 27, 1859, in U.S. Congress, Senate, *Message of the President of the United States, Communicating, In Compliance with a Resolution of the Senate, Information in Relation to the Massacre at Mountain Meadows, and Other Massacres in Utah Territory*, 36th Congress, 1st sess., 1860, S. Doc. 42, 83; John [James] Lynch, "The Mountain Meadows Massacre," *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, May 31, 1859; James Lynch, affidavit, July 27, 1859, enclosed in S. H. Montgomery to A. B. Greenwood, August 17, 1859, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, Utah Superintendency Papers, National Archives Microfilm Publications 234, National Archives, Washington, D.C., microfilm copy located at Church History Library.

131. Wm. H. Rogers, "The Mountain Me[a]dows Massacre," *Valley Tan*, February 29, 1860, 2. Rogers incorrectly identified Tullis as Carl Shirts, while Jacob Forney identified him as "David Tulis." When the Rogers and Forney interviews are compared, it is apparent that they both deal with the same individual. Since Tullis was living at Jacob Hamblin's ranch in 1857 and Shirts lived in Harmony, it would seem that Forney correctly identified the man. See J. Forney to A. B. Greenwood, August 1859, in Senate, *Message of the President*, Doc. 42, 76–77.

132. J. Forney to A. B. Greenwood, September 22, 1859, in Senate, *Message of the President*, Doc. 42, 86.

133. Jenson, notes of discussion with D. W. Tullis.

134. Leila M. Bradford, "David Wilson Tullis," [n.d.], 4, Mountain Meadows Massacre Research Files.

135. *Pioneer Women of Faith and Fortitude*, 4:3165–66.

136. In 1883, Tullis was stationed in his native Fife, Scotland. See David Wilson Tullis, Journal, August 1882–December 1883, typescript, Church History Library; David W. Tullis to John Taylor, August 10, 1882, First Presidency, Missionary Calls and Recommendations, 1877–1918, Church History Library.

137. Alice died on July 12, 1883, at Pinto. See *Pioneer Women of Faith and Fortitude*, 4:3165.

138. Youngberg, *Conquerors of the West*, 2600–2602.

139. Individual record for Jesse Nathaniel Smith, www.familysearch.org (accessed September 2, 2008); Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:316.

140. Smith, Autobiography and Journal, August 15–September 9, 1857; Jesse N. Smith, journal extracts, August–September 1857, copied by Andrew Jenson, AJ1. See also Jesse N. Smith, testimony, *United States v. John D. Lee*, first trial, Boreman transcript, 5:214–15.

141. Jenson, *Encyclopedic History of the Church*, 780, 802.

142. During February 1894, Jenson actively gathered historical information in the Snowflake Stake. He visited several communities but "did the bulk of my historical labors at Snowflake where I was the guest of Pres. Smith." *Autobiography of Andrew Jenson*, 216.

143. It is not known precisely when the journal was given to the Historian's Office. Notations in the manuscript journal indicate that Alice M. Rich, a Historian's Office employee, was preparing a typescript copy of the document in 1933. Smith, Autobiography and Journal, 32, 250. In 1953, the Jesse N. Smith Family

Association acknowledged that the volume had been filed with the Church. *Journal of Jesse Nathaniel Smith: The Life Story of a Mormon Pioneer, 1834–1906* (Salt Lake City: Jesse N. Smith Family Association, 1953), viii.

144. *Journal of Jesse Nathaniel Smith*.

145. Biographical sketch of John Chatterley, Church History Department Biographical Sketches; family group record for John Chatterley and Sarah Whittaker, www.familysearch.org (accessed September 2, 2008); “Chatterly, John,” in *Mormon Pioneer Overland Travel, 1847–68*, <http://www.lds.org/churchhistory/library/pioneerdetails/0,15791,4018-1-7741,00.html> (accessed September 2, 2008). The family group record lists his birth date and place as July 3, 1835, in Salford, Lancashire, England.

146. Family group record for John Chatterley and Sarah Whittaker.

147. Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah*, 801; biographical sketch of John Chatterley, Church History Department Biographical Sketches.

148. John Chatterley to Andrew Jens[o]n, September 18, 1919, AJ1; James H. Martineau to Susan [Martineau], May 3, 1876, James Henry Martineau Collection, Church History Library.

149. Chatterley to Jens[o]n, September 18, 1919. For a list without Chatterley’s name, see Bishop, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 379–80.

150. Listed in roughly the chronological order of their composition, the First Presidency collection includes Joseph Clewes’s statement as printed in the *Salt Lake Semi-Weekly Herald*, April 7, 1877 (the Church History Library does not have the *Salt Lake Semi-Weekly Herald* for April 7, 1877; however, the statement also appeared in the *Salt Lake Daily Herald*, April 5, 1877, which is available in the Church History Library), and Elliott Willden’s January 28, 1892, corrections to the Clewes statement; Charles Willden Sr., affidavit, February 18, 1882; questions posed by John Q. Cannon as Jensen began his fact-finding trip to southern Utah, and the answers Jensen compiled after his return to Salt Lake City; Jensen interview with Mary S. Campbell, January 24, 1892; Jensen interview with Mary H. White, January 24, 1892; Jensen interview with William Barton, January 25, 1892; Jensen interview with Christopher J. Arthur, January 26, 1892; Jensen, notes of discussion with Daniel S. Macfarlane, [January 27, 1892]; Jensen interview with Daniel S. Macfarlane, January 27, 1892; Elliott Willden’s January 28, 1892, corrections to Hubert H. Bancroft’s history of the massacre; Jensen interviews with Elliott Willden, ca. January 28–30, 1892; a few pages of Jensen’s miscellaneous notes; and Jensen’s interview with Elias Morris, February 2, 1892.

151. Whitney, *History of Utah*, 1:692.

152. Donald R. Moorman with Gene A. Sessions, *Camp Floyd and the Mormons: The Utah War* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1992).

153. Woodruff, Cannon, and Smith, “To Whom it may Concern,” January 21, 1892; *Autobiography of Andrew Jensen*, 197–98.

**Selections from
the Andrew Jenson Collection**



Mary S. Campbell, Jan. 24, 1892
 an apt lady, who
 resided in Cedar City in 1857 and her
 company arrived when they heard that they
 had possession of the meadows and began to pass
 through Mullard's camp, and that this made the
 Indians mad, that they also brought a herd of
 cattle along that they intended to take with
 the meadows and fatten for the soldiers, hence the
 people began to expect. Before they
 arrived here, Isaac & Clayton preaching the
 gospel, and in alluding to their
 stock, said we wanted your stock and the
 intention was to get the stock away
 from them. The rumors ran through the
 people, and they were prepared. When finally
 company they insulted the people, the chief
 who they would do, particularly a man on
 a grey horse was the most land wanted
 mother of the lot. No intimation was
 made or told to all them. The company
 simply passed through and bought some
 horses. Then passed on to the meadows
 and the report came in that they had
 stopped there and intended to stop there
 there, just as they had said they would for
 the meadows. One evening John Campbell
 overheard 19th St. Heber going orders to
 Benjamin Archer, Elliot Weldon and
 another young man to go to the meadows
 and burn them to move on, as the
 Indians intended to do 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 ~~mouth~~ the mouthed of the lot. No intimation was made at all to kill them. The company simply passed through, and bought some provisions. 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 ~~Benjamin 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 I shall learn afterwards the
 name of the man who brought the
 Indians to the mouth of the
 John M. Hylbee, John D. Lee, and
 passed by the end of the river to the
 bottom where the Indians
 were camped and held a consultation
 with them. ~~Then~~ On the evening the
 Indians squaws came onto the fort
 and the Indians left for the Meadows;
 the squaws saw the Indians were going
 to kill the "Mescaleros". The Indians
 started at once. After that an In-
 dian messenger came in every day for
 several days and called on John B. Hays.
 Finally a council was held, Bro Campbell
 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 skeletons, milk
 pans, churns, etc. goods taken to the
 killing office. afterwards sold by auction
 and bought by the people generally. The pro-
 ceeds was afterwards, or part of it, brought
 up to Red Lake City and offered to Fred Gunn,

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; the squaws said the Indians were going to kill the “Mericates.” The Indians started at once. After that an Indian messenger came in every day for several days and called on Isaac C Haight, Finally a council was held, Bro Campbe being in that, but he did not tell his wife, and this 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 skellets milk pans, churns, etc. goods taking to the tithing office; afterwards sold by auction and bought by the people generally. The proceeds 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 (3)
 and the cattle were put in the corral
 and afterwards Alessandro Ingram afterwards
 to fall sick & lay in bed for a long time but when Brad
 came out when stock it was his order to turn
 rations and covers, etc, sold also by
 auction. Gee's women wore the killed
 woman's clothing and jewelry. One girl
 supposed to be nine years old in the charge
 of Dukes who in meeting a man
 in ~~Bedar~~ ^{Bedar} exclaimed: there go the man
 who killed my father. This girl was
 afterwards disappeared (here only 17 years
 to Forney. Nearly all the children remaining
 in Cedar are fleeing. Dukes has
 2 Mrs. Ingram 1. Gee 2 at least
 and the rest in other families. Afterwards
 delivered to Forney. After the massacre
 Mrs. Leach's men sent around an ominous
 upon the people to keep their mouths closed.
 Example: If you see a dead man lying
 or you find a dead, you must not tell
 but go about your business. The people of
 Cedar was aware of the whites being guilty
 and hence cautioned to be ~~carefully~~ ^{carefully} silent from
 the first. The reports reached Cedar daily about
 the progress in the West was 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

(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
 afterwards disappeared (hence only 17 given:
 to Forney. Nearly all the children remained
 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 cautioned to be ~~caref~~ silent from
 the first. The <reports> reaching Cedar daily about
 the progress in the Meadows 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 Harlow had returned to
 Exeter. He told the public what
 Ben Young had told him to say
 No ^{cheap houses} houses but hurry on our
 his flight to let the pilgrims pass
 and not molest them.

Shawnee 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 down] Seventies 593

Mrs. Mary B. White widow of 66.
 Samuel G. White and now 73
 years old, residing in Beaver, testi-
 fied in the presence of Aaron Jensen
 and her son, Charles G. White Jan.
 24, 1892, that she remembers the
 Kansas Company passing through Ham-
 ilton Fort, when she then lived in the
 latter part of August, 1867; they began
 butter milk and made trades with
 Bro White a milk for a horse, who
 was afterwards seen in possession of the
 Indians. White was a member of the
 High Council, 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 Fort and camped
 at Quitsampany, about 6 miles
 south west of Hamilton Fort; when
 camped there, for several days, a
 good place to recruit their animals.
 White traded the company there and
 traded the horse, and some of the Indians
 men also camped at the bottom, some
 of them came to camp and conferred
 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

Mary H. White

[p. 1]

Mrs. Mary H. White, widow after¹ Samuel D. White, and now 73 years old, residing in Beaver, testified in the presence of Andrew Jenson and her son, Charles D. White Jan. 24, 1892, that she remember the Arkansas company passing through Hamiltons Fort, where she then lived, in the latter part of August, 1857; they begged butter milk, and traded traded with Bro White a mule for a horse, which was afterwards seen in possession of the Indians. White was a member of the High Council, 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 Quitsampaugh, about 6 miles southwest of Hamiltons Fort; while camped there, for several days, a 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 company, 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. After-
 wards White told Isaac & Wright
 what he had done, and Wright
 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. Later White remembered some
 of the company goods in the
 trading office ^{cellar} at Cedar. Later
 when ~~John~~ ^{John} hadland spent a sleepless
 night, when they were informed that
 the company would be destroyed. And
 after it was done, everything was
 silence, not to speak about it
 and not to talk about it to any one. Later
 White bought a ~~new~~ little girl's dress
 from an Indian, who had belonged
 to an company 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.

[*verso of p. 1*]

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 C Haight what he had done, and Haight appeared to be angry and told White he wished they would let Indians alone. It was soon after the massac[r]e had taken place that the other company passed through, taking the Black Ridge road. Sister White remembers some of the emigrant 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 girls dress from an Indian, that had belonged to an emigrant 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.

Barcroft Corrections: Thursday
 Pag 350 It was as early as ~~Wednesday~~
 day as ~~Thursday~~ ^{Friday} that the migrants from
 went into camp at the decision

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

The attackers did not build parapets
 (Glover is mistaken also is mistaken about
 the distance between the spring where Lee was
 camped and the migrant camp.
 Barcroft is right)

Lee was alone on the point on ~~Thursday~~
 Monday. It is apparent that no other whites
 were with him until Wednesday, when
 fifteen men came up, and also from from
 the south. (The names in Lees' Conference)

Besides shooting in the day, there ~~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 camped and the emigrant camp.)
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 pag 332

B. His contradictory evidence right, but
"supper first" matters all wrong. Saw
E. Hays no game at no game on
the game till morning after the massacre.

Hamblen's rancho at the ~~extreme~~
north end of the Meadows

The militia was ordered ^{nearly 1/2} mile
from camp, (not 200 yards) militia
in single, not in double file,
so that the wagons could pass on
the front or rear side of them.

When militia was reached the men
halted a little while but the women
continued the march after the wagon (two
of the women men walked along). Here
Wheeler disordered orders in not giving
the signal "halt", which (indeed)
the men "do your duty" was the signal
to let the whole pass by the place where
the Indians lay and the point which had
been agreed on at the point of attack, thus
making the Indians mad, who thought it

[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
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
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, Hyatt
~~was there~~ but this in spite of
 a last chance to receive orders con-
 firming the fatal order. Lee after
 having scolded Hyatt for his delay
 after the company had passed about
 1/4 of a mile further the men
 agreed upon. Hyatt reluctantly
 almost terrorized gave the fatal
 order "halt", upon which the
 Indians, who had been moving
 quietly (see other slip). Some of
 the soldiers were not armed
 (among them Willard and Benjamin
 Smith),

1454-1455 of 1456
 341

[*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
 almost terrored gave the fatal
 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 down*] South Jordan, <[illegible]> 341

1. The “other slip” is on the following page.

Bancroft. pag 352.

+ Welden says: Glynn did not obey
order at this point, hoping the order
must be countermanded. The Indians
in the meantime became very uneasy
and kept approaching on all fours. I
anxious to do their work of destruction.
While emigrants were allowed to pass
by about 4 miles further that plan
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 $\frac{1}{4}$ mile further that place agreed upon

Bancroft 553,

Half an hour later as the women
 emigrants passing Sam Grant
 men stopped a few moments with
 the women and large children moved
 on, but soon again took up line
 of march, with militia on the
 right or each side and emigrants
 on the left. The killing commenced
 after the women had passed by
 making the ambushade, and
 the killing commenced as none
 escaped of those who marched
 out. Two or three had escaped
 during the night and time
 and had started for California
 they were however, overtaken and
 killed by Indians on the muddy
 traveling in fact towards California.
 Two Americans in disguise among
 them who killed the women
 though the women are reported to
 have fallen ~~29 of~~ ~~confound~~

[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
 of march, with militia on the
 right or east side and emigrants
 on the west, The killing commenced
 after the women had passed ¼
 mile past the ambuscade, and
 the killig commenced. as None
 escaped of those who marched
 out. Two or three had escaped
 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 down] Springfield III. 680

Page 554, It is supposed they
 only a ^{very} few, of any ~~scarcely~~ ^{scarcely} worth
 both Indians. ~~Those who helped~~
 him the dear remembrance nothing
 of the kind. And in the spring
 that no ~~scarcely~~ ^{scarcely} worth ~~the~~, and
 that no ~~boomer~~ ^{boomer} ~~miller~~
 only so far as it had been done
 in the killing. Only one child
 known to be killed, another was
 carried off by its father, as ~~Boomer~~
 state, but by a German, who saved
 somewhat this child. It was known
 as a German, as he talked freely
 with some of the militia as he
 passed along. The wagon was
 perhaps 12 miles north of where the
 militia was, at time of Kelley.

Springfield, Pa. 599

[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 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 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 down*] Springfield. Ill 899

Page 335:

See our associate after killing
went to supper at Hamilton's ranch
~~for~~ ^{with} them nearly sundown. ~~See~~
~~but~~ the dead horses ~~were~~ ^{were} more
many, as spades and other digging
implements had to be taken from the
ranch could be dug; many of the
horses gotten at Empress camp
down ~~near~~ ^{to} of militia went from
the next morning and not back to
help bury the dead. During the
killing, Wm. B. Glenard, disobeys
order (also Joel White) and ran
after some of the company who
did not fall at first firing, who run
next to escape. Instead of letting the
horsemen finish them up as Glenard
Glenard and White ran after them and
overtook them several hundred yards
from the militia. About three or four
only took and run. Running this of,
White came 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 morning, 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
~~stop~~ by the command. The ^{supposed} reason
 why the three or four men escaped
 was that some of the militia men
 fell in the air, namely L. Hall
 & the foreman thought. More
 militia men than emigrant men.

Shaw-Jordan 9/13

[*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 down*] South Jordan 343

Page 436. not humanly manner
 nor scalped, the dead not
 dragged to ravines, but in graves
 about 3 ^{to 4} feet deep, ~~the~~ graves
 dug right in the spot, about 3 or four
 in each grave. Lack of tools and the
 hard ground prevented graves
 from being made deeper, not
 from the grave opening by frost
 floods, but no doubt, may have
 been unearthed some. It is supposed
 that all the bodies
 were unearthed by men, even
 the ones in the company's burial then
 cells 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 (Frederick)
Hullis

Page 559. The man committed
for murder in Camp Floyd was
not ~~there~~ any other who par-
ticipated in the M. N. affair.

Spencer 21 602

[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 down] Springfield Ill 602

Welden
 Arkansas Company passed
 through before not later than the
 28th of August (Cor. Welden 2, 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
 that Sade was killed by McFarlan
 from his own statement to him
 and the other H. afterwards and
 the bodies of the other two being
 carried away. Sade was
 killed in broad daylight and
 the other two in the night as
 stated by Klingenstein and could
 go through the Meadows. McFarlan
 was on with the company. This
 was on the Wednesday, Sade killed
 on Monday, or perhaps Tuesday.

Elliott 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

W. It was understood by Welden
 and others who form members
 all measure that they were
 on some occasions on some
 the whole justifying the Indians
 being let loose upon the campsite
 but this was not so. It was taken
 place until the reaction of the
 Elders, when the opportunity for
 such an attack was more
 evident. The affair certainly
 was not with propriety, and
 the killing was by the Indians. After
 that it seems to become necessary
 to kill all to silence the rest, hence
 the Star Park Council and other
 councils in Barren 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 dilemma

Welden Conf.

The earth, 2 yokes to each man,
 their hands, the nations in
 from the Meadows to the Garden
 City, ~~one~~ ~~turn~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~land~~
 our route to the Hamilton Port
 Range, to range about Hamilton
 where they would be out of the
 way and not be identified
 by Duke's Missouri Company
 this was expedient to pass
 through with ease, 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 DeKamps Company at Bern
 Creek on the 25 of August when
 it did not pass through Cedar Lake
 than the 28 of August? Geo. A.
 Smith must be mistaken about dates

[p. 4]

[*The following notes are not clearly identified as deriving from Andrew Jensen's interviews with Elliott 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.

Parowan

The Arkhamas Company passed
 through Parowan and camped
 over night ~~at the~~ on the flat
 below what is locally known
 as Barton's Spring about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile
 southwest of the center of Parowan.
 After traveling from Parajonah to
 Parowan several of the citizens near
 them make use of the most terrible
 oaths. One man calling his ox
 Bryan, denouncing him as a
 rhyemaster etc. Arsonist & such
 of which. Thomas Henderson
 remembers that 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 $\frac{3}{4}$ 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 others²

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

The plan was that
 the Indians should up attack
 the company until they got down
 on the Santa Clara and then
 the white men should be
 killed, 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~~ ^{According to} statements of
 General and Captain Sherman, the
 break was made because General
 was told the Indians back. This
 was known before the break was
 made, that is the Santa Clara affair.
 Hence the boys at Hamilton's were
 advised to leave of the attack on Monday
 morning. General was with General
 expressed to General to keep the Indians back
 but the break was made before the order
 got to the Indians on Monday. The
 original plan was to kill half the
 Indians near to attack on Santa Clara
 instead of the entire authority over the
 the Indians in Texas because of their
 profanity.

[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 Hyber and
 Klingensmuth is so to the persons
 not done in Council, and Hyber
 did claim to act under orders from
 Haught and Lee. A number of
 Councils were held.

Deseret, June 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

~~It cannot be ascertained~~

[*verso of p. 7*]

~~It can not be ascernd, S~~

~~It is~~ ~~Conspicuous~~

~~It is understood that he is
his confessor, who he
alludes to his own tender-hearted
ness, misrepresents it is well
known that he 'Wm. C. Howard
Kleigensmith' ~~Joe. W.~~ over
the poor blood-thirsty. McMurdo
and Jan. Knight are believers that
they would not have taken this
part and therefore indeed the case
with the majority of the men
who participate. Howard
Kleigensmith is a man who has kept
in the ground, and is now
out in obedience to the order
that they should be dead
it all to the on the part of~~

[p. 8]

Confidential

It is

It is understood that Lee, in his confession, which he alludes to his own tender-heartedness, 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.

