

8-1-2012

Captivity, Adoption, Marriage and Identity: Native American Children in Mormon Homes, 1847-1900.

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CAPTIVITY, ADOPTION, MARRIAGE AND IDENTITY:
NATIVE AMERICAN CHILDREN IN MORMON HOMES, 1847-1900.

By

Michael K. Bennion

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the

Master of Arts in History

Department of History
College of Liberal Arts
The Graduate College

University of Nevada, Las Vegas
August 2012

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THE GRADUATE COLLEGE

We recommend the thesis prepared under our supervision by

Michael K. Bennion

entitled

**Captivity, Adoption, Marriage and Identity: Native American Children
in Mormon Homes, 1847-1900.**

be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts in History

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Abstract

The Indigenous of North America's Great Basin developed a way of life based on the available resources the Basin provided. Their culture and customs provided a stable means of understanding and interacting with the forces of nature and men. Their myths elaborated on their expectations, hopes, and fears, in real and metaphorical ways, as evidenced by stories of the trickster Coyote. As Great Basin bands came in contact with the Spanish and other Europeans, they adjusted their mode of gathering necessary resources based on new technologies, such as horses and guns, as well as their myths to cope with change. This process entailed some adjustment in their perceptions of the world around them and in their own perception of their identities. Some Indigenous, such as the Utes and Comanches, raided other Native bands throughout the Southwest enslaving women and children who they traded to the Spanish in exchange for additional horses and guns. Native American children, acquired through this difficult and wrenching raid-and-trade process, experienced a major cultural shift that imposed upon them an external identity. They reacted to that shift in varied ways that expressed individual constructed identity. The Utes and others who sold, traded or gave them away, and the Mormons who purchased, accepted or received them in trade, struggled to define rules governing the practice and their obligations concerning the children caught up by that practice. Individual personality characteristics, preconceived notions about the opposing culture, and the external actions of the United States federal government, complicated rules definition and the subsequent behavior of those involved.

As the children came of age to marry, some faced prejudice and others found acceptance. Individual and family personalities, rather than cultural conventions alone

often determined the outcome of the marriages. During this time Native Americans and Mormons experienced conflicts with each other, but especially with the U. S. Army and federal agents, and worked to negotiate their place in new structures. The Mormons and Native Americans experienced disillusionment in this time as fervently accepted concepts collided with hard realities, resulting in a mixture of anger, accommodation, assimilation and acculturation. Adult Native American children who grew up in Mormon homes negotiated their individual identities based on cultural cues from their combined cultures. This was a complicated process, but subsequent secondary literature written years after the fact tried to simplify the complexity as dictated by preconceived, often culturally skewed, notions.

Acknowledgements

I offer sincere thanks to my thesis committee. Dr. David Holland guided me through the thickets of American religious thought and offered many hours of guidance and encouragement during my studies. Dr. Willy Bauer taught me to separate Lakotas, Dakotas, Utes, Pahvants, Paiutes, Goshiutes, Bannocks, Shoshones, Navajos and other Indigenous nations from the generic European appointed designation of “Indian.” Although I understood the difference he taught me to see individuals, not stereotypes, and to listen for the story that came before the written narrative. His knowledge of historiography proved invaluable. Dr. Deidre Clemente opened my eyes to hands-on history and widened my historic horizons. She constantly encouraged me and warned me about becoming “addicted to words.” Dr. Jane Hafen provided enthusiastic support from the day she first heard about my topic, and guided me to find funding necessary to complete my research. Each has been tough on me when I deserved it and kind when I needed kindness.