Wm. Barton, who resides near Red
 Butte, on the ~~the~~ through ~~the~~ ~~the~~
 Butte, came West in 1831, and located
 in Barren, in November, 1831, lived
 there in 1837. Remember the Sikanas
 Company passed through, Barton was a
 Counselor to Bp. Wells. ~~A council was~~
 After company passed through they
 heard that the company had got into
 trouble with the Indians or the Meadows
 and that Wm. the same laid themselves
 before a council of brethren, in which it
 was decided to aid the company against
 the Indians, if the company of course
 called for aid; otherwise they would
 let them fight it out with the Indians.
 Later Jesse Smith and Edward Dalton
 were sent to Pinto to ascertain how
 things were moving with the Meadows, and
 returned disgraced with what was ²⁵ ~~being~~
~~done~~ on, and they said that they were ~~the~~
 not taking up the attitude toward the em-
 grants. The night after their re-
 turn, Isaac B. Knight and Elias Morris
 came up to Barren from Cedar to
 confer with Col. Darn about the situation.
 A council was called at Bro. Darn's
 house, and attended by Col. Darn, E. 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 immigrants 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 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. Dames house, and attended by Col Dame, E. Morris

James H. Manning
 Isaac C. Haigh & Jesse K. Smith, ②
 Calvin C. Pennington, Elijah New-
 man and Carlton Lewis, Jorhar
 council a proposition made by Penning-
 ton adopted to the effect, that a compa-
 ny should be sent out from Barman
~~at that time~~ to call the Indians of Gather
 up the stock for the company, and let
 them continue their journey in peace.
 The council then dismissed, but later
 with same ^{occasion} a consultation of three
 consisting of J. C. Haigh, Wm. B. Skene
 and another man. Was held ~~on the~~ by
 the bar going to the Barman fort near
 The three sat upon a pile of bark hence
 known as certain circles as the "Tan
 Bark Council." Right then and there
 the whole program and plan was
 changed, and it was decided to destroy
 the whole company. Those Barton
 saw the three in consultation himself
 but heard nor what was said, but those
 C. Haigh afterwards told Barton
 that that was the decision and the
 Haigh said "There to Barton after-
 ward" then is when we did wrong
 and I never give a word if I say
 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 these
 three men has taken place ~~either~~
~~about~~ Wednesday the 9th. Jimmie
 deals off that consultation of
 these ^{before daylight} Haight and Morris start
 back to Cedar, and Wm. H. Daine
 afterwards. Daine, accompanied
 by James Ferris, Bison Lewis and
^{Barney} Carter, went on an express to
 the Meadows for the purpose of
 putting a stop to the massacre. Bro
 Daine having repented of what he had
 agreed to do, but these four men
 arrived at the Meadows too late,
 the deer having then already been
 gone. They then went from Barona
 in the massacre. The only men that
 went to the Meadows from Barona in
 the express consists of the four
 men named.

876 ~~express~~ ~~consists~~

(3)

of the council; but alas it is too late. The consultation of these three must have taken place ~~either~~ about Wednesday the 9th. Immediately 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 down] ~~Graves, Reuben, 768:~~

Sam Knight thinks John D. Lee's statement ^{about} ~~CHMA~~
 about the killing of the woman was correct.
 Knight lived at ~~Hamlin~~ ^{Hamlin} Ranch his family there;
 with just confiner Aug. 6, next; K. received order
 from Cedar City to go and counsel the Indians
 on the ~~blame~~ ^{blame} responsible ^{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 Cedar City} who was waiting for them ^{to meet them} expecting
 they had brought the Indians up with them. He told them
 about the money affair and should build holes through
 his clothes and hats; he had seen the attack with
 Indians gathered by him around Hamlin. Disappointed
 at not seeing Indians with K. & L., for he had expected force
 with which to prevent the attack the next morning (Tuesday).
 One Indian from Cedar came a message. In the final
 massacre about 4 participated from Cedar, perhaps 8 or more
 from Washington and some of the other for ^{beauty} ~~beauty~~
 K. had to watch ^{rather} ~~rather~~ became with new risk.
 On Tuesday, Hyatt and others came and forced him
 with his team to go with them to migrant camp.
 for life threatened. He and his wife did not like
 leave his wife. Mc Murtry from the wagon brought
 from Cedar with supplies, all of them had some
 horse back. Two mules needed; hence they
 wanted K. When shooting commenced, K's horses
 being ^{colts} ~~colts~~ ^{poor} ~~poor~~ ^{poor} ~~poor~~ had all he could do to
 hold them; left Lee and Indians and others doing
 the killing. Emigrants guns also in the wagon
 with children and women. Emigrants must have
 camped in meadow Friday or Saturday previous
 to Monday attack. When they were, some of the men
 told K. feeling from that they had met Hamilton a
 born Creek and that he had returned 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 expect[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.
Greentlains was quite a
famous locality at the time the
gangs lived in that county. Their
braced parts of what are now
Napth, Walker, Wilcox and Rocky
River Townships, the post office for
which was at Live Williams the
notorious mob leader. His house
was about 18 miles south of Vannoy, or
6 miles southeast of Warsaw. 91,848

[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 embraced 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 Connors 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 D. Robinson, Pres. of
 Bnto, in 1837 testifies that a messenger
 or two came to him with a certain written
 note, signed by Isaac H. 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:
 "Word has been sent to Yallahs by
 Ann Lee was to bring the Indians off
 and satisfy them with beef if necessary
 but not to kill the captives." R.
 did not know whether the note
 was forwarded or not. Ask Thomson
 (Amos?) who still resides in
 Bnto.

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 Robinson 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.

Mount Meadows.

Dr Tullis rode for Jack Hambley pull
up human excrement in Meadows in 1857
(the hambley house in Meadows all then) near the
in 1857 taking care of stock for Hospital. After
leaving no built, Gail Knight and the children
then to live (Tullis handled the stock lumber for
the house - 1857 possibly). Remembers Benj.
Arthur and Eliza Wilson and Reares
not member or not from Cedar, telling of their
cancerous. This was before company arrived. Then
after the men company came along
inquiring after food 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 White Pigeon, Potlatch, led by Richard &
Reuben and Benj. Knell. Indians never came
nearly dark; the party of Potlatch of forks of
Spray; from then Indians went across
hill to Meadows (Emigrants passed through
Pine on Cedar Valley road). Afterward, Amos
& Thornton and the others visited the em-
igrants in Meadows. Lee held council with
about a dozen men near Hambley's house
the day of massacre. After council
John B. Hopper went 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 Elliott 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 emigrant 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.



David H. Morris

The David H. Morris Collection

Ronald W. Walker and Richard E. Turley Jr.

David H. Morris (1858–1937) was a St. George, Utah, attorney and judge who had professional, geographical, and family ties to the massacre.¹ He lived less than an hour's automobile drive from the Meadows, and he and his family knew men who had a role in the killing.

Some of Morris's documents were affidavits sworn before him while he served as a notary public. He may have learned about other documents while taking affidavits from long-time residents seeking pensions for their service in territorial Utah's Black Hawk War, a series of skirmishes between settlers and Indians that took place during the 1860s. After doing his official business, Morris would ask the old-timers privately about what had happened at the Meadows.² Because Morris said little about his purposes, many details about his collection are likely to remain a mystery.³

But he said enough to get the attention of Juanita Brooks, a talented local historian who wanted to write a history of the massacre. At Morris's invitation, Brooks stopped by his home several times in an effort to inspect his documents, only to get excuses about Morris's poor health or the awkwardness of speaking about the atrocity in front of his family. Each time, she came away empty-handed.⁴

Morris died on August 24, 1937.⁵ "Papa Morris had never thrown anything away," remembered Helen Forsha Hafen, his foster daughter, who with his other children had the task of going through his papers. It was not just the quantity of the material but their sensitivity that caught her attention—things such as documents dealing with Mountain Meadows. She spread the latter material on the kitchen table. "My hell, we're not supposed to read these," said her cowpuncher husband, Paul. The concerned couple decided to seek the advice of Orval Hafen, Paul's cousin and the

attorney for the Morris estate. Orval was a descendant of Samuel Knight, one of the perpetrators of the massacre and writer of one of the affidavits in Morris's files.⁶

Orval Hafen was cautious and lawyerly. He took the documents to a local judge, who said the material lay outside Morris's estate and suggested that Helen "personally deliver them to the First Presidency of the Church," meaning The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Helen and Paul were soon on the road to Salt Lake City. "I wanted to get rid of them," Helen said of the documents.⁷

It was raining when they got to Church headquarters, and she and her husband were in a hurry to get back to St. George. Paul decided to drive around the block while Helen ran into the building and dropped off the material directly to a member of the First Presidency—she wanted to fulfill her instructions to the letter. For thirty minutes she waited in an anteroom before finally agreeing to give the documents instead to Joseph Anderson, secretary to the First Presidency.⁸

She immediately regretted her decision, feeling she had fallen short of her instructions. "I was so upset. I was bawling," Helen remembered. Retreating to the south portico of the Hotel Utah (now the Joseph Smith Memorial Building) on South Temple Street, she saw David O. McKay, a counselor in the First Presidency, walk by. She ran after him and then, "sputtering, gasping and breathless," did her best to tell him what had happened. The Church leader drew her under his umbrella. "My dear girl," he said, "don't you worry another minute about it. You've done the right thing, and the first thing in the morning, when I go to the office, I will look those [documents] up and see that they are taken care of."⁹

Juanita Brooks and the Morris Collection

Helen's relief was historian Juanita Brooks's distress. Brooks felt that important documents were slipping from her grasp, and she made up her mind to see the Morris material. First, she attempted to speak directly with David O. McKay. When that plan failed, she wanted Helen to write a letter to the First Presidency asking that Brooks be given access. Helen remembered Brooks's persistence. She came to her house as early as 6:00 a.m. "Just tell her to get the hell out of here. You're not going to do it," Paul advised his wife. Helen, however, wanted a second opinion. She consulted her friend Harold Snow, who served as president of the St. George temple. Snow advised Hafen not to write the letter, though he didn't want Brooks to know what he had said.¹⁰

Hafen never wrote the letter, and a breach opened between the women that never healed. Hafen and Brooks had known each other for years. Most recently, they had worked together in the local women's Relief Society. Brooks was president of the stake organization, while Hafen served as president on the ward level. Hafen said Brooks never spoke to her again.¹¹

Brooks tried to get others to write letters in her behalf, one from her local Church leader certifying her good standing and another from the Huntington Library in San Marino, California, under whose auspices she gathered manuscripts. Writing her boss, Robert Glass Cleland, she asked if the library would be willing to send a letter saying that the Huntington was supporting her massacre research. She also wanted the Huntington to say that the Rockefeller Foundation was behind her work. The foundation was providing the Huntington some funds for her manuscript hunting.¹²

"In Utah," Brooks wrote Cleland, "California is considered just another state and there is a hint of rivalry or jealousy toward her, while the Rockefeller Foundation carries a connotation of national importance. It is only a detail, as I said before, but in this particular undertaking every detail is important. And I MUST get those accounts written by men who actually participated in that thing."¹³

In the fall of 1945, Brooks wrote a letter to Church President George Albert Smith, who had assumed his office just a few months earlier. Brooks did her best to make the most of her thin institutional résumé, but she also presented some good public relations logic. Her work on the massacre had the support of "a Fellowship from the Rockefeller Institute through the Huntington Library," she explained. She also warned of a rival manuscript by an unnamed "rabid anti-Mormon"—probably Charles Kelly, whose profile generally fit Brooks's description but who, as it turned out, was not an immediate threat. He had not gotten much beyond spotty research and writing. In contrast to what a rival might produce, Brooks promised to put the best possible face on the massacre and provide good timing. "As in anything else, it is good to get there with the first blow," she wrote President Smith. "An 'answer' is never so effective."¹⁴

Known for his warmth and generosity, George Albert Smith received Brooks in his office and heard her out. He told Brooks he would rather not have the massacre "stirred up" but kindly listened as she explained why she wanted to write about it. As for the Morris material, he knew nothing about it and referred her back to McKay. At last, when Brooks and Smith said good-bye—twice they shook hands—the seventy-five-year-old Church leader had a piece of quiet advice. "I hope that whatever you do in this matter," he told Brooks, "you will be happy about it, permanently

happy.”¹⁵ His emphasis was on the word *permanently*—as if to caution against here-and-now worldly ambition.

Brooks hardly paused, going to David O. McKay’s office and finding him unavailable. She returned the next day and, according to her version of the event, waited outside McKay’s office for an hour and a half before Joseph Anderson, the secretary, went into the inner office to see what he should do. McKay sent word for Brooks to meet with Joseph Fielding Smith, the Church Historian—advice that Brooks saw as a runaround. “I said no,” she remembered, “that Joseph Fielding did not know of the papers and I preferred to wait until I could talk to David O.”¹⁶

Six months later, she was back. Once again she could get no further than Anderson, who promised to take the matter up with the First Presidency. The next day she found herself sitting opposite Anderson, a table between them. In his hands was her quarry, “a large brown envelope, so old that it was cracking and full of folded papers,” she said.¹⁷

Anderson told Brooks that J. Reuben Clark, a counselor in the First Presidency, had gone over the materials and decided they would not be helpful to her study. Anderson did, however, provide her with some information. She learned that the envelope contained affidavits about the massacre. In addition, there was a telegram, which Brooks assumed was directed to David H. Morris from the First Presidency and contained instructions on gathering the affidavits. “How I wanted the date of that telegram!” Brooks later wrote to her friend, historian Dale Morgan. “I’d have given anything to have it. But [Anderson] didn’t remember [the date] and he didn’t dare take the material from the envelope.”¹⁸

It was clear the First Presidency felt the time was not right for the release of the Morris materials—or, for that matter, a book about Mountain Meadows. The criticism and suspicion that had dogged the Church since its inception had died down in recent years, and Church leaders felt that a public discussion of Mountain Meadows might stir the embers.

The episode was a good example of the rival claims of an independent scholar and institutional custodians, which Brooks probably did not have the emotional distance to see. But she did understand that the materials she sought were closed to her research and were likely to remain unavailable during her lifetime. It might be for the best, she reasoned. At least people could not dismiss the book on grounds of Church cooperation or sponsorship.¹⁹

We now know that Brooks, going on rumors, had only a sketchy understanding of the Morris collection. A footnote in her published book claimed that Morris had told Brooks “of affidavits which he had taken at the order of the First Presidency of the Church from the participants in the

massacre who still lived in southern Utah.”²⁰ In a contemporary letter to Dale Morgan, Brooks described how Joseph Anderson seemed to confirm the notion that Morris acted at the First Presidency’s behest.²¹

Brooks’s impression of First Presidency involvement may have sprung from her understanding that the telegram in the Morris collection came from a man named Lund. She may have assumed that the sender was Anthon H. Lund, a member of the First Presidency from 1901 to 1921. Actually, the telegram was from R. C. Lund, a prominent southern Utah politician, and it directed the recipient to work with Morris on dismissing charges against John M. Higbee, one of the leaders of the massacre.²²

At one point Brooks also believed that the Morris collection included “the story of eight participants.” She wrote, “I already have two of these, but the other seven would be most valuable in this study.”²³ The difference in Brooks’s math—her totals did not add up—was probably because she believed that two accounts were written by the same man. When she met with Anderson, however, he informed her “that there were only three affidavits, . . . two by Nephi Johnson . . . and one by Samuel Knight.” In her letter to Morgan, Brooks concluded that she already had one of the Johnson affidavits.²⁴

Joseph Anderson Memo

A more complete picture of the Morris collection emerges from a memo Joseph Anderson wrote when receiving the material from Helen Forsha Hafen—eight years before Brooks saw the enticing “large brown envelope” on the table in the First Presidency’s office. Anderson’s memo

is important because it establishes an inventory of the collection:

Friday, January 4, 1938.

A young lady called at the office of the First Presidency this afternoon (Miss Hafen), and said that the accompanying papers had belonged to David H. Morris of St. George. She is his adopted daughter. Brother Morris, she said, had spent much time securing affidavits etc. regarding the Mountain Meadows Massacre and other things. The attorney for the Estate of Brother Morris, Mr. Orval Hafen, gave these papers to her with the request that they be turned over to the Church. These papers are as follows:



Joseph Anderson

Affidavit dated December 17, 1902, signed by Lucy Walker Smith Kimball,

Affidavit of Nephi Johnson, dated November 30, 1909,

Letter from Mayhew H. Dalley to David H. Morris, dated March 7, 1896,

“Statement of an Eye Witness”, signed Samuel Knight, dated August 11, 1904,

Letter to Honorable Jabez G. Southerland,²⁵ signed J. W. Judd, and dated February 4, 1896, also letter to Hon. J. W. Christian, signed J. G. Southerland, (These are both copies)

Affidavit by Nephi Johnson, dated July 22, 1908

Telegram dated Feb. 16, 1896, signed R. C. Lund, addressed to Isaac C. Macfarlane.

Joseph Anderson
Sect’y²⁶

Mayhew H. Dalley Letter

The Morris collection had important information, but nothing that measured up to Brooks’s high hopes—forbidden fruit seldom does. One document written by Mayhew H. Dalley was merely a cover letter for two of the other documents in the collection (see “Documents about John M. Higbee” below). Penciled notes on the back of the envelope for the Dalley letter contained details of a ceremony held at the Meadows on September 10, 1932, the day before the seventy-fifth anniversary of the massacre.²⁷



Mayhew H. Dalley

For several years, Mormons and non-Mormons had become alarmed by the deterioration of the massacre site. A wash threatened to expose interred bodies. Nor did it seem fitting that an event as important as the massacre should be left without a historical monument. The cause was taken up by the Utah Pioneer Trails and Landmarks Association, which described itself as “All-American . . . confined to no group or sect.” The organization enjoyed the support of well-connected Latter-day Saint leaders, including George Albert Smith—the Church leader who received Juanita Brooks in October 1945.²⁸

On August 20, three weeks before the dedicatory services, more than seventy volunteers cleaned up the site and built “a fine substantial

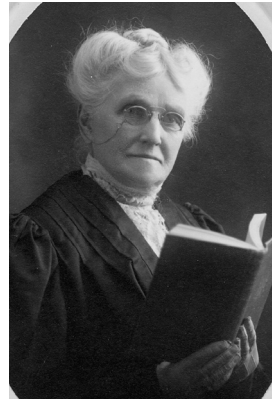
permanent stone wall completely enclosing on all sides the original cairn.”²⁹ Protracted letter writing and negotiation produced a plaque for the monument that blamed militiaman John D. Lee for the killing.³⁰ Speakers at the service included Frank Beckwith, a non-Mormon journalist from neighboring Delta, Utah; George W. Middleton, a member of the Landmarks Association and local physician; M. J. Urie, president of the Cedar City Chamber of Commerce; and John D. Giles and George Albert Smith, who served respectively as the secretary and president of the association. William Palmer, president of the Parowan stake and the man most responsible for the new monument, also spoke.³¹

Lucy Kimball Statement

One of the manuscripts listed by Anderson had nothing to do with the massacre. A statement sworn by Lucy Walker Smith Kimball defended the nineteenth-century Mormon practice of plural marriage by citing her own marriage to the Church’s founding prophet, Joseph Smith. Lucy, who later married prominent Latter-day Saint leader Heber C. Kimball, insisted that Emma Smith, Joseph’s wife, had been aware of her husband’s practice of plural marriage and had condoned it.³²

In 1879, Morris had boarded with Lucy Kimball while attending Brigham Young Academy in Provo, Utah. After learning her early history, Morris had asked for a statement, which she promised to give to him. Twenty-five years later, the First Presidency also wanted a statement from Kimball, and this time she complied. She sent a copy to Morris to fulfill her longstanding but not forgotten promise. “I have that affidavit at home now,” Morris acknowledged in 1930.³³

Kimball recounted her experiences often, and the information regarding her marriage to Joseph Smith is widely available.³⁴



Lucy Kimball

Documents about John M. Higbee

Three of the documents (four counting Dalley’s cover letter) in the Morris collection were written in the 1890s as part of a campaign to dismiss a twenty-year-old indictment against John Mount Higbee. At the time of the massacre, Higbee served as a counselor in the Cedar City stake presidency, as town marshal, and as major in the local militia, and each

role put him in the middle of tragic events. He tried to arrest one vocal emigrant after an altercation when the Arkansas company passed through the city; he led a reconnaissance to the Meadows to see what was going on after the initial attack on the company; and the day before the massacre he led a contingent of militia from Cedar City with orders to end the standoff. Finally, it was Higbee who launched the final slaughter with the simple command “Halt.”³⁵

When Higbee gave his account of the tragedy decades afterward, he obscured his role with muddled words. According to his account, he was a mere subordinate. “You older men know what is best to do. Is there no other way?” he claimed to have said during the council that preceded the final killing. He also whittled down the Mormon role by laying most of the blame at the feet of Indians.³⁶

Of medium height and slender build, and with a chin of well-combed whiskers, Higbee wore a mask of grieved innocence. A family historian called him “a balancing wheel” in his community and “a man of judgment.”³⁷ People liked him, and in the late 1860s, friends and neighbors chose him Cedar City mayor—before federal prosecutors drove him underground.³⁸ For the next twenty years, Higbee lived in the outreaches of Arizona territory. It could not have been a pleasant life with its ignominy, frontier hardscrabble, and social isolation. He was always looking over his shoulder. Any unusual noise or uncertain stranger might mean the coming of U.S. marshals.³⁹

In the 1890s, Higbee’s family and friends tried to get the charges against him dropped, and they chose as their lead attorney non-Mormon Jabez G. Sutherland, one of Utah’s best lawyers. As a youth of eleven, Sutherland had left his native state of New York with his family to farm in Michigan, where he later achieved prominence. He served as a member of the state constitutional revision convention, presided as a judge, and represented Michigan in Congress. Visiting Utah in the early 1870s, he found its climate beneficial and decided to move to Salt Lake City, where he became a leading member of the bar. Colleagues in the territory called him their “Nestor,” after the Greeks’ elderly and wise counselor at Troy. He further burnished his reputation by authoring several legal treatises.⁴⁰

Sutherland heard contradictory versions of what happened at Mountain Meadows in September 1857. For a time, he represented most of the nine men indicted for their roles in the massacre.⁴¹

In 1896, right after Utah achieved statehood and responsibility for prosecution fell into the hands of local officials, Sutherland found himself in the middle of a campaign to get the charges against Higbee quashed—the topic of three of the Morris documents. Hoping to build his case,

Sutherland asked John W. Judd, U.S. attorney for Utah, why he hesitated to dismiss the indictment. Judd responded with a letter, a copy of which is now in the Morris collection, that described prosecutorial dilemmas and problems. Almost forty years had passed since the massacre, Judd explained, making witnesses hard to find and a guilty verdict unlikely. Yet dropping the charges would likely bring Higbee back into the community, “tearing open the old sores of the past.” On balance, however, Judd thought dropping the charges would be better than a futile trial.⁴²

With Judd’s letter in hand, Sutherland immediately wrote John Ward Christian, another attorney working on Higbee’s case. A copy of Sutherland’s letter to Christian is also in the Morris collection. Sutherland asked Christian to take his letter and Judd’s to Judge E. V. Higgins, whose court had jurisdiction in the matter. With the prosecution refusing to bring the case to trial and now putting its refusal in writing, Sutherland believed the judge would rule to have the indictment against Higbee dropped, although Sutherland himself personally favored going to trial and having his client acquitted.⁴³

Christian had a long history of dealing with Mountain Meadows. At the time of the atrocity, he was living in the Mormon colony of San Bernardino, California, and he became one of the first defenders of the incident. Part of his polemics had to do with family connections. His then future father-in-law, William Mathews, was a member of the first company to go through the Meadows after the massacre, when the stench of fresh blood was still in the air. When Mathews and other members of his party reached California, they rehearsed what southern Utahns had told them about the incident. Christian used this information to write a letter to a leading southern California newspaper defending the Church and its members.⁴⁴ But after reestablishing himself in Beaver, Utah, several years later, Christian had second thoughts. Around 1886, he gave historian Hubert Howe Bancroft his more mature views of the massacre. Christian believed the blame lay with the preaching and practices of the “Mormon Reformation” of the mid-1850s but did not arise out of any direct orders from Salt Lake City.⁴⁵

John W. Judd’s letter to Sutherland and Sutherland’s letter to Christian were part of exhibit A in the petition for Higbee’s dismissal. The official copies of these letters and other support are found in Higbee’s criminal case file at the Utah State Archives.⁴⁶ The copies in the Morris collection are accompanied by Mayhew Dalley’s cover letter to Morris explaining that he made the copies at the request of Samuel Alonzo Higbee, a son of John M. Higbee.

The third document in the Morris collection relating to Higbee is a telegram dated February 16, 1896, a little more than a week after Judd and

Sutherland had written their letters. The telegram was sent by R. C. Lund to St. George mayor and Latter-day Saint bishop Isaac C. Macfarlane. It asked Macfarlane to meet with Samuel Alonzo Higbee and said that together the two men should “get David Morris to act at once in the matter as Alonzo wishes.”⁴⁷

Lund was a prominent citizen of southern Utah. After serving two terms as mayor of St. George, he became a member of the territorial board of equalization and eventually the president of the state board. In 1896, he was a Democratic Party elector in the state’s first presidential election. He was a blue-ribbon citizen with apparently no ties to the massacre other than his desire to help Higbee.⁴⁸ Though we are unsure what Lund’s telegram to Macfarlane meant specifically, the results were clear. As the Washington County prosecutor, Morris entered the motion for dismissal three days later.⁴⁹

The petition for Higbee’s dismissal echoed themes from the letters: “Said John M. Higbee was a young and inexperienced man at the time” of the killing, the petition said. (Higbee had been thirty in 1857.) “If he did any wrong, it was through the influence of others; and what was done at the time, was not at his suggestion, but at the command of others.” The petition also claimed that a successful prosecution was now “impossible.” The document was signed by members of Higbee’s family and leading citizens, mostly from southern Utah, including Sutherland, Isaac Macfarlane, David Morris, Presley Denny—one of John D. Lee’s prosecutors—and five members of the grand jury that had handed down the charges against Higbee.⁵⁰

The case against Higbee was dismissed on February 27, 1896. The court cited legal technicalities, as well as the difficulty of a successful prosecution. Appearing in behalf of Higbee were his legal counselors, Christian and S. A. Kenner.⁵¹ Kenner, who maintained an interest in the massacre after editing a Beaver newspaper during Lee’s two trials, had a distinguished career as a city attorney, county attorney, U.S. prosecutor, legislator, author, and editor of the Church-owned *Deseret News*.⁵²

Higbee was soon back in the village that had both nourished him and witnessed the tragic decisions that altered his life. “At seventy-seven years of age he was tall and straight and handsome, quiet, sad-faced, a man who waited for people to express friendship first,” remembered a woman who met him on Cedar City’s streets when she was a girl. “I would walk past him or with him for a little way,” she said. “I always spoke first, ‘Good morning, Brother Higbee,’ or ‘Good evening, Brother Higbee.’ He would look up, smile and say, ‘Good morning, little lady, I hope you are well,’ or ‘Good night, may God protect you.’”⁵³

Samuel Knight Affidavit

One of the three affidavits in the collection was sworn by Samuel Knight. Knight's affidavit, published for the first time in this volume, appears to have been a part of Morris's campaign to preserve a history of



Samuel Knight

the massacre. Knight had a similar reason for his deposition, which he explained in a paragraph that he attached to the rest. "The said statement was made for future use, in settling any false statement that may be circulated in regards to the subject therein stated," Knight said. It was "not to be used for street talk, and common gos[s]ip."⁵⁴

Knight's statement contains important information, though he was clearly hesitant to speak too openly about his own role. His account helps establish a chronology for the massacre and shows clear planning for a coordinated attack on the emigrants.

Knight also repeated others' claims that some emigrants behaved badly—claims that grew in importance as southern Utahns later tried to justify their acts. Knight remembered a climate of war at the time. "It did not require much to cause an attac[k] to be made against the company," he recounted, "for many in so doing supposed that they were only taking advantage of an opportunity to protect their own lives and that of their family."⁵⁵

Knight also revealed part of the tragic reasoning for the final slaughter, though he focused primarily on John D. Lee, who by 1904 was dead, the only man executed for his role in the massacre. Despite the perpetrators' plans to blame Indians alone for the attacks on the company, the emigrants had seen through the scheme and knew of white participation. Lee could not let the emigrants go, Knight said, because they recognized Lee "as one of the party" that had attacked them. The matter "had gone too far."⁵⁶ But it was not just Lee who was at fault. White southern Utah men personally killed or wounded several emigrants before participating in the final atrocity. They and their fellow conspirators felt compelled to cover their tracks.

Nephi Johnson Affidavits

Nephi Johnson authored the final two documents in the Morris collection. Johnson was a second-generation Latter-day Saint, born on

December 12, 1833, in Kirtland, Ohio. His parents were Anna and Joel Hills Johnson. The family headed for Missouri in 1838, but ended up settling in Illinois before moving on to Utah in 1848. When Nephi was seventeen, the family relocated to southern Utah as part of George A. Smith's colonization of the area. The family helped establish Parowan before locating six miles north of Cedar City at what came to be known as Johnson Springs, now Enoch, Utah.⁵⁷

At the time of the massacre, Nephi Johnson was twenty-three but already conversant in the Paiute language. As a teenager, he found himself fascinated by the local Indians, and perhaps no Mormon came to understand or speak their dialect better. His linguistic ability led to a formal Church calling. In 1853, he was "appointed a missionary to the seed of Joseph on the American continent, beginning at the Píedes."⁵⁸ To Latter-day Saints of the mid-nineteenth century, the *seed of Joseph* meant "Indians," while the words *Píedes* and *Paiutes* were sometimes used interchangeably.⁵⁹

"I spent a great part of my time preaching to the Indians," Johnson later wrote, and "always tried to have a friendly understanding with them."⁶⁰ The local Paiutes came to trust their young friend, which was a reason why Cedar City stake president Isaac C. Haight summoned him to Mountain Meadows. Johnson served as an Indian interpreter and played a role in the final massacre.⁶¹

After the tragedy, Johnson settled in Virgin (at the time referred to as Pocketville), Utah, where he remained for twelve years. Later he lived in Johnson, Manti, and Kanab, Utah; Mexico; Fredonia, Arizona; and Mesquite, Nevada, where he died in June 1919.⁶²

Near the end of his life he met a young schoolteacher, Juanita Leavitt (later Brooks), in Mesquite. He asked her "to do some writing" for him. "My eyes have witnessed things that my tongue has never uttered, and before I die, I want them written down," he said. She expressed interest in his proposition and agreed to start the project at the end of the school year. When she visited Johnson at his ranch, he was near death. "He seemed troubled; he rambled in delirium . . . once his eyes opened wide to the ceiling and he yelled, 'Blood! BLOOD! BLOOD!'" The schoolteacher soon learned that Johnson had been present at the massacre, but to her chagrin, she said, "I had missed my chance" to write his story.⁶³



Nephi Johnson

Actually, Johnson had related some details about the massacre on several occasions, including in 1870, when word was circulating that he had a story to tell. As a result, Brigham Young met with him in southern Utah and later may have summoned him to Salt Lake City. Johnson's revelations led to the excommunication of massacre ringleaders Isaac C. Haight and John D. Lee. While considerable evidence confirms that Johnson and Young met in 1870, no contemporaneous record of their conversations exists.⁶⁴

In 1876, Daniel H. Wells, a member of the First Presidency, asked Johnson to tell U.S. attorney Sumner Howard what he knew. Howard then used Johnson as one of his chief witnesses to convict Lee. Johnson's court testimony was the only recorded time that Johnson spoke publicly about the affair, and his testimony was guarded.⁶⁵

On later occasions, Johnson was more frank. He made oral reports to Mormon Apostles Francis M. Lyman in 1895 and Anthony W. Ivins in 1917, and he wrote a detailed letter to Anthon H. Lund of the First Presidency in 1910. When writing Lund, Johnson enclosed a copy of a previously sworn affidavit.⁶⁶

There are several extant Nephi Johnson affidavits. An undated holograph draft was presented to the Church on June 13, 1942, by Flora Morris Brooks. The handwriting, except perhaps the signature, does not appear to be Johnson's. Like Helen Forsha Hafen, Brooks was a daughter of David Morris. She was also Juanita Brooks's sister-in-law; the two women married brothers. J. Reuben Clark, a counselor in the First Presidency, recorded the details of Flora Brooks's donation: "She said that this affidavit was made by Nephi Johnson and left with her father, D. H. Morris, . . . and that she felt it should not be left to be handed about among relatives, etc., but should be put in a place of safe keeping. I told her I would have it deposited in the Historian's Office with Elder Joseph Fielding Smith," the Church Historian at the time.⁶⁷

A second undated affidavit was published in 1950 as an appendix in Juanita Brooks's *The Mountain Meadows Massacre*. This printed version bears no date, but Brooks claimed the "affidavit was made in the presence of, and was notarized by, Judge David H. Morris of St. George, Utah, in 1906." This version closely matches the manuscript given to the Church by Flora Brooks, although there are differences in formatting and a few other minor details. Most significantly, Juanita's published version did not include a phrase crossed out in the manuscript version: "and saw Lee fire"—apparently a reference to Johnson witnessing Lee's role in killing some of the emigrants.⁶⁸

Another affidavit was sworn before Morris on November 30, 1909. The new statement follows the organization and phrasing of both the undated holograph draft and the version published in Brooks's book, but with changes. Additions include details about the parley before the final killing: "The [emigrant] spokesman told Lee that the emigrants were suspicious and were afraid they would be killed, when Lee said that he ask[ed] him if he look[ed] like a man of that kind, and was answered 'no.'" It also says that two or three emigrants escaped, only to be hunted down by Indians.⁶⁹

The documents differ in other details. Where the two undated affidavits say "quite a number" of Indians "had been wounded," the 1909 affidavit says "about twenty." The undated versions report that "quite a number of the posse failed to kill his man"; the 1909 account differs slightly, saying that "quite a number of the men refused to kill his man." Where the undated versions say, "I [Johnson] remained there [at the wagons] until Isaac C. Haight arrived from Cedar City about half hour after the killing," the 1909 affidavit says, "Isaac C. Haight came to the wagons about one half hour after I got there [at the wagons]." And while the manuscript version claims that "there were some fifteen or sixteen young children saved" and the Brooks transcript says that "there were some fifteen or sixteen children saved," the 1909 version reports, "There were some fifteen to eighteen children saved."⁷⁰

Two typed and signed copies of the 1909 affidavit are known to exist. One is part of the Morris collection given to the First Presidency by Helen Hafen in 1938. The other has been available for research at the Church History Library in Salt Lake City for several decades and is probably the enclosure that Johnson sent in his 1910 letter to Anthon H. Lund.⁷¹

Yet another Johnson affidavit was sworn before Morris on July 22, 1908, and is part of the Morris collection donated by Helen Hafen. Unlike the other Johnson affidavits, it is new to researchers.⁷²

When making his 1908 statement, Johnson used words similar to Knight's. He was not seeking to stir up controversy, he insisted. "I have made this affidavit, not for publication, or for general circulation," he said, "but that the truth may be put in writing, that in the event of it being needed to refute error in the future, and after the eye witnesses have passed away, it may be used for that purpose."⁷³

Johnson's statements are complementary, and much of their information is similar. But it is also true that Johnson's 1908 statement is the most detailed. Johnson, who was present when the Arkansas company passed through Cedar City, described the emigrants as being of "a mixed class, some being perfect gentlemen, while others were very boastful, and insulting." Johnson wrote that he heard "Capt. Francher [Alexander Fancher],

who was the leader of the emigrants, rebuke the boastful ones of the company." Before going to the Meadows himself, Johnson said, he learned from Indians of three attacks on the company; Fancher was killed in the third. The Indians also said Lee went back on his promise to give them all of the emigrants' horses.⁷⁴

Besides detailing what happened during the week of the massacre in September 1857, Johnson's 1908 affidavit describes events from the 1870s. According to the affidavit, Brigham Young appeared surprised when Johnson reported the details of the massacre to him, and Young told Johnson that Lee had earlier lied to him about the affair. Daniel H. Wells summoned Johnson to Beaver to secure his testimony at Lee's second trial in 1876. Wells was cooperating with federal prosecutors who were seeking to secure Lee's conviction.⁷⁵

The testimony of no human witness can ever be completely accurate, nor was Johnson's, especially because so many years had passed between the massacre and his affidavits. Like other white settlers who played a part in the massacre, Johnson gave varying accounts of the role of the Indians, failing in his version of events to give convincing answers about why they were willing to take part in the killing and making too much of their role.⁷⁶

Still, much from Johnson's statements has the ring of truth. Some of his details were confirmed by other witnesses. Other details in his accounts are convincing because they fit into a general pattern of personalities and events. They agree with what was going on, and their sequence is right. And the affidavits had the weight of Johnson's overall reputation for honesty—despite the awful stain of having spent two days at the Meadows in 1857.

Important Details but No Smoking Gun

Juanita Brooks may have had mixed feelings if she had ever been permitted to see the Morris collection. Lucy Walker Kimball's recollections were not relevant to her concerns, and the information they contained was available elsewhere. Four of Morris's documents focused not on the massacre itself but on John M. Higbee's two-decade-old legal case.⁷⁷ There was no First Presidency telegram in the collection—no smoking gun that might reveal an official Church cover-up or a hidden attempt to shape public opinion.

Yet the unpublished statements made by Knight in 1904 and Johnson in 1908 were important because of their fresh and pertinent information. While these documents had the strengths and weaknesses of any perpetrator's memory half a century after the fact, they were firsthand accounts by

men who had been in the middle of things. Brooks might well have concluded that these documents—especially Johnson’s 1908 statement—were still worth her determined efforts.

1. Two obituaries, “Utah Pioneer Succumbs at St. George,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, August 25, 1937, 13, and “In the State,” *Deseret News*, August 25, 1937, 14, both incorrectly give Morris’s birth as February 1857 in Salt Lake City. According to the Utah, Washington County, St. George, 1900 U.S. Census, population schedule, 8B, Morris was born in New York in April 1858.

2. L. W. Macfarlane, *Yours Sincerely, John M. Macfarlane* (Salt Lake City: By the author, 1980) 65, citing an interview with Bess Macfarlane Benson of Provo, Utah.

3. Some of the documents from Morris’s collection are reproduced in this journal. Copies of all the documents are included in *Mountain Meadows Massacre Documents* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, forthcoming).

4. Levi S. Peterson, *Juanita Brooks: Mormon Woman Historian* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1988), 158; Juanita Brooks, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre*, 2d ed. (1962; repr., Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 217–18 n. 9.

5. “Utah Pioneer Succumbs,” 13; “Prominent Southern Utah Leader Dies at St. George,” *Deseret News*, August 24, 1937, 3.

6. “Mountain Meadows Massacre,” 1995, in *The Life Story of Helen Forsha Hafen and Her Family* (n.p., 1997), 1, copy in Mountain Meadows Massacre Research Files, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

7. “Mountain Meadows Massacre,” 1–2.

8. “Mountain Meadows Massacre,” 2.

9. “Mountain Meadows Massacre,” 2.

10. “Mountain Meadows Massacre,” 2–3; Juanita Brooks to Robert Glass Cleland, June 5, 1945, Juanita Brooks Collection, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City.

11. “Mountain Meadows Massacre,” 3. For Brooks’s memories dealing with Helen Hafen, see Peterson, *Juanita Brooks*, 158–59.

12. Brooks to Cleland, June 5, 1945; Peterson, *Juanita Brooks*, 159–60.

13. Brooks to Cleland, June 5, 1945; Peterson, *Juanita Brooks*, 160.

14. Juanita Brooks to George Albert Smith, October 9, 1945, Brooks Collection; Peterson, *Juanita Brooks*, 167–68. Kelly’s friend and fellow historian Harold Schindler wrote that Kelly “ate Mormons for breakfast.” Harold Schindler to Charles Peterson, July 25, 1984, quoted in Charles Peterson’s introduction to Charles Kelly, ed., *Journals of John D. Lee, 1846–47 and 1859* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1984), vii.

15. Peterson, *Juanita Brooks*, 168.

16. Juanita Brooks to Dale Morgan, October 22, 1945, Brooks Collection, cited in Peterson, *Juanita Brooks*, 168.

17. Juanita Brooks to Dale Morgan, May 19, 1946, Brooks Collection; Peterson, *Juanita Brooks*, 176.

18. Brooks to Morgan, May 19, 1946; Peterson, *Juanita Brooks*, 176.

19. Brooks to Morgan, May 19, 1946; Peterson, *Juanita Brooks*, 176.

20. Brooks, *Mountain Meadows Massacre* (1991), 217–18 n. 9.
21. Brooks to Morgan, May 19, 1946; Peterson, *Juanita Brooks*, 176.
22. R. C. Lund to Isaac C. Macfarlane, February 16, 1896, First Presidency Cumulative Correspondence, 1900–49, Church History Library; “R. C. Lund, State Equalization Board,” in S. A. Kenner, *Utah as It Is, with a Comprehensive Statement of Utah as It Was* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1904), 431–33; “Robert C. Lund Passes Away,” *Salt Lake Herald*, January 31, 1906, 1.
23. Juanita Brooks to Dr. [Robert Glass] Cleland, April 10, 1945, Brooks Collection.
24. Brooks to Morgan, May 19, 1946; Peterson, *Juanita Brooks*, 176; Brooks, *Mountain Meadows Massacre*, 169–70.
25. Joseph Anderson’s misspelling of the name Sutherland reflects an accurate reproduction of the name as it appeared in the typed letter copies given to the First Presidency.
26. Joseph Anderson, memorandum, January 4, 1938, First Presidency Cumulative Correspondence.
27. Mayhew H. Dalley to David H. Morris, March 7, 1896, letter and notes on envelope, First Presidency Cumulative Correspondence.
28. Douglas Seefeldt, “Let the Book of the Past Be Closed”? Public Memory and the Mountain Meadows Massacre Monuments, 1859–1999,” 5–10, paper presented at the Mormon History Association Conference, May 16–19, 2002, Tucson, Ariz., copy in authors’ possession; William R. Palmer, autobiography excerpt, [1947], Mountain Meadows Massacre Research Files; “Salt Lake Writer Visits Mt. Meadows Massacre Site,” *Millard County Chronicle*, May 14, 1931, 4.
29. “Marker Erected at Mountain Meadows on September 10th,” *Millard County Chronicle*, September 15, 1932, 1.
30. Seefeldt, “Let the Book of the Past Be Closed”? 7–9.
31. “Tablet Placed at Mountain Meadows by Trails Association,” *Parowan Times*, September 16, 1932, 1, quoting the *Iron County Record*; “Marker Erected at Mountain Meadows,” 1, 4.
32. Lucy Walker Smith Kimball, affidavit, December 17, 1902, First Presidency Cumulative Correspondence.
33. D. H. Morris, statement, June 12, 1930, typescript, Vesta Crawford Papers, Special Collections, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City.
34. See, for instance, “Lucy W. Kimball’s Testimony,” *Historical Record* 6 (May 1887): 229–30; Lucy Kimball, statement, in Lyman O. Littlefield, *Reminiscences of Latter-day Saints* (Logan, Utah: Utah Journal, 1888), 46–49, reprinted in Rodney W. Walker and Noel C. Stevenson, comps., *Ancestry and Descendants of John Walker* (Kaysville, Utah: Inland Printing, 1953), 32–34. She also spoke in public regarding her marriage to Joseph Smith. See Anthon H. Lund, Journal, August 31, 1902, March 7, 1909, Church History Library; Journal History of the Church, December 24, 1902, 5–6, Church History Library. Her December 17, 1902, affidavit was likely made at the request of Church President Joseph F. Smith, who gathered information to refute claims made by members of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints that Joseph Smith never practiced plural marriage. See Joseph F. Smith, “Plural Wives of Joseph Smith, the Prophet,” *Improvement Era* 5 (October 1902): 988–89. The LDS Church History Library has over seventy copies of the 1902 affidavit, which contains the same text as the copy given to David H. Morris. Todd M. Compton devoted a chapter to Lucy Walker

Smith Kimball in his book *In Sacred Loneliness: The Plural Wives of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2001), 738–41.

35. Ronald W. Walker, Richard E. Turley Jr., and Glen M. Leonard, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows: An American Tragedy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 133–34, 155, 167, 181, 190, 199, 230, 258.