Other excellent instructors such as Dr. David Wrobel, Dr. Janet Ward, Dr. Andy Fry, Dr. Marsha Gallo, Dr. Elizabeth Nelson and Dr. Andy Kirk encouraged me, introduced many concepts that broadened my view and provided me with tools to craft this current work. Dr. Brian Cannon and Jesse Embrey at Brigham Young University provided research guidance, and the Charles Redd Center at BYU granted me funds and a summer location to complete the majority of my primary document research. I thank also the staff of the L. Tom Perry Special Collections at the Harold B. Lee Library, at BYU in Provo, Utah, the staff of the Church History Library of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, in Salt Lake City, and the staff of the Lied Library and Special

Collections at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, especially Dr. David Whittaker at BYU, and Priscilla Finley and Claytee White at UNLV.

Dedication

My exquisitely patient wife, Luisa, dealt with my odd study habits and night owl hours. She kept me grounded and gave me wings. Bruce and Peggy Bennion gave me a sense of heritage. My grown children Karl-Erik, Shawn and Liesel offered love and encouragement

Mike Bennion, June, 2012

Preface

“Write about a Native American topic,” said Dr. Willy Bauer, as he introduced us to his graduate seminar on the American West. As a new non-traditional student, returning to academia after a 32-year absence, I wondered where a white middle-aged male might look for a topic and whether anything I wrote would be believable or acceptable. I remembered that my third great-grandfather once traded a horse for “an Indian boy, two or three years old.” Or so his journal said.¹ My journey began. The resulting research over the past two years opened my eyes, sometimes horrified me, often humbled my heart and left me amazed at the resilience of the human spirit and the ability of women and men to respond in positive ways to crushing circumstances. Native Americans and Mormon settlers became my companions and friends as their life narratives unfolded in books, on microfilm, in videos and audios and in live oral interviews. I made new friends and learned new things.

¹ John Bennion, Diary, September 15-17, 1858, http://content.lib.utah.edu/cdm4/item_viewer.php?CISOROOT=/UU_EAD&CISOPTR=1795 accessed March 5, 2010.

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Introduction

“I told him I was an Indian.”

Friday Dec 4, [1914]

I talked to [“Lamanite John Adams”] on the Book of Mormon quoted some scripture showing such conditions that would bring eternal salvation unto the Lamanites...and [what] they must do in order they may [have] that dark skin may fall from [them], and I told them the great blessing in store for them, I left a Book of Mormon...and they promised to read the same. I told them if they would read it with full purpose of heart...they would be convinced that it was true and a history of the American Indians...It gave me pleasure to talk to them.

Wed Dec 16, [1914]

[A] Catholic said...the only converts we had was the old and the ignorant. I told [him] that the Indian was no more full of tradition than the white man I pointed out some of them he said he knew these things as he had lived with the Indian. I told him I was an Indian and had been all my life.

Mon Dec 28, [1914]

Wrote a letter to my son Wayne, explaining to him the Indian War dance and other features of this dance...²

Frank Warner, a Shoshone survivor of the 1863 Bear River Massacre, wrote these words in his journal while serving a Mormon mission to the Assiniboines, Dakotas, Yanktons and Hunkpapas on Montana’s Fort Peck reservation. Forty years earlier Warner, originally known as Beeshop Timbimboo or Red Clay, had been traded to a Mormon family in northern Utah by his uncle for “a bag of beans, a sheep, a sack of flour and a Mormon quilt.”³ The Mormons called his Shoshone people, and other American Indians, “Lamanites,” believing them to be descendants of Laman, a disobedient son chronicled in the Book of Mormon. Laman rejected his father Lehi’s righteous teachings.

² Frank W. Warner, (1861-1919) “Missionary Journal Nov. 1914-Jan 1915,” MS 14428 LDS Church History Library, Salt Lake City, UT.

³ Scott R. Christensen, *Sagwitch: Shoshone Chieftain, Mormon Elder 1822-1887*, (Logan, UT: Utah State University Press, 1999), 67.

Lehi, a descendant of the House of Israel, fled with his family from Jerusalem to the Americas in 600 B.C. According to that Mormon scripture, Laman's ancient descendants inherited a curse of darkness because their own disobedience. Throughout the Book of Mormon narrative, however, the Lamanites and their initially more righteous relatives, the Nephites, intermarried, traded and sent religious representatives to one another. Often the Lamanites "repented" and became more righteous than the Nephites, at which time they aligned themselves politically with the Nephites.⁴ A time came, according to the Book of Mormon account, when this union became so complete that no family factions, racial or ethnic distinctions, "nor any manner of '-ites'" existed.⁵ However, some centuries later, members of this temporarily unified culture dissented away, and as a result, the society swiftly declined. Eventually, the newly constituted Lamanites overthrew the remaining Nephites, who finally exceeded Lamanite wickedness, and suffered extinction.⁶

The Mormons believed Native Americans to be descendants of Lamanite survivors of the war that destroyed the Nephite civilization. Yet they also believed that the "Lamanites, would one day repent, return to God and 'blossom as a rose.'"⁷ Euro-American stereotypes of Native Americans as "savage" and "filthy," shared by many Mormons, also complicated their perceptions and actions.⁸ Mormons employed this complicated blend of beliefs to impose a complex external identity upon Native Americans. Frank Warner exemplifies the difficult relationship between Native

⁴ *The Book of Mormon*, (Salt Lake City, Utah: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1981), 3-6, 65-66, 266-67.

⁵ *Ibid*, 466.

⁶ *Ibid*, 478-80.

⁷ *The Doctrine and Covenants of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: Containing Revelations Given to Joseph Smith, the Prophet, With Some Additions by His Successors in the Presidency of the Church*, (Salt Lake City, UT: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1981). Section 49:24.

⁸ Armand Mauss, *All Abrahams Children*, (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2003), 1-7.

Americans and members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, often known as Mormons. The disparate nature of the epigraphs from his journal, written over one-month time period in 1914, stand as a witness to Warner's own complex self-expressed identity within the nexus of Shoshone and Mormon cultures: expressions of Mormon missionary fervor, diligence in preserving Shoshone heritage, and an assertion of his personal identity as an Indian.

Over four-hundred children, like Warner, lived in Mormon homes in North America's Great Basin between 1847 and the early 1900s. The children came to Mormon households as captives, or as a traded commodity, the result of intricate, wrenching, sometimes deadly cultural conflicts and negotiations between their own people and the Mormons.⁹ Using these children as a case study, this thesis examines the external racial identity that Mormons imposed on these Native Americans, as well as the internal ethnic identities the children developed in response, and the place of agency in that response. Some of these captive children became indentured servants while others resisted assimilation by fight, flight, or more passive forms of resistance. As time passed some of the indentured servants became adoptees. Some adoptees married Mormon spouses and had children while others were unable or unwilling to obtain a marriage partner. Their lives, and the lives of those who interacted with them, provide evidence of complex relationships, where long-term personal and family outcomes and resulting identity formation apparently relied as much on individual personalities and family attitudes as upon larger societal expectations which, despite singular Mormon doctrinal beliefs, often reflected the wider Euro-American racist world-view. Caught up in the

⁹ Cannon, Brian Q. "Adopted or Indentured, 1850-1870: Native Children in Mormon Households", in *Nearly Everything Imaginable: The Everyday Life of Utah's Mormon Pioneers*, ed. Ronald W. Walker et al. (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1999), 341-357.

cultural tension between Mormon and Indigenous beliefs, individual personal behaviors, and wider cultural prejudices, these children constructed identities that reflected their own personal encounters with Indigenous and Mormon cultures and the wider world in which both cultures existed.