36. Bull Valley Snort [John M. Higbee], February 1894, photocopy of manuscript, in Juanita Brooks Papers, Marriott Library.

37. “History of John Mount Higbee,” typescript, in *Higbee Family Magazine* 3 (July 1957): 121, copy in authors’ possession.

38. Evelyn K. Jones and York F. Jones, eds., *Mayors of Cedar City* (Cedar City, Utah: Cedar City Historical Preservation Commission, 1986), 27–29; “Another Judicial Movement,” *Deseret Evening News*, February 24, 1875, [2].

39. “Autobiography of James William Nixon,” typescript, 5–6, copy in authors’ possession.

40. Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah* (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon and Sons, 1904), 4:529–31; “Judge Sutherland Is Dead,” *Deseret News*, November 20, 1902, 1.

41. “From Beaver,” *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, February 24, 1875, [4]; “Another Move Judicial,” *Deseret Evening News*, February 24, 1875, [2]; “Another Judicial Movement,” *Deseret Evening News*, February 24, 1875, [2]; Jabez G. S[u]therland to John W. Christian, February 5, 1896, First Presidency Cumulative Correspondence.

42. J. W. Judd to Jabez G. S[u]therland, February 4, 1896, First Presidency Cumulative Correspondence.

43. S[u]therland to Christian, February 5, 1896. Not knowing where Christian was, Sutherland sent both Judd’s letter and his own letter to Alonzo Higbee, John M. Higbee’s son. J. G. Sutherland to A. S. [Samuel Alonzo] Higbee, February 5, 1896, Criminal case file 32, Utah Second District Court Criminal Case Files, 1874–77, Series 24291, Utah State Archives, Salt Lake City, copy at Collected Material concerning the Mountain Meadows Massacre, Church History Library.

44. J. Ward Christian to G. N. Whitman, October 4, 1857, in “Horrible Massacre of Emigrants!” *Los Angeles Star*, October 10, 1857, 2; J. Ward Christian, letter, October 18, 1857, in “The Late Outrages on the Plains—Another Account,” *Los Angeles Star*, October 31, 1857, 2; William Mathews, testimony, *United States v. John D. Lee*, first trial, Jacob S. Boreman transcript, 4:45–48, Jacob S. Boreman Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.; E. C. Mathews, testimony, *United States v. John D. Lee*, first trial, Boreman transcript, 4:96–99; “The Late Horrible Massacre,” *Los Angeles Star*, October 17, 1857, 2.

45. John Ward Christian, dictation, [1886], Bancroft Utah Manuscript Collection, volume 2, item 9, Bancroft Library, University of California—Berkeley, microfilm copy at Church History Library.

46. Criminal case file 32. There is also a copy of the official petition documents in the Florence Spilsbury Higbee Collection, Special Collections, Gerald R. Sherratt Library, Southern Utah University, Cedar City, Utah. The library acquired the Higbee collection in 1968, after Brooks’s book was published. Higbee’s criminal case file was archived in the Beaver County Court House from 1896 until 2002, when the documents were moved to the Utah State Archives. Brooks apparently was not aware of these documents. Judd’s and Sutherland’s letters are only a part of the official petition for dismissal.

47. Lund to Macfarlane, February 16, 1896; Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia: A Compilation of Biographical Sketches of Prominent*

Men and Women in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson History Company, 1901–36), 3:448–49.

48. “R. C. Lund, State Equalization Board,” 431–33; “Robert C. Lund Passes Away.”

49. Criminal case file 32.

50. Petition to E. V. Higgins on behalf of John M. Higbee regarding *People of the United States in the Territory of Utah v. John M. Higby*, February 27, 1896, typescript, in Collected Material concerning the Mountain Meadows Massacre, also in Florence Spilsbury Higbee, John M. Higbee and Mountain Meadows Massacre Papers, Church History Library.

51. Dismissal, Fifth Judicial Court, *United States v. John M. Higbee*, February 27, 1896, Spilsbury Collection, citing Minute Book entry.

52. Scipio A. Kenner, “Reply to ‘Lights and Shadows of Mormonism,’” unpublished typescript, Church History Library; “Death of S. A. Kenner, Pioneer Journalist,” *Deseret Evening News*, March 15, 1913, 2; “Scipio A. Kenner,” *Deseret Evening News*, March 17, 1913, 4; “Funeral of S. A. Kenner,” *Deseret Evening News*, March 24, 1913, 5; Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 2:279.

53. “Execution of John D. Lee,” undated typescript, Caroline Parry Woolley Collection, Special Collections, Sherratt Library.

54. Samuel Knight, affidavit, August 11, 1904, First Presidency Cumulative Correspondence.

55. Knight, affidavit.

56. Knight, affidavit.

57. Nephi Johnson, autobiographical sketch, ca. 1863, typescript, Church History Library.

58. “Minutes,” *Deseret News*, March 2, 1854, 2; Nephi Johnson to Anthon H. Lund, March 1910, Collected Material concerning the Mountain Meadows Massacre.

59. On the distinction between Pahutes (Paiutes) and Piedes in early sources, see Ronald L. Holt, *Beneath These Red Cliffs: An Ethnohistory of the Utah Paiutes* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2006), 14–15, 160 n. 7.

60. Johnson, autobiographical sketch.

61. Nephi Johnson, affidavits, July 22, 1908, November 30, 1909, First Presidency Cumulative Correspondence.

62. Johnson, autobiographical sketch; “Utah Pioneer of 1848 Answers the Call of Death,” *Deseret Evening News*, July 16, 1919.

63. Juanita Brooks, *Quicksand and Cactus: A Memoir of the Southern Mormon Frontier* (Salt Lake City: Howe Brothers, 1982), 226–29.

64. Johnson, affidavit, July 22, 1908; Erastus Snow, deposition, February 21, 1882, quoted in Charles W. Penrose, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre: Who Were Guilty of the Crime?* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1884), 67–68; John R. Young to Susa Young Gates, June 1, 1927, John R. Young Scrapbook, 1928–30, pp. 109–10, Church History Library; John R. Young to W. S. Erikson, February 1928, typescript, in Collected Material concerning the Mountain Meadows Massacre. Erastus Snow recalled that in 1870 he and L. W. Roundy provided Brigham Young with new details regarding the massacre. John R. Young remembered that Roundy referred Brigham Young to Nephi Johnson, who gave him more information, though John dated the events to 1865. Johnson himself recalled that Brigham Young summoned him to Salt Lake City to share details of the massacre. Jesse N. Smith’s journal, now in the Church History Library, confirms that Brigham Young

and his party, which included Erastus Snow and L. W. Roundy, visited Virgin City, Utah, where Nephi Johnson resided, in September 1870: "Sat. Sept. 3 [1870] Went to Paragonah to meet Pres. Young and his company. Bros. E. Snow and L. W. Roundy came from the south, they stayed at our house. Sun. 4. . . . Pres. Young asked Silas and me to accompany him on his trip to the Pahreah. . . . Mon. 5. Started in company with Silas to accompany the President and party . . . Tues. 13. Thirteen miles brought us to Virgin City, where at Nephi Johnson's I found my wife Janet . . . The Company came up." Lee was excommunicated at Church headquarters on October 8, 1870. Wilford Woodruff, Journal, October 8, 1870, Church History Library.

65. Johnson, affidavit, July 22, 1908; Nephi Johnson, testimony, *United States v. John D. Lee*, second trial, Boreman transcript, 1:43–85. He spoke privately to his father, his brother-in-law James H. Martineau, and two of Lee's sons-in-law, Marcus Henry Darrow and Hyrum B. Clark, before the second Lee trial. Nephi Johnson, testimony, *United States v. John D. Lee*, second trial, Boreman transcript, 1:82–84.

66. Francis M. Lyman, Journal, September 21, 1895, "Diary Excerpts of Francis M. Lyman, 1892–96," typescript, in *New Mormon Studies CD-ROM: A Comprehensive Resource Library* (Salt Lake City: Smith Research Associates, [1998]); Nephi Johnson, conversation with Anthony W. Ivins, September 2, 1917, typescript, Anthony W. Ivins Collection, Utah State Historical Society; Johnson to Lund, March 1910.

67. Nephi Johnson, affidavit, undated, manuscript, in Collected Material concerning the Mountain Meadows Massacre; J. Reuben Clark, statement, June 13, 1942, attached to the undated Johnson affidavit, Collected Material concerning the Mountain Meadows Massacre.

68. Brooks, *Mountain Meadows Massacre* (1950), 59, 169–70. Nephi Johnson gave his age as seventy-five in the affidavit that Brooks dated as 1906, but he was actually seventy-two in 1906. Therefore, it could be argued that when Brooks included the affidavit in *Mountain Meadows Massacre*, she mistyped the date, and the document is actually a variant of the 1909 affidavit. However, Johnson also incorrectly listed his age as seventy-five in 1908.

69. Johnson, affidavit, November 30, 1909; Brooks, *Mountain Meadows Massacre* (1950), 169–70; Johnson, affidavit, undated.

70. Johnson, affidavit, November 30, 1909; Brooks, *Mountain Meadows Massacre* (1950), 169–70; Johnson, affidavit, undated.

71. Johnson, affidavit, November 30, 1909, also in Collected Material concerning the Mountain Meadows Massacre. The two copies were initially identical, but the copy sent to Lund has minor changes not found in the other copy.

72. Johnson, affidavit, July 22, 1908.

73. Johnson, affidavit, July 22, 1908.

74. Johnson, affidavit, July 22, 1908.

75. Johnson, affidavit, July 22, 1908.

76. In September 1895, Johnson spoke about his own role in the massacre and that of the Paiutes with Latter-day Saint Apostle Francis M. Lyman. Lyman recorded, "Johnson was the man who gave the word to the Indians to fire at the last general killing. . . . He says white men did most of the killing." Lyman, Journal, September 21, 1895.

77. Copies of Judd's and Sutherland's letters are in Collected Material concerning the Mountain Meadows Massacre. They have been available to some researchers in the past.

**Selections from
the David H. Morris Collection**



Joseph Anderson Memorandum

Friday, January 4, 1938.

A young lady called at the office of the First Presidency this afternoon (Miss Hafen), and said that the accompanying papers had belonged to David H. Morris of St. George. She is his adopted daughter. Brother Morris, she said, had spent much time securing affidavits etc. regarding the Mountain Meadows Massacre and other things. The attorney for the Estate of Brother Morris, Mr. Orval Hafen, gave these papers to her with the request that they be turned over to the Church. These papers are as follows:

Affidavit dated December 17, 1902, signed by Lucy Walker Smith Kimball,

Affidavit of Nephi Johnson, dated November 30, 1909,

Letter from Mayhew H. Dalley to David H. Morris, dated March 7, 1896,

"Statement of an Eye Witness", signed Samuel Knight, dated August 11, 1904,

Letter to Honorable Jabez G. Southerland, signed J.W. Judd, and dated February 4, 1896, also letter to Hon. J.W. Christian, signed J.G. Southerland, (These are both copies)

Affidavit by Nephi Johnson, dated July 22, 1908

Telegram dated Feb. 16, 1896, signed R. C. Lund, addressed to Isaac C. Macfarlane.

Joseph Anderson
Secty

John W. Judd Letter

John W. Judd,
Attorney at Law,
U.S. Attorney for Utah.
Rooms 105-106-107 Commercial Block,

Salt Lake City, Utah, Feb. 4, 1896.

Hon. Jabez G. Southerland,

Salt Lake City, Utah.

My dear Judge:-Concerning the question which you put to me asking why I hesitated to dismiss the indictment against Higbee during the time I was U.S. Attorney, I beg to reply that when I was first appointed U.S. Attorney for Utah, I took personal charge of the Second District where the indictment was pending and made every effort I could to thoroughly investigate the particulars of the unfortunate massacre at Mountain Meadows with a view to discharge whatever official duty with reference thereto which my position imposed upon me.

I talked with many of the prominent people of that section of Utah and I read the history of the trial of Lee as found in his autobiography, and I came to the conclusion in the first place that any attempt on my part to continue the prosecution against Higbee and others, would in all probability be abortive on account of lack of testimony, which in its turn resulted largely from so great a lapse of time. I came to the conclusion that any attempt to try the case would simply result in harrowing up old sores not only in Utah, but that it would be published probably all over the United States and that nothing could result, except probably to leave us in a worse fix than we were.

Moreover a generation had passed and there were mothers and fathers living in that section of the State who had been born since the massacre in 1857, and I felt that it could accomplish no good purpose to spread anew the disgusting and heart-rending details of that affair in view of, and to be read and re-read by a generation of people who knew nothing of it, and who ought to know nothing of it. When application was made to me to dismiss the case against Higbee my hesitation to do that was attributable to a doubt in my mind as to whether that man ought to be allowed to go back into the community and become a parcel of it

I was afraid that his very presence there would have the effect of tearing open the old sores of the past and excite renewed discussion, and to effect, in part at least, some if not all of the evils that a re-hash ~~ix~~ of the matter in court would effect. I talked the matter over with the best citizens and while they for the most part insisted that Higbee himself was not really a guilty party, that whatever he did he did it under the pressure of absolute compulsion, they insisted that this was ~~ix~~ largely understood by the community, and that his presence there would not be offensive. Still the doubt in my mind upon that subject was so strong that I did not feel that I ought to be the instrument in opening the way for him to go back; but I do not hesitate to say that the dismissal of the case is infinitely preferable to any trial of it. For the reasons heretofore stated I think a trial would do no good and it would upturn the community, cause a re-hash of what took place nearly forty years ago in the public print of the Territory and probably of the whole United States, and finally result in an acquittal.

I hope this will be satisfactory to you and will serve your purpose. I have tried in my feeble way to state the matter so far as I am concerned exactly as I felt it. The prosecution ought to be dropped.

I am, with great respect,
Dict. "A". Your obedient servant,

(Signed) J.W. Judd.

show this letter to ~~some~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~also~~ ~~George~~ ~~Judd's~~ ~~letter~~.
Higbee was never guilty as I know from talking personally with him, but the way things were then would probably prejudice over that matter so that he could not have had a fair trial. My idea is that Higbee is entitled to have a trial and to be personally vindicated by an acquittal.

As his age and the friends of the accused are content with a dismissal, that order ought to be made.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) J.W. Judd.

J. G. Sutherland Letter

J.G.Southerland,
Author of Treatise on Law of Damages etc.

Walter Murphy.

Law Office of

Southerland and Murphy,

120 to 123 Commercial Building,

Salt Lake City,Utah, Feb.5th, 1896.

Hon. John W. Christian.

My Dear Sir:-

You have been employed to procure dismissal of the indictment against John M. Higbee. I am employed too for the same purpose. I obtained from Judge Judd the enclosed letter which explains why he did not dismiss the case, nor bring it to trial. He shows reasons for not trying it—that he could not convict. When the prosecuting officer reaches such a conclusion, it follows as a legal consequence, that the prosecution should be dismissed. No requisition was ever obtained to bring Higbee as a fugitive from Arizona. 20 years ago a proposition was made to the District Co. at Beaver that Higbee and some others would voluntarily appear if the Court would fix an early day for ~~trial~~ trial. The Court would not entertain it, and actually punished the Attorney for contempt who proposed it. Baty was the Atty. punished, and I paid the fine of \$50. myself. The prosecution ~~ought~~ ought to be dismissed for this long neglect, and now especially since the District Attorney says there is no probability of ^{it} convicting; and it is against public policy to attempt ^{it}. Please show this letter to Judge Higgins; and also Judge Judd's letter. Higbee was never guilty as I know from talking personally with him. But for many years there was such popular prejudice over that massacre that he could not have had a fair trial. My idea is that Higbee is entitled to have a trial and to be personally vindicated by an acquittal. As his son and the friends of the accused are content with a dismissal, that order ought to be made.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) J.G. Southerland.

Samuel Knight Statement

Statement of an eye witness

Sept. 1857

It was Sunday morning, that I left the Meadows to go to Santa Clara, leaving my wife who was sick in bed with a young child, and on that account I done the business that I had in view and returned as soon as I could, while on my way back and when we were near the Magotsos where it ~~xxx~~ came into the Clara Creek, about ten o'clock at night, a voice came from the brush, and when the man came out I found that it was John D. Lee, we had heard before that there was a plan on foot for the Indians to surround a company of emigrants that were camped at the spring that is near the spot where the Mountain Meadow Massacre took place, when they got near we were then standing, but in speaking to John D. Lee, he told us that he had been with the Indians that morning, which was in the month of September in the year of 1857, ~~and had~~ made an attack on the emigrants, and the fight had been kept up all day, that the emigrants had made a fort of the wagons, throwing dirt under the wagons for protection, that he had been in the fight, and showed us several bullet holes in his clothing, which was evident that he had been in close quarters, one bullet had cut his hat, another his clothes across his body in front, and several had cut through his sleeves, this was on Sunday night, and the war was then kept up till the following Thursday, Lee found out that he had gone too far to drop the matter as he was afraid that he was known as one of the party who had made the attack and to let them go now was to give him away, and having commenced it he must see it through,

It must be remembered that at that time, only ten years after the territory had been settled, and that by people who had been driven from their homes, that at this time an army of United States troops were on their way to Utah, with the purpose of destroying the Mormons, men were stationed in all the dangerous places, women were excited, and the people as a whole were ready for any emergency, this particular company ~~xx~~ was very insulting, saying that they had assisted in driving the Mormons out of Illinois and that they would go to California and gather up a party and come from the South and assist in destroying them again, this together with the abuses that they had committed against the Indians before they came to Cedar had aroused a feeling against the party, so that it did not require much to cause an attack to be made against the company for many in so doing supposed that they were only taking advantage of an opportunity to protect their own lives and that of their family.

The attack kept up until Thursday, when a truce was made by the terms of which, the emigrants gave up their arms, and was escorted out of the valley, and when the party got nearly to the summit of the ground that divides the flow of water that runs to the Meadow settlement and that ran towards the valley where the emigrants were camped, a place where several bunches of oak grow, the Indians fell upon the emigrants, and with the assistance of some white men, destroyed the company except the small children, that were considered too young to tell what had happened, and who took part in the affair. While there is no doubt that the company would ever lived to pass the forks of the Clara Creek and the Magotsos, where the Indians were gathering to, there can be no doubt that John D. Lee, was responsible for the attack being made at the Mountain Meadows, and for the above reason John D. Lee, suffered the death penalty. The killing was done as speedily as possible, and no wanton cruelty was indulged in, and if at that time the party could have been allowed to pass without danger of implicating the whites, it is very likely they would have been allowed to go, but it is not likely they would have escaped the Indians, who would have waited for them further on their way.

Samuel Knight

State of Utah,)
County of Washington) ss

Samuel Knight, being first sworn deposes and says,
that I have read the foregoing statement and know the contents thereof
and that the same is true of my own knowledge, and that I signed ^{the} same of
my own free will and choice, and futher that the said statement was made
for future use, in settling any false statement that may be circulated
in regards to the subject therein stated, and not to be used for steet
talk, and common gossip.

Samuel Knight

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 11th day of August, 1904.

D. H. Morris

Notary Public.



*My commission expires
April 29th 1908.*

Nephi Johnson 1908 Statement

AFFIDAVIT.

Nephi Johnson, being first duly sworn, deposes and says, I am a resident of Mesquite, Lincoln County, State of Nevada, and of the age of seventy five years, I came to Southern Utah, in the year ~~xxxx~~ 1851, arriving at Parowan, on the 13th day of January, of that year. During the year 1857, I was living at what was known as Johnson Springs, situated about six miles North of Cedar City, Utah, I was in Cedar City, when the train of emigrants passed through Cedar, on their way to the Mountain Meadows, where they were afterwards killed, in what is known as the "Mountain Meadow Massacre"; The company was of a mixed class, some being perfect gentlemen, while others were very boastful, and insulting, as they said that they were coming back, and assist the Johnson army to exterminate the Mormons, It will be remembered that at this time there was a United States army, under Gen. Johnson on its way to Utah, with the understood intention of destroying the Mormons, which filled the people with fear, and greatly excited the most of them, I did hear Capt. Francher, who was the leader of the emigrants, rebuke the boastful ones of the company, for making these threats.

Two days later Isaac C. Haight, told me that he and John D. Lee, had slept together at the Iron Works, and that Lee had proposed to gather the Indians and destroy the emigrants, and that he (Haight) had consented to it, but he had sent James Haslem to Salt Lake City, with a letter to Pres't. Brigham Young, to learn what we had better do, but that Lee had gone on gathering the Indians together to make the attack, and I then advised him to wait until he received the letter, or the answer, as it was a great responsibility to kill so many people.

At that time I was often called upon to interpret for the Indians, being acquainted with their language, and it was soon after talking with Haight, that Indians came to me and reported that attacks had been made on the company; they reported three different attacks, in the third of which Lee led the attack in person, and received one bullet through his hat, and one on each side of his body through his shirt, but his skin was not broke, Capt. Francher was killed in the third attack. All the attacks were made at Night time. Several Indians had been killed and others wounded, also several of the emigrants had been killed and others wounded.

I was still staying on my farm at Johnson Springs, but shortly

afterwards two messengers came to me from Cedar, bearing an order from ~~ix~~ Isaac C. Haight, for me to report at Cedar, and upon arriving there, he told me that trouble had arose between John D. Lee and the Indians, and he wanted me to go out to the Mountains Meadows, and try and settle the difficulty, as I was a friend of the Indians. In the morning of the same day that I got word from Haight to come to Cedar, Indians had told me that the agreement that they had had with Lee, was that they were to get all the horses, and now Lee had sent some of the best to Harmony, and they were going to kill Lee if he did not return them. Haight also told me that Lee wanted to withdraw, but that he had sent him word that he had commenced, and he must finish it, and that he had sent a company of men to assist him. John M. Higbee was also sent to assist Lee, and I went to the Meadows with Higbee, and met with Lee and the Indians at the Meadows, known as Hamblin at the present time, and which was about four miles north of where the ~~xx~~ emigrants were located.