Over three hundred years before Frank Warner entered a Mormon home, the Indigenes of the Southwest first encountered Spanish interlopers. In the centuries following, the Utes, Shoshones, Bannocks, Goshutes, Pahvants, Paiutes and Navajos who inhabited portions of the Great Basin, north of New Mexico, experienced periods of initial cultural uncertainty in their relationships with Europeans as they traded, warred, raided, took captives, suffered captivity, and intermarried. The Indigenes gradually adjusted their actions toward Europeans into behaviors that continued to evolve over the years into cultural protocols reasonably well understood by the Indians, Spanish, and French. However, seismic changes in the Borderlands and Great Basin, caused by new waves of European pathogens, Mexican independence, and the ensuing Mexican-American War strained the old rules. As American traders, trappers and soldiers began to supplant Spanish and Mexican rule in the Southwest Borderlands a new group of religious settlers, the Mormons, began to flow into what is now Utah, and parts of Wyoming, Idaho, Nevada and Arizona.

Although many Mormons shared ancestry with other Euro-Americans, some of their beliefs and practices set them apart, while others more closely reflected their Anglo cultural roots. Because of this duality, Mormon doctrines concerning the importance of redeeming the “Lamanites” often conflicted with long-standing Euro-American negative racial attitudes. This tension produced unique dynamics in initial Indian-Mormon

encounters and influenced Mormon actions in continuing relationships with Great Basin Indigenes. Utes, Paiutes and Navajos created a separate designation for Mormons based on these singular doctrinal traits and practices. While the Utes and Paiutes called Americans Mericats, and the Navajos called them Bilagáana, many Great Basin and Southwest Indians referred to the Mormons as Mormonee.¹⁰ Native American and LDS historian Sondra Jones asserts that at least initially, these separate designations applied to specific and divergent behaviors by Mormons and other Americans. While admitting that “No historian can escape the influence of their own perspectives,” including herself, and recognizing that “revisionist opinions” over 30 years present an opposite point of view, Jones maintains that, “while spattered with injustice and abuse, the pattern of Mormon-Indian relations still differed to a *significant* degree from Indian relations elsewhere on the American frontiers, particularly during the first fifteen years of Mormon settlement.”¹¹ These relationship patterns imposed identity on the Native American children, subjects of this study, in unique ways that deserve examination.

¹⁰ Leonard Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: a History of the Latter-day Saints*, Second Edition, (New York City, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991), 148. While this ethnic designation was not unique to the Great Basin Indigenes (Puget Sound Natives called British “King George Men” and Americans “Bostons”) the Mormonee classification suggests a separation between two groups of Americans rather than between nationalities. See Alexandra Harmon, *Indians in the Making: Ethnic Relations and Indian Identities Around Puget Sound*, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998), 15; Joane Nagel, “American Indian Ethnic Renewal: Politics and the Resurgence of Identity,” *American Sociological Review*, 60, (Dec. 1995): 947-965. Nagel asserts that identity is externally imposed and internally constructed, see also, Joane Nagel, “Constructing Ethnicity: Creating and Recreating Ethnic Identity and Culture,” *Social Problems*, Special Issue on Immigration, Race, and Ethnicity in America, 41, 1, (Feb., 1994): 152-176. Biligáana may have been an adaptation of the Spanish *Americano* or a designation meaning “to fight” Bi’Hilth’Ghaa or “the one you fight with constantly, Bilth da’iihigi gaana.” The Navajo themselves remain unclear as to the precise word origin. See Arizona Independent Redistricting Commission. “Arizona Redistricting Hearings” Accessed May 8, 2012 <http://2001.azredistricting.org/hearings/PDF/AIRCHearing6-25-01WindowRock.pdf> p.113; Farmington City, NM. “Topix.com forum.” Accessed May 8, 2012. <http://www.topix.com/forum/city/farmington-nm/TLV582OLO27MAASVM/p15> comments.

¹¹ Sondra Jones, “Saints or Sinners? The Evolving Perceptions of Mormon-Indian Relations in Utah Historiography,” *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 72, 1, (Winter 2004): 34-35.

The physical landscape and the location of the historical actors in this narrative exerted an influence upon these unique patterns. The original Mormon settlement in the valley of the Great Salt Lake, between lands frequented by the Shoshones to the north and the Utes and Paiutes to the south, and claimed by each nation, created a “middle ground,” where increasing encounters and trade would sorely test the preconceptions and patience of both Mormons and Indigenes.¹² In some of these early encounters with the Mormons, Utes exchanged stolen or traded Native American children, most often from the Paiutes, for horses, food and supplies. While Mormons came from a Euro-American society that accepted a worldview that included servitude, especially of those of African descent, the vast majority of LDS members did not own slaves. Faced with Native Americans and New Mexicans willing to trade Indigenous children into servitude, the Mormons grappled with the puzzle of how to deal with unfamiliar Ute trading customs, influenced by long association with the Spanish and Mexican slave trade, while Native Americans struggled to survive, physically and culturally, and to maintain a way of life that became increasingly complicated in the face of new realities. Whether it was a Ute slave trader, a Bannock indentured servant in a Salt Lake City home, a Paiute bride in a Parowan, Utah Mormon plural marriage, a Mormon leader attempting to balance the needs of a fledgling settlement, or a Mormon runaway in a Shoshone village in Idaho, each faced wide cultural differences, but also experienced common humanity that elicited

¹² Richard White, *The Middle Ground*, (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1991). White argues that the northeastern Indigenes initially negotiated a middle ground with the French and British in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, where they retained a degree of power and autonomy because no single culture had the strength to totally dominate the region. This changed when the Americans grew strong enough to do so.

manifold and sometimes surprising reactions.¹³ Their wide ranging behaviors, from rebellion, to flight, to full acceptance and participation expressed attempts to negotiate or assert identity across cultural environments and appear to have often depended as much on individual personality as on any firm cultural rules. These actions began to weave a new pattern of relationships between the respective cultures. In performing them, the actors demonstrated a remarkable capacity to exercise agency and construct identity niches within the structure of their evolving culture, and in the face of searing episodes of war, captivity, loss of loved ones, and cultural denigration.¹⁴ Borderlands historian James Brooks' description of colonial New Mexico may be applied to Indian-Mormon interactions: He pointed out that Native American and Spanish colonial men used women and children as commodities in an exchange of human and material resources. Brooks contends that these exchanges often produced unexpected fortuitous results for their victims because the traded women and children "proved remarkably adept at making something of their unfortunate circumstances."¹⁵ Native American captive children forced into a relationship with strangers in the Great Basin borderland, "made something" of their situation over time.

To contextualize this story, we must refer to those who write about the land, the people on the land and their beliefs. Historian Herbert Bolton introduced the Southwest Borderlands concept in his 1921 book of the same name.¹⁶ Bolton found many of the extensive primary documents that contextualize Borderlands cultures and the New

¹³ Although there were few instances of Mormons captured by Indians, one instance of a Mormon boy voluntarily joining the Shoshones did occur. His autobiographical tale is found in, Elijah Nicholas Wilson, *Among the Shoshones*, (Salt Lake City, UT: Skelton Publishing, 1910).

¹⁴ Richard White, *The Middle Ground*, (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

¹⁵ James Brooks, *Captives and Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands*, (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 30.

¹⁶ Herbert E. Bolton, *The Spanish Borderlands: A Chronicle of Old Florida and the Southwest*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1921).

Mexican slave trade upon which subsequent scholars based their work and mentored a large number of students who followed his emphasis, to the extent that some referred to the study of the Borderlands as “Boltonlands.” Bolton and later scholars such as his student, Jesuit scholar John F. Bannon, opposed the Anglo-American monopoly of the West imposed by Turnerian historiography and instead emphasized Spanish contributions.¹⁷ Clearly, Spanish colonization and Spanish-Indigene relations exerted a major influence in subsequent nineteenth-century Great Basin history, as this current research acknowledges. Understanding Indian-Mormon relations without reference to Spain’s colonization of New Mexico and its effect on Native Americans and the slave trade would be difficult to impossible. Borderlands historian David Weber describes a two-sided Spanish frontier, requiring a necessary loss of territory by one party when the other gains ground.¹⁸ Weber suggests that Borderlands transactions require reciprocity and that actions and reactions originate with all the parties involved. This two-sided model helps explain the complexity of the Great Basin as the Mormons arrived in 1847. The Ute borders included those with New Mexico on the south and their enemies the Shoshone on the north as well. When the Mormons arrived they squeezed in between the Utes and Shoshones, creating a new multi-layered borderland that complicated ensuing Great Basin history.