Next morning the difficulty was settled, and the Indians agreed to assist in killing the emigrants, and the white men went to within a rifle shot of the emigrant camp, and sent a man with a flag of truce, towards the camp, and he was met with a similar messenger from the camp, and after a consultation had been arranged, in which Lee and Higbee represented the white settlers, an agreement was entered into, by which the emigrants were to give up their arms, and Lee's men were to take the company back to Cedar City, taking the wounded and as many of the women and children as possible in the three wagons, and the rest of them were to walk, behind the wagons, while the men were to walk a little distance behind the women. The emigrant wagons being left on the camping ground, as the horses had been driven off. John D. Lee said when he returned from the consultation above referred to, that the emigrants were very suspicious, and that he had ask them if he looked like a bad man, and they answered no, but that they were sure that white men had been with the Indians when the attacks had been made, but upon Lee giving his word that he would protect them they consented to leave their camp. I was sent to tell the Indians what they were expected to do, and so suspicious was Lee of me, that he sent an Indian boy who could talk English, to see that I carried the right ~~xxx~~ message; the Indians would not believe this Indian, so I had to go, and after telling the Indians what they were to do, I remained on a hill about thirty rods from where the killing was to take place, and could see every

thing that took place.

The company moved out from their camp, the wounded, and as many of the women and children as could ride were in the wagons, with the rest of the women and children walking close behind, while the men were walking some little distance behind, with the white settlers walking along side of them, the emigrant men being un-armed, while the settlers had their arms; when the company had reach the divide, where the waters sepearate, part going down towards the Clara Creek and the other part going towards the Meadows, and on towards the Desert, John M. Higbee gave the agreed signal "Halt", when the Indians who were in ambush, rushed in between the white settlers and the emigrant men, and began the killing of the men, and the white settlers assisted, and the Indians assisted by John D. Lee, killed the wounded and the women and children, except the little children, I saw John D. Lee, kill some of the women and children, for I was in a position to see, and did see it all. I was immediately sent with four men to prevent the Indians from looting the wagons, but when I got there, I would not do so, for I let them do as they pleased. I was told at the ~~the~~ time, that when they rested from the killing, and I had gone to the wagons that they gathered the children together, and Klingin Smith, selected seventeen of the smallest children together, and handed the older ones over to the Indians who killed them,

In justice to most of the men that went to the Meadows, I will state that they were mostly young, and were under orders what they did, and most of them thought that when they left Cedar City, that the emigrants had been killed by the Indians, and that they were going to bury the dead, and for that purpose they took their shovels along, and their arms to protect themselves from any attack from the Indians.

When Isaac C. Haight received the answer from James Hayslem, in which he was forbidden to injure the Emigrants, but to render them all the assistance possible, he cried like a child, but it was too late; most of the men who took part in the killing, also considered them as their common enemies, and under the excitement caused by the advent of the Johnson Army they felt partly justified in destroying them.

There is no doubt in my mind that John D. Lee, in reporting the affair to Governor Young, lied to him and laid it on the Indians, for some fifteen or twenty years afterwards, Brigham Young sent for me to come to Salt Lake City, and requested me to tell him all I knew of the whole affat

which I did, and while I was relating it to him he walked the floor, and was deeply impressed by the statement, and several times said why did Lee lie to me, and soon afterwards John D. Lee and several others were excommunicated from the Church. He said at the time, that the young men who took part in the massacre would not be held responsible, for they were young, and under orders, but there were some who were responsible, and he would hold them responsible.

At the time of Lees Trial for murder, which took place at Beaver City, Utah, I was in hiding, for I did not want to have anything to do in the matter, but Daniel H. Wells, sent my son to me, with a request that I come to Beaver, and see him which I did, and after telling him what I knew of the affair, he called in Howard, the Prosecuting attorney, and introduced me to him, and ask me to relate to him what I knew of it, with the request that go on the witness stand and testify to what I saw, and knew, which I did, and from all that I know, Brigham Young, nor any official in the Mormon Church never tried to hide any part of the truth pertaining to the "Mountain Meadow Massacre" from the proper officials, and rendered all in their power to bring the guilty to punishment.

I have made this affidavit, not for publication, or for general circulation, but that the truth may be put in writing, that in the event of it being needed to refute error in the future, and after the eye witnesses have passed away, it may be used for that purpose.

Nephi Johnson

State of Utah)
County of Washington) ss

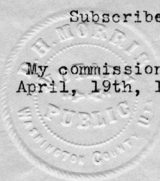
Nephi Johnson, being first duly sworn, deposes and says that he is the signer of the foregoing instrument; that he has read the same and knows the contents thereof, and of his own knowledge the same is true. This affidavit consists of three pages besides this page

Nephi Johnson

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 22nd day of July, A.D. 1908.

My commission expires
April, 19th, 1912.

D. H. Morris
Notary Public.





Unidentified man next to monument at Mountain Meadows, circa 1930.

Problems with Mountain Meadows Massacre Sources

Richard E. Turley Jr.

The Church History Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has gradually accumulated what may well be the largest and finest collection of information about the Mountain Meadows Massacre ever assembled. Many complex documentary problems have presented challenges in understanding, digesting, and interpreting this massive collection.

Though many people have written about the Mountain Meadows Massacre, few have appreciated fully the problems inherent in some key sources of information about it. Three sources readily illustrate the nature of these problems: (1) an 1859 report by James Henry Carleton, who investigated the massacre on site; (2) the transcripts of the two trials of John D. Lee; and (3) the 1877 book titled *Mormonism Unveiled; or the Life and Confessions of the Late Mormon Bishop, John D. Lee; (Written by Himself)*. All these sources provide important information about the massacre, but they also have significant problems. Critical analysis can lead to a more thorough understanding of the sources, leading to more accurate history.

Carleton's Report

One of the most frequently used early sources on the massacre is U.S. Army Brevet Major James Henry Carleton's report of his 1859 investigation at Mountain Meadows.¹ The on-site investigation by Carleton and his men, occurring less than two years after the massacre, yields important evidence for modern scholars of the massacre. Yet careful analysis shows that portions of the oft-cited report rest on shaky foundations.²

For example, Carleton cites information he received from assistant army surgeon Charles Brewer, who went “up the Platte river on the 11th of June, 1857.” On this northern route, Brewer “passed a train of emigrants near O’Fallon’s Bluffs.” This train he remembered as “*Perkin’s train*,” being conducted by “a man named Perkins, who had previously been to California.” Brewer saw the train several times along the trail, last observing it “at Ash Hollow, on the North Fork of the Platte.” Relying on Brewer’s testimony, Carleton describes the train in detail, calling it “one of the finest trains that had been seen to cross the plains.” The train had “forty wagons” and “about forty heads of families,” and there were “three carriages along,” one of which had “something peculiar in the construction,” a “blazoned stag’s head upon the panels.” Brewer claimed that this carriage was “now in the possession of the Mormons.” He later concluded, after hearing reports and “comparing the dates with the probable rate of travel,” that “this was the . . . train . . . destroyed at Mountain Meadows.”³

The Brewer-Carleton account proves problematic, however, since the weight of evidence suggests that most members of the train massacred at Mountain Meadows traveled on the more southerly Cherokee Trail and could not have been at the places Brewer named.⁴ Still, multiple writers from the nineteenth to the twenty-first century have accepted and parroted Carleton’s report, repeating the intriguing but questionable details again and again without further analysis.

For example, in his 1870 volume *Life in Utah; or, the Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism*, John H. Beadle quotes Brewer’s descriptions of the emigrants at O’Fallon’s Bluff, with “forty heads of families” and three carriages, one with the “blazoned stag’s head upon the panels,” of which the Mormons took possession. Beadle also continues Brewer’s assessment that this was “one of the finest trains” crossing the plains.⁵ In his 1976 book *Massacre at Mountain Meadows: An American Legend and a Monumental Crime*, William Wise relies on Brewer’s description of the carriage with the blazoned stag’s head on the panels.⁶ In the *Utah History Encyclopedia*, published in 1994, Morris A. Shirts writes that the massacred emigrant company was known en route “as the Perkins train.”⁷ More recently, Sally Denton’s 2003 book *American Massacre*, though naming the Cherokee Trail in the text, provides a map outlining a route that passes near O’Fallon’s Bluff and Ash Hollow. In her text, she also repeats the description of forty wagons, three carriages, and the blazoned stag’s head.⁸

Whether the Arkansas train was indeed “one of the finest trains that ever crossed the plains” is a subject for a future article. The train unquestionably had property of great economic value.⁹ Brewer’s problematic

description of the Perkins train, however, should not be used uncritically as evidence of the Arkansas train's origin, wealth, or composition.

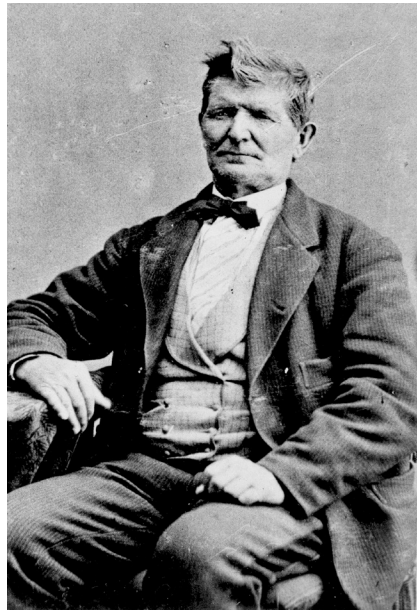
John D. Lee Trial Transcripts

The transcripts of the John D. Lee trials are another important, misunderstood source on the massacre. Lee was tried twice in the 1870s for his role in the killings; the first trial resulted in a hung jury, the second in a verdict finding Lee guilty. There are two separate transcripts of the trials: the Rogerson transcript in the Church History Library and the Boreman transcript in the Huntington Library.¹⁰ Nearly every scholar who has used the transcripts has accepted them at face value, not really understanding their complex history and nature.

Two court reporters, Josiah Rogerson and Adam S. Patterson, recorded the proceedings of the trials in Pitman shorthand.¹¹ Each reporter took shorthand notes of the first trial, most of which still exist, but each recorded or omitted slightly different aspects of the trial.¹² Rogerson claimed to have taken limited shorthand notes of the second trial, but the location of most of these shorthand notes, if still extant, is unknown.¹³ The majority of Patterson's shorthand notes of the second trial still exist.¹⁴ Together, Rogerson's and Patterson's shorthand notes provide the most accurate record of what was actually said and done during the trials.¹⁵

Sometime after the trials, Rogerson agreed to make a transcript from his shorthand notes for Latter-day Saint leaders. He began transcribing his notes from the first Lee trial in 1883 and labored at the task for years, editing and condensing as he transcribed.¹⁶ Historiography in the nineteenth century was not what it is today, and trends emerge in Rogerson's edits. A comparison of his shorthand record to his transcript shows extensive alterations.

Rogerson added and omitted negatives, changed numbers, and altered dates. He changed names, often omitting Isaac C. Haight's



John D. Lee

name in an apparent effort to protect him.¹⁷ At the same time, he sharpened the focus on Lee—for example, where the shorthand reads that “white men incited” an Indian attack, his transcript says, “John D. Lee marshalled and led those Indians to the Mountain Meadows.”¹⁸

Other portions of Rogerson’s transcript expand speakers’ rhetoric. A stark example of these changes can be found in the closing argument of William W. Bishop, Lee’s attorney. In reference to the damaging testimony of witness Annie Hoag, Rogerson’s shorthand records Bishop as saying, “Her statement I think was the most remarkable statement [I] have heard in my life.” In the transcript, however, the text was amplified to include sexist sentiment in an effort to further discount Hoag’s testimony: “Her statements are so monstrous, that, coming from a woman, as they do, we cannot believe them true.”¹⁹

While Rogerson was laboring on his transcript, Patterson, the other court reporter, moved to San Francisco, where he died in 1886.²⁰ Meanwhile, presiding trial judge Jacob Boreman decided that he wanted to publish a book about the trials. Since Patterson was unavailable, Boreman commissioned reporter Waddington L. Cook, a former student of Patterson, to make a transcript from Patterson’s shorthand.²¹ Cook found Patterson’s shorthand difficult—in places impossible—to read.²² He therefore contacted Josiah Rogerson and requested his assistance in the project, asking Rogerson to bring his own shorthand notes, which were more decipherable than Patterson’s. The two of them completed the project, often relying on Rogerson’s notes.²³

While the resulting Boreman transcript more accurately reflects the original shorthand than the Rogerson transcript does, it too contains additions, deletions, and alterations. Some passages in the Boreman transcript have no basis in either the Patterson or the Rogerson shorthand. For example, in a section pertaining to Lee’s negotiations with the emigrants before the massacre, Lee’s attorney, W. W. Bishop, supposedly asks the question “Did Haight make any remark . . . ?” This inserted question, not found in the shorthand, erroneously places Isaac C. Haight at the scene of the killing.²⁴

Other passages in the Boreman transcript are amalgamations of both the Patterson and the Rogerson shorthand. Additionally, substantial sections of the Patterson shorthand—legal preliminaries, juror interviews, and many technical legal arguments, including some opening and closing arguments—were never included in the transcript. In short, the Boreman transcript, like the Rogerson transcript, is not a faithful transcription of the original shorthand.

Historians have used the transcripts in various ways, often relying instead upon newspaper reports and other published accounts for most of their information.²⁵ Juanita Brooks refers to the Boreman transcript in a few notes and in her bibliography, and she also includes the Rogerson transcript in the bibliography. Yet some of her discussion of trial testimony is inconsistent with the transcripts. She generally does not provide citations for her material and may have used secondary sources.²⁶ Anna Backus includes Philip Klingensmith's testimony from the first trial in *Mountain Meadows Witness*; much of the testimony is apparently reproduced from the Rogerson transcript.²⁷ In *Blood of the Prophets*, Will Bagley cites the Boreman transcript for the first trial.²⁸ More often he relies on published accounts, including newspaper articles and Brooks's book.²⁹

In the process of writing *Massacre at Mountain Meadows: An American Tragedy*, my coauthors and I determined that we needed a more complete, accurate picture of what was said at the Lee trials. We therefore commissioned new transcripts of both Rogerson's and Patterson's shorthand and compared all versions. Exhaustive examination of these sources has contributed significantly to our understanding of the trials and the massacre itself.

Mormonism Unveiled

Another major source that poses problems is *Mormonism Unveiled*, which appeared in print five months after John D. Lee's execution. The book, purportedly written by Lee, includes his personal history and a confession about the massacre. Though the title hints at exposé rather than history, many authors continue to view the book as an accurate primary source. Other massacre scholars have debated the authorship of the book, ascribing a role to Lee's attorney, William W. Bishop.³⁰

Juanita Brooks, for example, at first may have accepted Lee's authorship without question, but later she doubted that he was the sole writer. "I should like to determine, if I can," she wrote, "how much was written by Lee himself and what part was filled in by the Attorney, Bishop, from notes and conversations with Lee."³¹ More recently, Will Bagley wrote, "Without the manuscript of *Mormonism Unveiled*, there is no way to resolve the question of its authorship, but internal evidence reveals that no one but Lee could have composed it." Yet Bagley also noted "several puzzling errors" in the text that are difficult to reconcile while claiming single authorship.³²

Evidence indicates that while Lee composed much of the book's underlying text, Bishop added sensationalized and erroneous details to the

manuscript. This is evident both in Lee's personal history, which comprises seventeen chapters dealing with Lee's pre-Utah life, and in his confession.

A clear embellishment by Bishop appears on page 74 of the history. Lee purportedly claims that "after 1844" he began keeping a journal, but that most of his journals written to 1860 were taken by Brigham Young's order and never returned. The account claims that these journals incriminated Church leaders and contained information about the massacre. "I suppose they were put out of the way, perhaps burned, for these journals gave an account of many dark deeds," Lee supposedly wrote.³³ Yet if Lee really believed Young destroyed his journals up to 1860, he gave no hint of it in several letters written in the months preceding his execution. Seventeen letters in the Lee collection at the Huntington Library make reference to Lee's journals without any mention of confiscated, destroyed, or missing journals.³⁴

For example, on September 29, 1876, Lee asked his wife Rachel to bring him "all of my Diaries from the time that I came to Iron country with G. A. Smith in 1850." Then he decided that she should just bring all his journals.³⁵ When Lee did not receive all the volumes as requested, he sent instructions for other family members to send the remaining journals "to Marshal Stokes, who would send them to Col. Nelson."³⁶ Marshal William Nelson did receive some Lee journals, as did Bishop, including portions that were supposedly destroyed. The Huntington Library now owns original Lee journals, obtained from Bishop's and Nelson's descendants, covering 1846 to 1876, although some volumes and pages are missing.³⁷

Bishop referred to the journals in a letter to Lee dated March 9, 1877—just two weeks before Lee's death. Complaining that he had read Lee's manuscript to that point and found that Lee had not written about his life in Utah, he begged Lee to record his Utah experiences, especially concerning "the *Reformation* and the massacre." Bishop was competing in the marketplace with a written confession that Lee had given to prosecutor Sumner Howard in February. The knowledge of Howard's copy was negatively affecting the marketing of Lee's manuscript, said Bishop, "but by giving me your history during your life in Utah I can make the thing work all right yet I think. Send me such other Journals and writings as you have to throw light on the work."³⁸

Bishop's additions to Lee's history introduce other inconsistencies. As mentioned, Lee supposedly wrote that he began keeping journals after 1844. Two problems arise from this statement. First, extant journals prove that Lee began keeping a journal well before that date. The journals that fell into the hands of Bishop and Nelson, however, apparently did not include journals that predated 1844, copies or originals of which are now in

family possession, the Huntington Library, the Brigham Young University library, and the Church History Library.³⁹ Second, other parts of *Mormonism Unveiled* clearly describe Lee writing in a journal prior to 1844. In describing an 1841 missionary journey, Lee writes, “Knowing the danger of being lifted up by self-approbation, I determined to be on my guard, to attend to secret prayer, and reading and keeping diaries.”⁴⁰ Continuing his account of this mission, Lee again writes, “I was sitting by a desk writing in my diary.”⁴¹

Lee’s confession in *Mormonism Unveiled* is more problematic than his history. At first, Bishop did not hide his collaboration with Lee in writing the confession. The *Pioche Daily Record* published an 1875 letter from Bishop in which he wrote, “Lee, aided by myself and associates, prepared a full and detailed account of the case.”⁴² Bishop later claimed in *Mormonism Unveiled* that Lee had dictated the confession: “The Confession is given just as he dictated it to me, without alteration or elimination, except in a few cases where the ends of justice might have been defeated by premature revelations.”⁴³

The confession returned to the destroyed-diary story. On page 260, Lee purportedly wrote, “I could give many things that would throw light on the doings of the Church, if I had my journals, but as I said, nearly all of my journals have been made way with by Brigham Young; at least I delivered them to him and never could get them again.”⁴⁴

Several Lee confessions exist in addition to the one in *Mormonism Unveiled*, none of which is entirely reliable. Careful comparison of the confessions shows progressive embellishment, culminating in *Mormonism Unveiled*.⁴⁵ Like the trial transcripts, the embellishments show distinct trends. For example, Bishop amplified what the southern Utah settlers supposedly said about the emigrants. In the Howard version of the confessions, Lee says, speaking of the emigrants, “that *one of them* had said he had helped to kill old Joe Smith and his brother Hyrum.”⁴⁶ In the later *Pioche Weekly Record* version of Bishop’s abstracted manuscript, the statement reads “that *some of the emigrants* claimed to have been participants in the murder of the prophets at the Carthage Jail.”⁴⁷ In *Mormonism Unveiled*, this assertion is further generalized: “that *these vile Gentiles* publicly proclaimed that they had the very pistol with which the Prophet, Joseph Smith, was murdered, and had threatened to kill Brigham Young and all of the Apostles.”⁴⁸

Moreover, as time passed, Bishop sought to expand responsibility for the massacre to include Apostle George A. Smith and Brigham Young. All versions of Lee’s confession record a premassacre conversation between Lee and Smith. However, where the Howard confession has no comparable



The original Cedar City plan was to ambush the emigrant company near the confluence of the Santa Clara River and Magotsu Creek.

text, Bishop's version in the *Pioche Weekly Record* has Lee assert that Smith, during that conversation, "never intimated to me that he desired any emigrants to pass in safety."⁴⁹ In *Mormonism Unveiled*, this statement grows to the following accusation:

General Smith did not say one word to me or intimate to me, that he wished *any emigrants* to pass in safety through the Territory. But he led me to believe then, as I believe now, that he did want, and expected every emigrant to be killed that undertook to pass through the Territory while we were at war with the Government. I thought it was his *mission* to prepare the people for the bloody work.⁵⁰

Similarly, where the Howard version is silent, the Pioche paper has Lee say, "I have always considered that George A. Smith visited Southern Utah at that time to prepare the people for exterminating Captain Fancher's train of emigrants."⁵¹ *Mormonism Unveiled* repeats this statement but changes the word "considered" to "believed" and adds the condemnation "I now believe that [Smith] was sent for that purpose by the direct command of Brigham Young."⁵² These supposed assertions by Lee seem incredible given that prosecutors had offered Lee his life if he would just charge Young with ordering the massacre.⁵³ Lee went to his death instead. Is it not curious, then, that such indictments suddenly appear in *Mormonism Unveiled*?

Perhaps the *Ogden Junction* editor in 1877 was not far off. After examining Lee's confession in *Mormonism Unveiled*, he judged it "a Little Lee and a Little Lawyer."⁵⁴

Conclusion

Historians must rely on evidence, and histories can be no more reliable than their underlying sources. None of the sources reviewed here—the James Henry Carleton report, the John D. Lee trial transcripts, and *Mormonism Unveiled*—can be taken at face value.

This brief article provides only a glimpse of the difficulties historians have faced in trying to reconstruct the complicated history of the Mountain Meadows Massacre. Much time and attention are required to deal competently with the evidence and to discern the truth from the faulty memories, myths, and deceptions associated with that tragic week in September 1857.

An early draft of this paper was presented at the Mormon History Association Annual Meeting, Provo, Utah, May 22, 2004.

1. James Henry Carleton, *Report on the Subject of the Massacre at the Mountain Meadows, in Utah Territory, in September, 1857, of One Hundred and Twenty Men, Women and Children, Who Were from Arkansas* (Little Rock, Ark.: True Democrat Steam Press, 1860). Will Bagley wrote, "While biased, the report James Carleton wrote at Mountain Meadows remains one of the earliest and most accurate sources of information on the massacre." *Blood of the Prophets: Brigham Young and the Massacre at Mountain Meadows* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), 230. For information on Carleton and his investigation of the Mountain Meadows Massacre, see David A. White, "James H. Carleton, 1855" and "James H. Carleton and William C. Mitchell, 1860," in *News of the Plains and Rockies, 1803–1865: Original Narratives of Overland Travel and Adventure Selected from the Wagner-Camp and Becker Bibliography of Western Americana* (Spokane, Wash.: Arthur H. Clark, 1998), 4:153–55, 213–28; Robert A. Clark, introduction to *The Mountain Meadows Massacre: A Special Report by J. H. Carleton, Bvt. Major U.S.A., Captain 1st Dragoons, 1859* (Spokane, Wash.: Arthur H. Clark, 1995), 5–7; Chad Flake, "Carleton's Report on Mountain Meadows," *Friends of the Brigham Young University Library Newsletter* 13 (Fall 1975): 1–5.

2. Some persons have questioned the report's authorship, attributing it to Judge John Cradlebaugh. Thomas L. Kane to Jeremiah Black, November [14?], 1859, Jeremiah S. Black Papers, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.; George Q. Cannon to Brigham Young, December 13, 1859, Incoming Correspondence, Brigham Young, Office Files, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah. I personally believe Carleton authored the report, though he does cite Cradlebaugh indirectly. See Carleton, *Report of the Massacre*, 10.

3. Carleton, *Report of the Massacre*, 3–4, italics in original. On Brewer's profession as surgeon, see Charles Brewer to R. P. Campbell, May 6, 1859, in U.S. Congress, Senate, *Message of the President of the United States, Communicating, in Compliance with a Resolution of the Senate, Information in Relation to the Massacre at Mountain Meadows, and Other Massacres in Utah Territory*, 36th Cong., 1st sess., 1860, S. Doc. 42, 16–17.

4. See Ronald W. Walker, Richard E. Turley Jr., and Glen M. Leonard, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows: An American Tragedy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 74–86; Bagley, *Blood of the Prophets*, 67; Patricia K. A. Fletcher, Jack Earl Fletcher, and Lee Whiteley, 1850 *Another New Route to the California Gold Fields*, vol. 2, *Cherokee Trail Diaries* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, [2001]), 303–4.

5. John H. Beadle, *Life in Utah; or, the Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism: Being an Exposé of the Secret Rites and Ceremonies of the Latter-Day Saints, with a Full and Authentic History of Polygamy and the Mormon Sect from Its Origin to the Present Time* (Philadelphia: National Publishing, 1870), 179–80.

6. William Wise, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows: An American Legend and a Monumental Crime* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1976), 163.

7. Morris A. Shirts, "Mountain Meadows Massacre," in *Utah History Encyclopedia*, ed. Allan Kent Powell (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994), 384.

8. Sally Denton, *American Massacre: The Tragedy at Mountain Meadows, September 1857* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003), xii–xiii, 100–101. The map does not name O'Fallon's Bluff or Ash Hollow but runs between "Fort Kearney" and

“Fort Laramie.” Denton’s route, largely on the north side of the Platte and North Platte, is curiously titled “The Southern Trail to Mountain Meadows.”

9. See Walker, Turley, and Leonard, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows*, 104–5, 251–54.

10. Rogerson’s shorthand notes and transcript are in Josiah Rogerson, *Transcripts and Notes of John D. Lee Trials, 1875–85*, Church History Library. Patterson’s shorthand notes and the Boreman transcript are included in the Jacob S. Boreman Papers, Huntington Library, San Marino, California. The Library of Congress has a carbon duplicate of the Boreman transcript; it is missing Baskin’s closing argument from the first trial and has been edited separately. It is in the W. L. Cook Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

11. Josiah Rogerson to the First Presidency, March 9, 1905, First Presidency, *Miscellaneous Documents, 1887–1918*, Church History Library; W. L. Cook, affidavit, May 1, 1947, Cook Papers; F. L., July 12, 1875, in “Lee’s Trial,” *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, July 15, 1875, 4.

12. Patterson shorthand books 6, 8–10, and 13 of the first trial are not extant.

13. Josiah Rogerson to the First Presidency (Joseph F. Smith, Anthon H. Lund, and J. R. Winder), April 5, 1905, First Presidency *Miscellaneous Documents*. The only known extant Rogerson shorthand from the second trial is a single legal plea dated September 18, 1876. The Rogerson transcript of the second trial is almost a verbatim copy of the partial transcript of the second trial published by Lee’s attorney, W. W. Bishop, in *Mormonism Unveiled; or the Life and Confessions of the Late Mormon Bishop, John D. Lee; (Written by Himself): Embracing a History of Mormonism from Its Inception down to the Present Time, with an Exposition of the Secret History, Signs, Symbols and Crimes of the Mormon Church: Also the True History of the Horrible Butchery Known as the Mountain Meadows Massacre*, ed. William W. Bishop (St. Louis: Bryan, Brand and Co., 1877), 302–78.

14. The first Patterson shorthand book for the second Lee trial, which would contain interviews with the jurors and opening arguments of the attorneys, is not extant.

15. LaJean Purcell Carruth has prepared new transcripts of all extant shorthand from both Lee trials. Janiece Johnson has constructed a matrix for comparative analysis of the sources. The primary sources of information for this portion of the article come from their work.

16. Rogerson to First Presidency, March 9, 1905, First Presidency *Miscellaneous Documents*. On December 8, 1883, Rogerson wrote to President John Taylor, “Am carrying out your instructions in making digest or synopsis of Lee trial, and think, am half through.” Rogerson to Taylor, December 8, 1883, John Taylor Presidential Papers, 1877–87, Church History Library. By February 1884, Rogerson still had not finished but wrote, “I have brought the transcript down to less than one third—in the number of words, that there are in the shorthand notes.” Josiah Rogerson to John Taylor, February 27, 1884, Taylor Presidential Papers.

17. See John W. Bradshaw, testimony, *United States v. John D. Lee*, first trial, Rogerson shorthand 5:29; Rogerson transcript 2:259. Rogerson wrote “Haight” in shorthand and then in longhand above the shorthand, and he used the pronoun *he* in reference to Haight. In the transcript, however, he omitted “Haight” and used the pronoun *they* instead of *he*.

18. J. G. Sutherland, in Philo T. Farnsworth's testimony, *United States v. John D. Lee*, first trial, Rogerson transcript 4:438; Rogerson shorthand 8:27.

19. William W. Bishop, closing address, *United States v. John D. Lee*, first trial, Rogerson transcript 5:12; Rogerson shorthand 11:25. The source of these alterations may be Rogerson or Bishop, but the transcript was obviously modified from the original shorthand record.

20. "A. S. Patterson Dead," *Deseret Evening News*, August 23, 1886, [3].

21. Rogerson to First Presidency, April 5, 1905, First Presidency Miscellaneous Documents; W. L. Cook to Juanita Brooks, February 9, 1946, Juanita Brooks Correspondence, Institutional Archives (HIA 31.1.7.1-3), Huntington Library; W. L. Cook, affidavit, May 1, 1947, Cook Papers.

22. W. L. Cook, note regarding Wells Spicer's closing argument, *United States v. John D. Lee*, second trial, Boreman transcript, 3:22: "Following this speech come Judge Spicers address to the jury. Part of whi of the first of which is not reported & the remainder is so illegible that it is impossible to make an intelligent transcript of it."

23. Rogerson to the First Presidency, April 5, 1905, First Presidency Miscellaneous Documents; W. L. Cook, note regarding E. D. Hoge's address to the jury, *United States v. John D. Lee*, first trial, Boreman transcript, 7:1. Cook repeatedly maintained that he typed the Boreman transcript; he did not acknowledge Rogerson's help. Cook to Brooks, February 9, 1946, Brooks Correspondence; Cook affidavit, May 1, 1947, Cook Papers. Evidence on the documents themselves, however, supports Rogerson's assertion that he assisted Cook on the Boreman transcript: Rogerson's longhand appears in numerous places above Patterson's shorthand, many of the question marks are in Rogerson's hand, and Rogerson's "hand" symbol appears numerous times on Patterson's shorthand, often at the same place in the proceedings as it appears in Rogerson's shorthand. Occasionally, passages from Rogerson's shorthand were inserted into Patterson's shorthand. In addition, large portions of the Boreman transcript are actually based on Rogerson's shorthand, not on Patterson's.

24. W. W. Bishop in William Matthews, testimony, *United States v. John D. Lee*, first trial, Boreman transcript, 4:56; Patterson shorthand 5:41; Rogerson shorthand 4:30.

25. In his 1976 book *Massacre at Mountain Meadows: An American Legend and a Monumental Crime*, William Wise briefly mentions the trials, citing Juanita Brooks's work on the massacre and J. P. Dunn Jr., *Massacres of the Mountains: A History of the Indian Wars of the Far West, 1815-1875* (New York: Archer House, 1958), 280-81. Sally Denton in *American Massacre* uses Robert Fielding's collection of *Salt Lake Tribune* reports, other *Salt Lake Tribune* articles, and Brooks's work. Although she mentions the Boreman transcript, her direct quotations come from newspapers and Brooks. See Robert Kent Fielding and Dorothy S. Fielding, eds. and comps., *The Tribune Reports of the Trials of John D. Lee for the Massacre at Mountain Meadows, November, 1874-April, 1877* (Higginum, Conn.: Kent's Books, 2000).

26. Juanita Brooks, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre*, 2nd ed. (1962; repr., Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 151-53 n. 11, 192 n. 3, 294, 300. Brooks adeptly summarizes the testimony of the first three witnesses in the first trial and then briefly summarizes the remainder of the trial without naming any

of the remaining witnesses. Her summary includes events that were not mentioned in the trial. She omits any mention of James Haslam's testimony in the second trial and confuses testimony given in the first and second trials. See Brooks, *Mountain Meadows Massacre*, 191–98.

27. Backus quotes directly and extensively from the trial but does not provide footnotes. Craig L. Foster, who interviewed Backus, reported that she said she relied primarily on the Rogerson transcript, filling in gaps with text from the Boreman transcript and Beaver County court records. See also Anna Jean Backus, *Mountain Meadows Witness: The Life and Times of Bishop Philip Klingensmith* (Spokane, Wash.: Arthur H. Clark, 1995), 290.

28. Bagley uses the carbon copy of the Boreman transcript at the Library of Congress. He cites the transcript for the first trial at least sixteen times: 402 n. 76; 405 n. 62; 406 nn. 80, 82, 97; 409 nn. 30, 35; 411 n. 3; 412 n. 29; 413 n. 47; 415 nn. 11, 37; 433 nn. 26, 31, 36, 37. He does not appear to cite the transcript for the second trial.

29. See, for example, Bagley, *Blood of the Prophets*, 404 n. 35; 409 nn. 16, 19, 21; 412 n. 20; 413 nn. 39, 54; 415 n. 13; 417 nn. 4, 32; 433 nn. 25, 27, 32, 38, 39, 41, 42, 43; 434 nn. 72, 74, 80, 84, 87; 435 nn. 89, 90, 93.

30. *Mormonism Unveiled*. This analysis, which is merely an introduction to the myriad problems with *Mormonism Unveiled* as a source, is dependent upon the work of Chad Orton. His research reveals a pervasive pattern of inconsistencies, contradictions, and modified vocabulary in the book. See Chad M. Orton, "W. W. Bishop Unveiled: An Analysis of John D. Lee's Confessions," unpublished manuscript presented at the annual Mormon History Association Conference, Sacramento, Calif., May 23, 2008, copy in possession of the author.

31. Juanita Brooks to Leslie E. Bliss, May 26, 1946, Juanita Brooks Correspondence, Huntington Library. Bagley maintains that Brooks accepted Lee's testimony unequivocally. Bagley, *Blood of the Prophets*, 318–19.

32. Bagley, *Blood of the Prophets*, 318, 437 n. 61. Other examples include Charles W. Penrose, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre: Who Were Guilty of the Crime?* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1884), 38, who writes, "This confession [*Mormonism Unveiled*] is supposed to be the 'only true and genuine one.' Whether it is or not I cannot say. My opinion is from what I have read that John D. Lee furnished particulars and data to Mr. Bishop, who worked them up with some of his own notions and fabrications into this book." See also Nels Anderson, *Desert Saints: The Mormon Frontier in Utah* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942), 295, 305 n. 21.

33. *Mormonism Unveiled*, 74. Earlier on the same page, the manuscript reads, "Most of my private writings and journals have been heretofore delivered to the agents of Brigham Young, and all have been destroyed, or at least kept from me." *Mormonism Unveiled*, 74.

34. See John D. Lee to Rachel Andora Lee, September 29, 1876, HM 31219; John D. Lee to Emma B. Lee, October 10, 1876, HM 31212; John D. Lee to Rachel Andora Lee, October 12, 1876, HM 31220; John D. Lee to Emma B. Lee, October 26, 1876, HM 31213; John D. Lee to Joseph and Helen Wood, October 26, 1876, HM 31228; John D. Lee to Sara Jane Lee, November 16, 1876, HM 31227; John D. Lee to Emma B. Lee, December 9, 1876, HM 31214; John D. and Rachel A. Lee to "My Children at the Mow-E-Yabba," December 15, 1876, HM 31230; John D. and Rachel A. Lee to Lehi and Amarah Smithson, December 25, 1876, HM 31229; Nancy Lee Dalton

to John D. Lee and Rachel A. Lee, January 27, 1877, HM 31240; Emma Lee to John D. Lee, February 1, 1877, HM 31243; Lehi and Amarah Smithson to John D. Lee, February 9, 1877, HM 31247; William W. Bishop to John D. Lee, February 23, 1877, HM 31234; John D. Lee to Joseph H. Lee, February 24, 1877, HM 31217; Sarah J. Lee to John D. Lee and Rachel A. Lee, February 24, 1877, HM 31241; John D. Lee to William W. Bishop, March 2, 1877, HM 31210; William W. Bishop to John D. Lee, March 9, 1877, HM 31235, all in John Doyle Lee Papers, Huntington Library.

35. John D. Lee to Rachel Andora Woolsey Lee, September 29, 1876, Lee Papers. See also John D. Lee to Emma B. Lee, October 10, 26, 1876, Lee Papers; John D. Lee to Emma B. Lee, December 9, 1876, Lee Papers.

36. John D. and Rachel Lee to Lehi and Amarah Lee Smithson, December 25, 1876, Lee Papers; John D. and Rachel Lee to "My Children at the Mow-E-Yabba," December 15, 1876, Lee Papers. For information on Rachel's trip to visit Lee with the journals, see Emma B. Lee to John D. Lee, November 12, 1876, HM 31242, Lee Papers; John D. Lee to Sarah C. Lee, December 8, 1876, HM 31224, Lee Papers; John D. Lee to Emma B. Lee, December 9, 1876, HM 31214, Lee Papers. For information on Lehi Smithson gathering Lee's documents, see Emma B. Lee to John D. Lee, February 1, 1877, Lee Papers; Lehi and Amarah Smithson to John D. Lee, February 9, 1877, Lee Papers; John D. Lee to Joseph Hyrum Lee, February 24, 1877, Lee Papers; Sarah Lee Dalton to John D. and Rachel Lee, February 24, 1877, Lee Papers; John D. Lee to William W. Bishop, March 2, 1877, Lee Papers.

37. In 1938, when Charles Kelly edited and published Lee's journals for 1846–47 and 1859, he did so for Rolla Bishop Watt, a grandnephew of William Bishop, who inherited the journals in a chain of possession going back to William Bishop himself. Watt later gave these journals to the Huntington Library. Charles Kelly, ed., *Journals of John D. Lee, 1846–47 and 1859* (Salt Lake City: Western Printing, 1938), 13–14. Later, Robert Cleland and Juanita Brooks published five other Lee journals covering the period from 1848 to 1876, with notable gaps, which the Huntington Library obtained from the family of William Nelson. Robert Glass Cleland and Juanita Brooks, eds., *A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee, 1848–1876* (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1955), 1:xx–xxi.

38. William W. Bishop to John D. Lee, March 9, 1877, HM 31235, Lee Papers, emphasis in original.

39. Perry Special Collections has an original Lee diary for 1840–41, available to view online at Mormon Missionary Diaries, <http://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/cdm4/document.php?CISOROOT=/MMD&CISOPTR=32437&CISOSHOW=32303> (accessed September 13, 2008). The Huntington Library has a typescript of a Lee journal for January–July 1841. It was obtained from Juanita Brooks, who made the typescript in May 1949 from the original owned by a Lee descendant, Mozelle Bickley. In 1995, the Church Archives obtained John D. Lee's journal for March 1842–August 1843 from Mark R. Bickley, one of Lee's descendants. A photocopy of this journal was located at the Huntington Library prior to 1995.

40. *Mormonism Unveiled*, 117–18.

41. *Mormonism Unveiled*, 130.

42. W. W. Bishop, July 21, 1875, in "The Lee Trial," *Pioche Daily Record*, July 25, 1875.

43. *Mormonism Unveiled*, 212.

44. *Mormonism Unveiled*, 260. The account continues, “I have delivered to my Counsel, Wm. W. Bishop, such journals as I have, and shall leave the one that I am now keeping in prison, when I am released by death from the necessity of writing down my thoughts from day to day, and he can make such use of it as he thinks best.” As shown above, the journals received by Bishop and Nelson included ones that Young supposedly destroyed or sequestered.

45. Bishop explained the greater length of the confession in *Mormonism Unveiled* by writing, “Extracts from this Confession have heretofore been given to the press, but the entire Confession has not been published anywhere except in this book.” *Mormonism Unveiled*, 212. That explanation, however, cannot account for the contradictions and other problems introduced by the embellishments.

46. “Lee’s Confession,” *Sacramento Daily Record-Union*, March 24, 1877, 3–4, italics added.

47. “Execution of Lee!” *Pioche Weekly Record*, March 24, 1877, 2, italics added.

48. *Mormonism Unveiled*, 218–19, italics added.

49. “Notes from ‘Life of John D. Lee,’” *Pioche Weekly Record*, April 21, 1877. In all versions of the confessions, Lee purportedly told Smith to have Young issue passes to all emigrants he wanted to pass safely, a questionable claim by itself since Young did not declare martial law until after Smith returned to Salt Lake. Although scholars once debated whether Young issued two martial law proclamations—one in early August 1857, the other in September—evidence shows that the purported August document was actually a September document with a typesetting error. See Everett L. Cooley, ed., *Diary of Brigham Young, 1857* (Salt Lake City: Tanner Trust Fund/University of Utah Library, 1980), 80–81 n. 80; Will Bagley, “If the Document Is Authentic, How Can We Explain Weird Dates?” *Salt Lake Tribune*, August 10, 2003, B2.

50. *Mormonism Unveiled*, 225, italics in original.

51. “Notes from ‘Life of John D. Lee.’”

52. *Mormonism Unveiled*, 225.

53. See Lee’s journal entries for the dates August 31; September 20, 23, 24; October 16, 31, 1875, in *Mormon Chronicle*, 2:352, 364–65, 368–69, 462 n. 14, 378, 382; LeGrand Young to Brigham Young, March 23, 1877, Incoming Correspondence, Brigham Young, Office Files, Church History Library. See also the journal entries for August 25 and September 11, 1875, in *Mormon Chronicle*, 2:350, 361.

54. “Reported Confession of John D. Lee,” *Odgen Junction*, March 26, 1877, 1.



Site of Fort Harmony, where some massacre participants gathered before the first attack on the emigrant train.

Mormon Memories and the Tragedy at Mountain Meadows

Ronald W. Walker

And I discover a dark and lonely place
Where no person should have to go
And I claw my way out as best I can.

—*Melinda Whicher*¹

For more than 150 years, men and women have argued over the meaning of the Mountain Meadows Massacre and what, if anything, should be told about it. For the past six years, I've had a role in this. For me, it has been “a dark and lonely place where no person should have to go,” and now as I end my present work on the topic, I have some ideas about how this terrible tragedy should be remembered.

The telling of the Mountain Meadows Massacre is difficult not just because of the slippery nature of its historical sources. It is also difficult because of the various group memories that have come to surround it. Maurice Halbwachs, the early-twentieth-century sociologist whose writing laid the theoretical framework for the current boom in memory studies, argued that a place or event can have many collective memories, shaped by the “material traces, rites, texts, and traditions left behind by that past.”² According to one interpreter of Halbwachs's work, many social groups within a single culture may have their own distinct memory, whether “social classes, families, associations, corporations, armies, [or] trade unions.”³

In the case of the Mountain Meadows Massacre, there are as many memories as competing groups that have come to be a part of it: descendants of victims and perpetrators, Mormon leaders and lay members, Indians, and Mormon critics—each with their own determined memories of what happened and each with their own ideas about how the event should be remembered.

My purpose is not to judge these various collective memories. Our book does its best to do this by laying out the important facts and letting them speak for themselves.⁴ Rather, I'm interested in how one social

group—my own people of believing Latter-day Saints—might come to grips with the event. What should our collective memory be?

Saint Luke offered some good advice when he began his gospel account. “It seemed good . . . to write an orderly account,” he said, “so that you may know” (Luke 1:3–4 NIV). This is the first step. Any memory must have as its prerequisite *knowing*—not carefully packaged and sanitized knowing, but a full disclosure of the “truth and nothing but the truth.” After studying more than a dozen essays dealing with religious violence in as many different cultures, Professor Edward T. Linenthal was beside himself because of what he encountered. It was not just the “blood splattered” pages of human violence that troubled him, but how later generations used “comforting expressions of sanitization, domestication, trivialization, and other insidious forms of forgetfulness” to smooth the hard truth from their atrocities.⁵

There is a reason why collective memories are so often halfhearted and half-true. In 1979, the U.S. Commission on the Jewish Holocaust noted that human nature seems constitutionally “opposed to keeping alive memories that hurt and disturb.” Indeed, “the more cruel the wound, the greater the effort to cover it, to hide it beneath other wounds, other scars.”⁶

The Commission knew this human tendency raised important questions. “Why then cling to unbearable memories that may forever rob us of our sleep?” the report asked. “Why not forget, turn the page, and proclaim: let it remain buried beneath the dark nightmares of our subconscious. Why not spare our children the weight of our collective burden and allow them to start their lives free of nocturnal obsessions and complexes, free of Auschwitz and its shadows?”⁷

During the past half-dozen years, I have been asked similar questions. They often come from the descendants of the perpetrators who are worried about their family—past branches and future ones. Sometimes concerned questions come from Church leaders. More often, I have asked these questions of myself, for any thoughtful historian of the massacre must know that the unvarnished truth can hurt both individuals and the public image of the Church, at least at first.

But such concerns are likely to weigh little with victims. “To remain silent and indifferent is the greatest sin of all,” said Nobel Peace Prize winner Elie Wiesel, who survived Auschwitz, Buna, Buchenwald, and Gleiwitz, though most of his family did not.⁸ Many of the descendants of the Arkansas families and their friends are likely to agree. They want justice. For whatever the conduct (or misconduct) of the Arkansas company as it traveled through Utah in 1857, it did nothing to justify its fate: these men,

women, and children were victims, and their memory will always bear a terrible wrong.

In response, there is no alternative other than the truth. For truth will out. The massacre “is a ghost which will not be laid,” said historian Juanita Brooks before publishing her pathbreaking study, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre*.⁹ Since Brooks’s book was published in 1950, the stream of articles and books has continued—recently expanded by television programs, films, and websites. Nor will our book likely change things. The demons will not be exorcised until the public is convinced that there has been full disclosure and the hard questions about the massacre have been asked and answered—and the asking and answering of questions will always be the most difficult part of the process.

But Latter-day Saints will be poorly served if their motives are merely pragmatic ones—getting the story out from Church headquarters in the hope of managing public relations. Above all else, there is the moral dimension. While only a tortuous wrenching of facts points to Brigham Young as the massacre’s planner, his Reformation and wartime preaching were incendiary. More to the point, LDS officials in Cedar City and Fort Harmony made decisions that directly led to the killing. This was acknowledged in a statement read on September 11, 2007—the 150th anniversary of the massacre—by Elder Henry B. Eyring on behalf of the First Presidency. “The truth, as we have come to know it, saddens us deeply,” the statement read. “The gospel of Jesus Christ that we espouse, abhors the cold-blooded killing of men, women, and children. Indeed, it advocates peace and forgiveness. What was done here long ago by members of our Church represents a terrible and inexcusable departure from Christian teaching and conduct.”¹⁰

Knowing the truth and, second, admitting wrongdoing are two necessary parts of a healthy memory. The third is *remembering*, which has become a current fashion. “Psychologists and novelists, historians and philosophers, cultural critics and politicians are repeating the injunction ‘Remember!’ like a reassuring drumbeat,” Yale University theologian Miroslav Volf has written.¹¹ One reason for this interest may be our fascination with modern psychology and clinical analysis. It was “one of Sigmund Freud’s basic insights” that we “must endure the pain of remembering to reach a cure.”¹² But the current insistence upon remembering also reflects the trauma of the great bloodbaths of the last century—the mass killings of Armenia, two world wars, the partition of British India, the Jewish Holocaust, Rwanda, and the crimes of the totalitarian regimes of Hitler, Mao, and lesser despots. The process of remembering these atrocities and even memorializing them is a matter of justice. “The victims of political killings

cannot be brought back to life, nor can the harm and trauma of torture and abuse somehow be negated,” wrote André du Toit of the goals of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission. “What can be done, though, is publicly to restore the civic and human dignity of these victims precisely by acknowledging the truth of what was done to them.”¹³

For the Mormon community—whatever its collective sin and guilt in the Mountain Meadows Massacre—there is a religious aspect to remembering. To forget is to violate the full teaching of the Decalogue’s ninth commandment, which implies an honesty that permits no shading around the edges. Confession is also a part of moral redemption, as Dostoyevsky’s character Raskolnikov learned in *Crime and Punishment*. But there is a practical reason, too, as remembering teaches lessons, which was probably the reason Moses thundered so strongly against the chosen people: “Remember, and forget not, how thou provokedst the Lord thy God to wrath in the wilderness: from the day that thou didst depart out of the land of Egypt, until ye came unto this place, ye have been rebellious against the Lord” (Deut. 9:7 KJV).

The question of how the Church should properly remember the massacre is best left to Church leaders. But Miroslav Volf is probably right when he says that social remembering by itself does not bring much healing. It must be done in a “right” or constructive way, which for Volf means “*integrating* the retrieved memories into a broader pattern of one’s life story, either by making sense of the traumatic experiences or by tagging them as elements gone awry.” Memories must be stitched “into the patchwork quilt of one’s identity.”¹⁴

What does this mean for Latter-day Saints? First, there must be an understanding of the context of events and general patterns. Scholars who have investigated religious violence in many cultures provide insights based on group psychology. Episodes of violence often begin when one people classify another as “the Other,” stripping them of humanity and mentally transforming them into enemies. Once the process of devaluing and demonizing occurs, stereotypes take over, rumors circulate, and pressure builds to conform to group action against the perceived threat. Those classified as the enemy are often seen as the transgressors, even as steps are being taken against them. When these tinderbox conditions exist, a single incident, small or ordinary in usual circumstances, may spark great violence that can end in atrocity.¹⁵

The literature suggests that other elements are often present when “good people” do terrible things. Usually there is an atmosphere of authority and obedience, which allows errant leaders to trump the moral instincts of their followers. Atrocities also occur when followers do not have clear

messages about what is expected of them—when their culture or messages from headquarters leave local leaders wondering what they should do. Poverty increases the likelihood of problems by raising concerns about survival.¹⁶ These conditions for mass killing—demonizing, authority, obedience, peer pressure, ambiguity, fear, and deprivation—were all present in southern Utah in 1857.

While these general conditions and impulses do much to explain what went wrong at the Meadows, Latter-day Saints are likely to seek other reasons closer to their faith and culture—almost commonplace things. What religious ideals did the perpetrators fail to follow? My personal list includes:

1. Saints must never put down other people (or other Mormons) as fellow human beings or allow distinctions to become a cause for self-righteousness. After all, the Pharisees who sought Jesus' death took their name and practices from their prideful claim of being righteous "separatists."¹⁷
2. Tolerance and forgiving are not just Christian prerogatives; they are the means of avoiding extreme behavior.
3. Obedience to religious authority ceases to be a virtue when it is unquestioned or untested, especially if leaders seek to cover "any degree of unrighteousness" or display the natural tendency for "unrighteous dominion" (D&C 121:37, 39). The final order to kill the emigrants occurred in a classic manner when Cedar City authorities tried to hide their earlier crimes, and many members of the local militia were willing to go along.
4. Religious authority, like civil authority, requires checks and balances. Southern Utah in 1857 dangerously concentrated religious and civil power, which allowed leaders to override several Mormon practices, including the need for consensus in Church councils.
5. Misguided religion can do great harm—just as proper or true religion may do great good. "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of," Jesus said when some of his Apostles asked for the destruction of a Samaritan village (Luke 9:55 KJV).

Joseph Smith gave the means that, if observed, would have stopped plans for the massacre in their tracks: "No power or influence can or ought to be maintained by virtue of the priesthood, only by persuasion, by long-suffering, by gentleness and meekness, and by love unfeigned; by

kindness, and pure knowledge, which shall greatly enlarge the soul without hypocrisy, and without guile” (D&C 121:41–42).¹⁸ Joseph Smith’s test—particularly the need for humility—should be strongly heeded by the Mountain Meadows historian. “The past is a foreign country: they do things differently there,” British novelist L. P. Hartley famously wrote.¹⁹ It is the historian’s obligation, of course, to sort through the confusion of the event to get the story right and also to recreate the peculiar quality of southern Utah life (in hierarchical, theocratic Utah, there were few places like Iron County). But the historian of the massacre must also understand the implacable, pounding force of what took place and the almost inexorable quality of events. “You know nothing about the spirit of the times,” said one man who was present in southern Utah but who did not participate at the Meadows. “You don’t understand and you can’t understand,” he told his son.²⁰

Storytellers as well as readers might ask themselves the uneasy question of what they might have done had they been present in Cedar City in 1857. Characters and events seemed drawn from classical tragedy, and not just because of the force of circumstance and events. Mountain Meadows has the exaggerated flaws and shortcomings of protagonists that seem drawn from each of us. As a result, we may participate personally or vicariously in the story, and when the last page is turned, there may be some of the pity and fear that Aristotle prescribed as elements of catharsis.²¹ It is no accident that the structure of our book adopts the general form of a Greek tragedy, and we hope that readers, like the ancient Athenians, will learn a few lessons about human nature—and themselves.²²

Charles Upham, the early historian of the Salem witchcraft trials, understood this idea. “There are, indeed, few passages in the history of any people to be compared . . . in all that constitutes the pitiable and tragical, the mysterious and awful,” he wrote in 1867 of the events that took place at Salem two hundred years earlier and that in so many ways paralleled those of the Mountain Meadows Massacre. He also knew of the shame of descendants—literal descendants as well as members of a later religious tradition. But Upham was sure that there was value to the process. “Human virtue never shines with more lustre, than when it arises amidst the imperfections or the ruins of our nature, arrays itself in the robes of penitence, and goes forth with earnest and humble sincerity to the work of reformation and restitution.”²³ This result seems worth at least some of what we’ve addressed here—the pain of knowing, of confessing, and of actively remembering. In fact, in my mind, it is the only way to go forward.

This paper was presented at a session of the Mormon History Association annual meeting, May 2008, Sacramento, California.

1. Melinda Whicher wrote these words in a high school English paper; her father, Alan Whicher, had been murdered in the Oklahoma City tragedy, April 19, 1995. Cited in Edward T. Linenthal, *The Unfinished Bombing: Oklahoma City in American Memory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 1.
2. Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, trans. and ed. Lewis A. Coser (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 119.
3. Lewis A. Coser's introductory essay in Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, 22.
4. Ronald W. Walker, Richard E. Turley Jr., and Glen M. Leonard, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows: An American Tragedy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).
5. Edward T. Linenthal, "Postscript: A Grim Geography of Remembrance," in *Religion, Violence, Memory, and Place*, ed. Oren Baruch Stier and J. Shawn Landres (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), 235.
6. Elie Wiesel to Jimmy Carter, September 27, 1979, in "Report to the President: President's Commission on the Holocaust," at Education Resources Information Center, http://eric.ed.gov:80/ERICdocs/data/ericdocs2sql/content_storage_01/0000019b/80/33/a6/ad.pdf. (accessed September 15, 2008).
7. Wiesel to Carter, September 27, 1979, in "Report to the President."
8. This dictum may be found in innumerable citations, for example Marie Arana, "Elie Wiesel: A Debt to Memory," *Washington Post*, August 14, 2005, BW10.
9. Juanita Brooks, "Side-Lights on the Mountain Meadows Massacre," typescript, 1, 1940, copy at L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah; Juanita Brooks, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1950).
10. "150th Anniversary of Mountain Meadows Massacre," The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, <http://newsroom.lds.org/ldsnewsroom/eng/news-releases-stories/150th-anniversary-of-mountain-meadows-massacre> (accessed October 10, 2008).
11. Miroslav Volf, *The End of Memory: Remembering Rightly in a Violent World* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2006), 20.
12. Volf, *End of Memory*, 27, citing Sigmund Freud, *Studies on Hysteria*, vol. 2 of *The Standard Edition of the Complete Works of Sigmund Freud* (London: Hogarth, 1955), 6.
13. André du Toit, "The Moral Foundations of the South African TRC: Truth as Acknowledgment and Justice as Recognition," in *Truth v. Justice: The Morality of Truth Commissions*, ed. Robert I. Rotberg and Dennis Thompson (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 134.
14. Volf, *End of Memory*, 11, 27–28, italics in original.
15. Regina M. Schwartz, *The Curse of Cain: The Violent Legacy of Monotheism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).
16. Ervin Staub, *The Roots of Evil: The Origins of Genocide and Other Group Violence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); M. Scott Peck, *People of the Lie: The Hope for Healing Human Evil* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1983), 212–53; Roy F. Baumeister, *Evil: Inside Human Cruelty and Violence* (New York: W. H. Freeman, 1997); Rosa Brooks, "Good People, Evil Deeds," *Los Angeles Times*,

June 9, 2006, B11, also reprinted in “Killings in Iraq by ‘Bad Apples’? Probably Not,” *Deseret Morning News*, June 18, 2006, G8.

17. For example, see S. Kent Brown and Richard Neitzel Holzapfel, *Between the Testaments: From Malachi to Matthew* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2002), 178.

18. While this 1839 revelation was not a part of the canon of Mormon scripture in 1857, many like-minded passages were. For instance, the Book of Mormon prophet Alma taught that true disciples should be “humble, meek, submissive, patient, full of love and all long-suffering” (Alma 13:28).

19. L. P. Hartley, *The Go-Between* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1953), 9.

20. William R. Palmer to Joseph Anderson, October 16, 1959, William R. Palmer Material, First Presidency General Administration Files, 1923, 1932, 1937–67, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah. Palmer served an LDS mission to Oklahoma and Arkansas, and when some of the local men learned that he was from Cedar City, Utah, “there was wild talk of whipping me and even killing me.” Palmer was rescued by a man named Garrison, who said that he had two sisters killed at the Meadows. Garrison took Palmer and his companion into his home and, despite his family’s ordeal, felt to be “charitable.” Palmer to Anderson, October 16, 1959, Palmer Material.

21. Alexander Nehamas, “Pity and Fear in the *Rhetoric* and the *Poetics*,” in *Essays on Aristotle’s Poetics*, ed. Amélie Oksenberg Rorty (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992), 293.

22. C. Hugh Holman, *A Handbook to Literature*, 3d ed. (New York: Odyssey, 1972), 172–75, 531–33.

23. Charles W. Upham, *Salem Witchcraft: With an Account of Salem Village and a History of Opinions on Witchcraft and Kindred Subjects*, foreword by Bryan F. Le Beau (Mineola, N.Y.: Dover Publications, 2000), 3–4, xvi. Nathaniel Hawthorne, who had an ancestor at Salem, also invoked the principle of apology and repentance in a passage in *The Scarlet Letter* (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), 12–13.



Mountain Meadows Massacre Documents

The Andrew Jenson and David H. Morris Collections

Edited by Richard E. Turley Jr. and Ronald W. Walker

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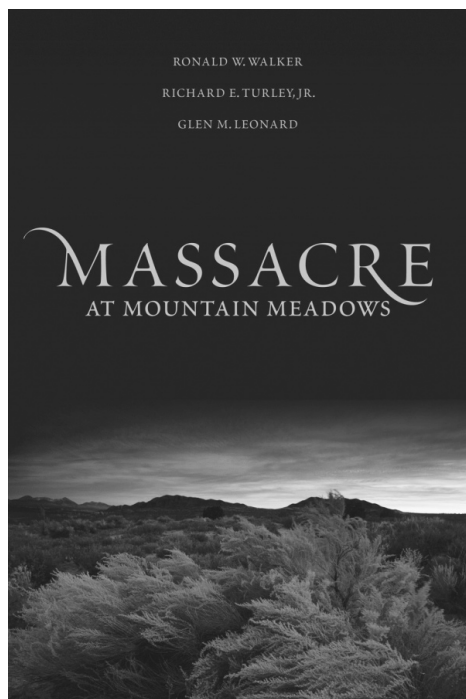
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 Ronald W. Walker,
 Richard E. Turley Jr.,
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 Claremont Graduate University.

Ronald W. Walker, Richard E. Turley Jr.,
and Glen M. Leonard,
Massacre at Mountain Meadows: An American Tragedy.
New York: Oxford University Press, 2008

Reviewed by Brian Q. Cannon

In May 2002, Richard E. Turley Jr., now Assistant Church Historian for The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, publicly announced a forthcoming book on the Mountain Meadows Massacre. Turley traced his idea for the book to the early 1990s. In the intervening years, a statement made by Roger V. Logan, a descendant of massacre survivors, impelled him to proceed. “Until the church shows more candor about what its historians actually know about the event, true reconciliation will be elusive,” Logan observed (x). In 2000, Turley persuaded Glen M. Leonard, former director of the LDS Museum of Church History and Art, to coauthor the book, and in 2001 he recruited Brigham Young University history professor Ronald W. Walker. The timing of the announcement, within months of the release of Will Bagley’s *Blood of the Prophets: Brigham Young and the Massacre at Mountain Meadows*, implied an intended challenge to that book’s conclusions. While the Church had not commissioned the book, Turley said, the authors would have full access to the Church’s relevant archival materials and the assistance of a large team of researchers. Church leaders would not “direct the output” of the book. The arrangement represented a mature willingness on the Church’s part to disclose the sordid details of a most heinous episode in Mormon history.¹

Turley’s expectations of autonomy were maintained: the authors “retained full editorial control over [their] manuscript” (xv–xvi). However, Turley’s initial timetable for writing the book stretched from one to six years. Sifting through the rich array of sources, many of which contradicted each other, and working through the scrutiny and reviews of the manuscript by many colleagues, took years. The end product, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows: An American Tragedy*, is to date the most thorough

account of the massacre and the events leading up to it. The book is meticulously documented, with 127 pages of endnotes. Much of the evidence used in the book was available to other historians—the Church Archives had not previously withheld as much evidence as some had supposed—but some pieces are new. A new transcript of the John D. Lee trials by a specialist in nineteenth-century shorthand offers new information. So do over a dozen reminiscent accounts of the massacre collected by Assistant Church Historian Andrew Jensen in 1892. Aside from Donald Moorman, who made limited use of them in the 1960s, historians studying the massacre over the past century have not been permitted to examine most of Jensen's collection.

The book is written in narrative style for a broad audience. To a greater degree than previous authors, Walker, Turley, and Leonard interpret the massacre through the lens of scholarship on vigilante activity, mob psychology, religious and ethnic violence, and mass killing. They blame U.S. President James Buchanan, President Brigham Young, Elder George A. Smith, “some of the Arkansas emigrants, some Paiutes, and most of all . . . settlers in southern Utah” for “errors” that culminated in the slaughter at Mountain Meadows (xiv).

This volume is the third major history of the massacre. In her pioneering work, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre*, published in 1950, Juanita Brooks exonerated Brigham Young and George A. Smith of direct responsibility for the massacre, but she concluded that their reformation preaching and preparations for war with the United States helped set the stage for the bloodbath in southern Utah. Brooks accepted reports that the ill-fated Fancher Party included ruffians from Missouri, and she repeated tales of the Fancher Party's malfeasance although she recognized that Mormons had exaggerated the emigrants' wrongdoing. She depicted the initial attack upon the emigrants as an Indian maneuver carried out with encouragement from the Mormons but before white Mormons arrived on the scene; she described John D. Lee's later role in persuading the emigrants to surrender; and she blamed the death of most of the emigrant men on the Mormons but charged the Indians with murdering the women and children. After the massacre, she concluded, Church leaders shielded the guilty from arrest. She believed Church authorities eventually turned Lee over to federal authorities as a scapegoat in order to shield the Church from injury.

In his prizewinning revisionist study, Will Bagley argued that the Fancher Party was comprised exclusively of Arkansans who asserted their rights legally as American citizens. He blamed the massacre squarely upon Brigham Young: in a meeting early in September in Salt Lake, he contended, Young encouraged Paiute chiefs to attack the emigrants in order

to demonstrate to Americans the perils of waging war on the Mormons. Bagley documented Lee's participation, possibly along with other whites, in the initial attack on the emigrant encampment and attributed most of the killing in the massacre itself to the Mormon militia. Like Brooks, he accused Young and others in high places of thwarting justice and suppressing incriminating evidence.

The authors of *Massacre at Mountain Meadows*, like Bagley, primarily blame white Mormons for the massacre, although they acknowledge the Paiutes' key involvement, particularly in the initial attack. Largely following Brooks's reasoning, but with the weight of added evidence, they conclude that Brigham Young neither desired nor ordered the massacre. They saddle flinty William Dame, zealous and intolerant Isaac Haight, and lewd and volatile John D. Lee with primary responsibility for the massacre, singling out Haight as "the man most responsible" (229). It was Haight who plotted the attack on the wagon train, set it in motion and then reluctantly sent a missive north to Young asking his advice when the high council refused to ratify the plan.

Using statements from John D. Lee and others, the authors persuasively counter the notion that Brigham Young sent George A. Smith to southern Utah in August 1857 to set up residents for the slaughter of the Fancher-Baker party. But they admit on the basis of Lee's testimony that during his tour of southern settlements "Smith may well have asked Lee if he thought the local people could stop a threatening company traveling up the canyon" (72).

After the massacre, some Mormons alleged that a troublesome contingent of Missourians who styled themselves the Wildcats traveled with the Fancher-Baker emigrant train. Brooks accepted this story while historians Dale Morgan, Lawrence Coates, and Bagley dismissed it. Walker, Turley, and Leonard breathe new life into the story, showing that several non-Mormon travelers on the overland trail reported that Missourians traveled in tandem with the Fancher Party. The evidence is inconclusive, but the authors' conclusion that some "Missourians were probably among those killed at Mountain Meadows" is plausible, given the fact that many of the victims have never been identified by name (87).

Massacre at Mountain Meadows paints a less favorable portrait of the emigrants than does Bagley. The authors note that emigrants who passed through Utah settlements only a few days after the Fancher Party—people who had no reason to accuse the wagon train of misdeeds—reported hearing that members of the party had insulted the Mormons and particularly defamed Mormon women. An often overlooked sentence in the Samuel Pitchforth diary quoted by the authors indicates that the emigrants also

threatened to kill Bishop Philip Klingensmith of Cedar City. Dismissing the old allegation that the emigrants poisoned an ox that was later eaten by Indians, the authors conclude that anthrax spores in the carcass rather than arsenic or other poison likely killed the Indians who ate the animal. But they note that the stories of poisoning could have seemed credible to Mormons and Indians trying to explain the deaths. On balance, they admit that “most of the emigrants’ acts were nothing more than taunting words or, at the very worst, small acts of vandalism” (114). Along with Brooks and Bagley, they conclude that the emigrants did nothing that warranted the death penalty.

Previous authors working to explain the mentality that drove the Mormons to kill the emigrants have used a chilling statement made by stake president Isaac Haight in a church meeting as evidence that southern Utahns hoped to avenge the wrongs of Missouri and Illinois by attacking the Fancher Party. “I am prepared to feed the enemy the bread he fed to me and mine,” Haight proclaimed (131). Through careful scholarship, Walker, Turley, and Leonard demonstrate that Haight said these words several weeks before he knew of the Fancher Party rather than on the day he plotted the party’s fate. The authors introduce a key new source, the minutes of the Cedar City Female Benevolent Society, to illuminate the perspective of Cedar City residents. Shortly before the massacre, while the men were en route to the Meadows, the society gathered to pray “in behalf of the brethren that are out acting in our defence” (135).

The most powerful evidence marshaled by scholars to support the argument that Brigham Young ordered the massacre is interpreter Dimick Huntington’s diary account of a meeting on September 1 between Young and Indian leaders from southern and central Utah. In that meeting, Young told the chiefs who had traveled north to Salt Lake City with Jacob Hamblin that if they allied militarily with the Mormons against the United States, they could seize “all the cattle that had gone to Cal the southe rout” with the Mormons’ permission (146). The authors of *Massacre at Mountain Meadows* point out, though, that Huntington had made the same promise earlier in the week to other chiefs regarding travel on the northern trails. They argue reasonably that raids and theft of cattle were part of Young’s Utah War strategy, not an order directed at the Fancher wagon train. Whereas Bagley and Brooks believed that the Paiute chiefs in Hamblin’s party left Salt Lake the day after their meeting with Young and returned to southern Utah in time to participate in the attacks and massacre between September 7 and 11, the authors clearly demonstrate that they remained in Salt Lake at least through September 4. Three different Mormon sources document that one crucial member of the party reputed to have been at

Mountain Meadows, the Paiute chief Tutsegavits, was ordained an elder in Salt Lake sometime between September 10 and September 16. Walker, Turley, and Leonard conclude that Tutsegavits remained in Salt Lake until after the ordination and therefore could not have relayed Young's war policy to the Indians who attacked the emigrants in Mountain Meadows. Alternately, Bagley argues that Tutsegavits traveled from Salt Lake City to Cedar City, participated in the massacre, and then returned to Salt Lake City for his ordination on the 16th. Either scenario is possible, although the weight of the evidence supports Walker and his coauthors. The authors convincingly reinterpret a key piece of evidence implicating Tutsegavits in the massacre. Although his name appears on a report regarding the massacre that John D. Lee submitted in 1857, it was added along with the names of other Paiutes to the top of the document by Young's clerk, along with the phrase "between 21st to 26th Sept" (266). The authors note that the same names appear on a reimbursement voucher that Salt Lake City merchant Levi Stewart submitted to the Church for goods he doled out to Paiutes late in September. Thus Tutsegavits' name likely appears on the document not because he was a massacre participant, but because he along with the other Indians received goods from Stewart.

This new volume shows to a greater extent than previous works the appalling complicity of Mormon men other than Lee and Haight in murders prior to the massacre itself. Using evidence collected in 1892 by Andrew Jenson, the authors chronicle the murders of two members of the Fancher Party who broke out of the besieged wagon train as well as the killing of at least two others who were gathering pine tar when the attack commenced.

In 1895, Nephi Johnson, who participated in the massacre, told Elder Francis M. Lyman that "white men did most of the killing" (204). Bagley regarded Johnson's admission as the most significant piece of new evidence that emerged between the publication of Brooks's book and his own. The authors of *Massacre at Mountain Meadows* report Johnson's testimony in support of their conclusion that whites were primarily responsible for the massacre, but they appropriately question its reliability, pointing out that "Johnson, who directed the Indians in the Friday attack, may have answered as he did to downplay his own role" (367).

The book includes appendices prepared by Michael Shamo listing all known Mormon participants in the massacre. Forty-five participants are listed for whom the authors believe the evidence is strong. Another twenty-three are listed for whom they find the evidence inconclusive. All told, they conclude, less than one-fifth of the Cedar City militia participated. Another appendix identifies the names of fifteen Indians who were

clearly present at the massacre and another ten for whom the evidence is inconclusive. The authors present a range of evidence regarding the extent of Paiute participation, but they identify white Mormon settlers as “the principal aggressors” and those who “persuaded, armed and directed some Southern Paiutes to participate” (265).

Unfortunately, the authors create the appearance of incomplete disclosure at one key point. Jacob Hamblin’s retrospective account of Brigham Young’s reaction to the missive from Haight carried north by James Haslam—“the fullest account of what happened when Haslam entered” Young’s office—is not fully quoted (182). The ellipses in the passage (two versions of the passage survive) leave one wondering what was omitted and why.

The aftermath of the massacre is as choked with controversy as the actual killing. It includes a tangled web of subterfuge, sparring between Church and federal officials, and attempts to bring those responsible for the massacre to justice. As the authors obliquely observe, Brigham Young largely “held his tongue on the subject [of the massacre], for policy and personal peace” (229). Brooks and Bagley devoted half of their narratives to these matters. Regrettably, aside from a five-page epilogue recounting the execution of John D. Lee, the authors leave the “second half [of the story] to another day” (xii). Given the care with which they evaluated and assembled this volume, one hopes that a second volume will be forthcoming soon.

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1. Carrie A. Moore, “New Facts on Guilt in Massacre,” *Deseret News*, May 18, 2002, A1.

Ronald W. Walker, Richard E. Turley Jr.,
and Glen M. Leonard.
Massacre at Mountain Meadows: An American Tragedy.
New York: Oxford University Press, 2008

Reviewed by Jared Farmer

Reviewers do two things: they assess the book that was written and the book that was not. Historians tend to focus on the latter because history is an art of omission. Faced with the impossible vastness of the past, historians have no choice but to leave out most of it. What exactly historians choose to include and exclude says everything about their approach to the past. *Massacre at Mountain Meadows*, a book that ends on September 13, 1857—two days after the crime—is a consummate insider’s history. Judged on its own terms, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows* stands as a new benchmark for Mormon history and also the relationship of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to the historical profession. At the same time, seen from the outside, the project may seem like misdirected energy.

First the praise: *Massacre at Mountain Meadows* is exhaustively researched, beautifully illustrated, and highly readable. The authors use a strict chronological approach, with minimal interpretive insertions, which makes for effective storytelling. They generously pepper the narrative with primary quotes without burdening the reader with too many methodological discussions about source material. The main text, which takes up only 231 pages, has been composed with a nonacademic readership in mind. The audience presumably is Latter-day Saints who have a strong background in Church history but little knowledge of the massacre. For believing Mormons who want a final word on “what really happened,” this book will likely satisfy.

I consider it heartening that the Church has given good publicity to the book through its media outlets. Compared to the histories usually on sale in the LDS general book market, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows* is the real deal—a warts-and-all history based on exacting scholarship and peer review. Though the book’s acknowledgements do not state it as plainly as possible, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows* would not have been possible without the Church lending the staff and services of its Church

History Department. Observers of the Church have interpreted this hybrid ecclesiastical-academic project as further proof of the rapprochement of the Gordon B. Hinckley era. LDS pundits seem relieved—even self-congratulatory—that the Church seems inclined to fully and candidly acknowledge the massacre and other problematic parts of its history. (The forthcoming Joseph Smith Papers, endorsed by the National Historical Publications and Records Commission, can be interpreted likewise.) Boasting the imprimatur of Oxford University Press and the implied endorsement of the First Presidency, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows* is uniquely and perfectly designed to help Latter-day Saints come to terms with the single most shameful event in their past.

The book's default tone is contrite rather than defensive. Unflinchingly the authors describe the gruesome details of the slaughter. They provide a superb day-by-day, blow-by-blow account of the descent into barbarity. Though the book is dedicated "TO THE VICTIMS" of the massacre, it focuses primarily on the non-Indian perpetrators; the book humanizes the Mormon farmers from southern Utah who became mass murderers. The authors and their research team draw on many sources unavailable to Juanita Brooks and Will Bagley. Though they refute some earlier conclusions, they generally avoid engaging Bagley and other investigators of the tragedy by name. The book's documentary apparatus dwarfs the space allotted to historiography and interpretation. In *Massacre at Mountain Meadows*, the massacre comes across unequivocally as a local affair, with little space given to alternative interpretations.

To explain the unthinkable act, the authors provide one new interpretive lens—the sociology of group violence. Instead of asking "What was Brigham Young's role?" the authors begin with a universal, almost philosophical question: Why do basically good people sometimes commit atrocities? I commend the authors for wanting to compare this massacre with other instances of mass killings and ethnonational conflict, but I regret their incomplete application of social science literature. More than once, when their narrative demands a statement of causation or culpability, Walker, Turley, and Leonard simply quote a generalized point from a study on violence. Much more could be done with this literature.

In contrast to *Massacre at Mountain Meadows*, Bagley's *Blood of the Prophets* (2002) truly was a victims' book—perhaps too much so. Other differences stand out. Bagley emphasized blood atonement and prophecies about Lamanites. *Massacre at Mountain Meadows* skims over these factors—and polygamy—to a surprising degree. It is less surprising that the authors downplay Brigham Young's direct influence, even his policy that sanctioned Indians to seize property from emigrant parties. Most

questionably, Walker, Turley, and Leonard end their story before the cover-up begins. It is one thing to argue that Brigham Young did not authorize the massacre. That hurdle is relatively low, and *Massacre at Mountain Meadows* clears it to my satisfaction. It is exponentially harder to argue that Brigham Young did not participate in the cover-up. The authors sidestep the matter by saying they will treat the massacre's aftermath in a follow-up volume. How long must we wait for that volume?

Massacre at Mountain Meadows targets not only a general Mormon readership but also LDS historians and Mormon history buffs. For them the book's main attractions will be the ample appendices and endnotes, not to mention the associated online bibliography, and the separate publication of documentary evidence in this issue of *BYU Studies*. The overall compilation of research is spectacular, a testament to openness.

The book's notes can be frustrating to unravel, however. For the sake of readability and literary effect, the authors often combine contemporary and reminiscent accounts, or accounts from various people, to create composite scenes. Experts will find plenty of material to nitpick. The authors' speculations about anthrax being the basis for poisoning rumors on the southern trail will also generate discussion.

One additional audience exists for this book, an audience with different predilections. Historians of U.S. religion and the North American West include Mormons in their purview, yet they have a distant relationship with the LDS historical community. Daunted by the mountains of documentary and historiographic material, most outsiders cede Utah and Mormon history to insiders. They rarely do research at the Church Archives or even suppose they can. Many times western historians have quizzed me about my own research trips: "Really, you can work there? Don't you need one of those temple passes?" Based on conversations with colleagues, I sense that opinions about *Massacre at Mountain Meadows* hardened before publication. To them, the prevailing perception is that the book was a Church-ordered refutation of Bagley, and it seemed fore-ordained that the authors would absolve Brigham Young. The fact that the authors "discovered" new material in the First Presidency's archives only reinforces the suspicion that the Church hierarchy conceals sensitive material in the vault, where of course regular historians cannot visit. And while no one doubts the professionalism of Walker, Turley, and Leonard, their status as Church employees raises deeper doubts for secularists. Historians tend to be reflexively skeptical when a believer writes a history of his own religion, or, for that matter, when a historian writes a history of a corporation—in this case, the Church—while being employed by that

corporation. Fair or not, few professors beyond Provo will validate the authors' declaration of academic freedom (xv–xvi).

Meanwhile, outside of religious and regional studies, American historians will probably pass over *Massacre at Mountain Meadows* just as they disregard Utah and Mormon history. That is not because of anti-Mormon prejudice—though it persists in the academy—but because of intellectual indifference. With the exception of the half-formed sections on group violence, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows* simply does not engage with current scholarly trends. To be fair, Walker, Turley, and Leonard did not intend their book for an all-purpose academic audience. Writing for divergent readerships may seem like a tall order, but it is possible to produce high-quality Mormon history that works for nonspecialists as well as specialists. Sarah Barringer Gordon's *The Mormon Question* (2002) serves as a model.¹ Gordon took polygamy—the *other* tired topic from nineteenth-century Utah—and gave it new life by injecting scholarship from legal and constitutional history.

Unfortunately, Mormon and non-Mormon historians more often talk past each other. It is disappointing that Ned Blackhawk's prize-winning book, *Violence Over the Land* (2006)—a book about Utah Indians that uses violence as its organizing theme—has nothing to say about the Mountain Meadows Massacre.² Blackhawk's book is theoretically sophisticated but underresearched, whereas *Massacre at Mountain Meadows* is bibliographically impeccable but undertheorized. *Massacre at Mountain Meadows* fails to build on Blackhawk's argument that Spanish colonialism created a legacy of violence in the eastern Great Basin long before the Saints arrived. Mormon-Paiute relations—including Paiute participation in the massacre—become more explicable with this added context.

I view *Massacre at Mountain Meadows* as a necessary corrective and counterpoint to *Blood of the Prophets*, but my enthusiasm is dampened by the recognition that some future historian will have to write yet another book about Mountain Meadows—a synthesis, neither condemnatory nor apologetic, that draws on the research and perspectives of Bagley and Turley, while fully engaging with outside scholarship. Only then will the good work begun by Juanita Brooks be complete. Paradoxically, even as I look forward to that book, I consider it a waste of energy when so many other worthy topics cry out for attention. Imagine, for example, that the Church History Department had chosen to spend the better part of this decade collecting, transcribing, annotating, and digitizing every document regarding Mormon-Indian relations in Utah Territory. Compared to *Massacre at Mountain Meadows*, such a project would have added exceedingly more to our understanding of Mormonism, Utah, and the U.S. West.

For obvious reasons these authors—and the Church—chose differently. While Mormon history is markedly better because of their work, it will be much better still when historians put the massacre to rest and move on.

Jared Farmer (jared.farmer@stonybrook.edu) is Assistant Professor of History at Stony Brook University and the author of *On Zion's Mount: Mormons, Indians, and the American Landscape* (Harvard University Press, 2008).

1. Sarah Barringer Gordon, *The Mormon Question: Polygamy and Constitutional Conflict in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).
2. Ned Blackhawk, *Violence over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006).

Shannon A. Novak. *House of Mourning:
A Biocultural History of the Mountain Meadows Massacre.*
Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2008

Reviewed by Joel C. Janetski

Why another book about the Mountain Meadows Massacre? The topic has been thoroughly scoured in recent¹ and past² books, with another³ now available since August 2008 (see the reviews of Brian Q. Cannon and Jared Farmer in this issue). What new does Novak bring to the discussion of this most horrific event in Utah's past? The answer is a unique data set: a sample of the skeletal remains of the victims. How she came to have access to these remains requires some explanation.

In February 1999, Glen Leonard, then director of the Museum of Church History and Art, contacted the Office of Public Archaeology (OPA) at Brigham Young University regarding the construction of a new monument at the Mountain Meadows Massacre site by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.⁴ Construction of the new monument required some ground disturbance, and the archaeologists' task was to make every effort to avoid disturbing human remains. To accomplish this they employed state-of-the-art techniques (ground penetrating radar, infrared aerial photography, soil chemistry testing, and others) as well as a thorough walk-over of the area. Despite these efforts, backhoe work exposed a shallow mass grave near the old monument. Following the requirements of their state antiquities permit, OPA archaeologists carefully removed the bones and obtained the services of a qualified anthropologist to perform basic analysis; that anthropologist was Shannon Novak.

Novak is well qualified for such a task. She holds a doctorate in physical anthropology from the University of Utah and had excellent training and experience in forensics prior to this study (see preface). The analysis was basic, focusing on stature, pathologies, evidence for violent trauma, age, and sex. She was given one month to complete the work, a very tight time frame. Although initially unaware of the extreme sensitivity of her data set (xiii), she soon realized these bones represented more than just another project. The analysis eventually became what she terms "an

extraordinary experience that engaged issues of social identity, history, and power” (xv). She has presented her experience and findings not only in her book but also in two journal articles.⁵

House of Mourning is a scholarly work, well documented and well researched. In it Novak presents an anthropological perspective of the Mountain Meadows event by culturally and physically contextualizing the individuals whose remains she studied. Most historians have focused on the Utah residents involved in the killings and the historical context of the 1850s in Utah. Novak takes a different tack—she focuses almost exclusively on the Arkansans. To be sure, the remains recovered are but a sample of those who died in September 1857 as her study includes just 28 of the estimated 120 who died at the site. Nonetheless, the goal is ultimately to provide a palpable identity to those who died. To accomplish this, Novak turns to Arkansas and individual histories of those known to be on the wagon train. Who were these people? What were their lives like? What was their socioeconomic position in society and why were they moving west? What kind of people were they? Ultimately, the project’s temporal and analytical constraints as well as the incomplete nature of the remains made positive identification impossible, although Novak makes some educated guesses.

Chapter 1 scans the Arkansas landscape, focusing on the regions eventually settled by the several Fancher-Baker train families before they migrated west. In chapter 2, the author describes the migration streams that characterized the western movement and places the families within those streams. The result is a sense of the dynamic nature of the frontier in the mid-1800s when masses moved, leapfrogging to the next new place. Here Novak details the composition (age, sex, kin relationships) of the primary families known to be in the party to confront the question of who died.

Chapter 3 is titled “Nourishment” and lays out probable diets of the Arkansas emigrants given their estimated socioeconomic status. The author uses data from the remains to characterize the emigrants’ health. She concludes that those on the train (at least those in her sample) were in decent health and, in some ways, in better health than might be expected. Evidence of anemia and dietary deficiency is present, and, although dental health was poor by modern standards, it was “about average” for the day (84). In a related discussion, chapter 4 focuses on and largely dispels accounts that the victims were “diseased” (88). This section includes a useful and interesting discussion of cultural and medical notions of disease and its causes in the mid-nineteenth century. Also related to health, chapter 5, “Domains,” reviews gender roles, social networks, work habits,

and physical consequences of the same, including reasons for accidental deaths (129) among rural southern families. This overview provides a context for a discussion of joint disease and traumas evident in the Mountain Meadows sample.

Chapter 6, “Epitaph,” presents current attitudes regarding death prior to confronting the circumstances of the massacre. Here Novak details the grim evidence confirming the violent deaths at the hands of the perpetrators. To make the point, she includes multiple photos of bullet holes in crania and other damage caused by shooting at short range as well as blunt force. In this she corroborates many historical accounts of how the victims met their demise, although other accounts are not supported. For example, there was no evidence of scalping, arrow wounds, or throat cutting (173)⁶ despite several accounts describing Paiute involvement.⁷ This chapter concludes with comments on Mormon behavior and their unique perspective on Native Americans stemming from the Book of Mormon. Like Indians, Mormons were sometimes perceived as “‘beyond the pale’ (literally *outside the boundary*)” given their clannishness and “mysterious ritual of baptism and communion with the dead” (175, italics in original). Novak addresses the ultimate historical and anthropological question—why did this massacre occur?—with a discussion of Mormon identity. She proposes that Mormons masquerading as Indians (similar to Boston Tea Party participants) struck a blow against persecution and an unfriendly government through this violent act (176–77).⁸

Novak presents her story and her data in a scholarly yet engaging style; for the most part, she maintains an objective stance. The politically hot issue related to the massacre—did Brigham Young order the attack?—is not pursued, nor could it be with her data. Nor could she make any statement about how many died.

There are some minor concerns in the book. For example, the absence of scales in the photos is an oversight, and figure 6-17, which is presented as evidence of carnivore damage on a long bone, appears more likely to be damage from smaller animals, like rodents.

The massacre at Mountain Meadows is a dark moment in Utah’s past. Reading about it is difficult; understanding it is more difficult. Dr. Novak brings a unique data set, a different perspective, and, I believe, useful insight into this tragedy. I recommend the text to those searching for more understanding but through a different lens.

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1. Will Bagley, *Blood of the Prophets: Brigham Young and the Massacre at Mountain Meadows* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002); Sally Denton, *American Massacre: The Tragedy at Mountain Meadows, September 1857* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003).

2. For example, see Juanita Brooks, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1950).

3. Ronald W. Walker, Richard E. Turley Jr., and Glen M. Leonard, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows: An American Tragedy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

4. For more information see Shane A. Baker, Richard K. Talbot, and Lane D. Richens, "Archaeological Remote Sensing Studies and Emergency Data Recovery at 42WS2504, Washington County, Utah," Museum of Peoples and Cultures Technical Series No. 03-8 (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 2003); and Bagley, *Blood of the Prophets*, 372–74.

5. Shannon A. Novak and Derinna Kopp, "To Feed a Tree in Zion: Osteological Analysis of the 1857 Mountain Meadows Massacre," *Historical Archaeology* 37, no. 2 (2003): 85–108; Shannon A. Novak and Lars Rodseth, "Remembering Mountain Meadows: Collective Violence and the Manipulation of Social Boundaries," *Journal of Anthropological Research* 62 (Spring 2006): 1–25.

6. See also Novak and Kopp, "To Feed a Tree in Zion," 97.

7. For example, see Walker, Turley, and Leonard, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows*, 156–58.

8. See also Novak and Rodseth, "Remembering Mountain Meadows," 7.

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