In 1991 Ramon Gutierrez offered an acclaimed and controversial look at colonial New Mexico and brought the borderlands paradigm again to the forefront of Southwest historical thought by examining the intimate aspects of daily life in colonial New Mexico through the lens of marriage and sexual relations. Gutierrez argues that the syncretic

¹⁷ John F. Bannon, *The Spanish Borderland Frontier 1513-1821*, (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1974).

¹⁸ David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992).

blend of Spanish and Pueblo marriage customs became an instrument of colonization as well as a source of conflict between church and state.¹⁹ A number of Indigenous scholars such as Susan Miller excoriate Gutierrez’s methodology. Miller contends that Gutierrez’s “reliance on Spanish colonial sources—mostly Franciscans—to inform his description of sixteenth-century ‘Puebloan’ culture yields a grotesque, unsubstantiable, and highly marketable image of the Pueblos as a set of aboriginal Gomorrahs.”²⁰ While Gutierrez’s methods may be considered suspect, his use of marriage as a lens through which to view culture will be useful in considering the cultural implications of families created when Mormons married Native American children raised in Mormon homes.

James Brooks, building on the borderlands narrative, explores the concept of fictive kinships and contends that borderlands violence was not “solely destructive, but produced enduring networks of economic and social relations.”²¹ This concept of fictive kinship bears on the children who were “adopted” by Mormon families, particularly as it applies to the Mormon concept of temple “sealing” and “adoption” customs.²² Ned Blackhawk took issue with Brooks, arguing that though “captivity in the Southwest may have created webs and bridges between peoples...it did so on the backs of young Indian

¹⁹ Ramon A. Gutierrez, *When Jesus Came the Cornmothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500-1846*, (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1991). A number of Indian scholars and writers took Gutierrez to task for his failure to include Pueblo sources to balance his narrative. See, Devon A. Mihesuah, “Voices, Interpretations, and the ‘New Indian History’: Comment on the ‘American Indian Quarterly’s’ Special Issue on Writing about American Indians Author(s),” *American Indian Quarterly*, 20, 1, (Winter, 1996), 95-96; Susan A. Miller, “Licensed Trafficking and Ethnogenetic Engineering,” *American Indian Quarterly*, 20, 1, (Winter 1996): 51-53; Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz, “Commentaries on *When Jesus Came the Cornmothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500-1846*, by Ramon A. Gutierrez,” comp. Native American Studies Center, University of New Mexico, *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 17:3 (1993): 154-158; John L. Kessell, review of *When Jesus Came the Cornmothers Went Away*, by Ramon A. Gutierrez, *Pacific Historical Quarterly*, 62:3 (1993): 364-65.

²⁰ Susan A. Miller, “Licensed Trafficking and Ethnogenetic Engineering,” *American Indian Quarterly*, 20, 1, (Winter 1996): 52.

²¹ Brooks, *Captives and Cousins*, 35.

²² These customs will be more completely explained in the body of this work but the reader may also access the glossary for a basic definition and explanation of terms.

women and children. Their lives definitely deserve incorporation into broader narratives of American history, just not in such hopeful and celebratory tones.” Blackhawk treated the violence of colonial encounters in darker tones, detailing the cycle initiated as Utes and Comanches acquired Spanish horses and guns in the wake of the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, and then followed alternating policies of negotiation with trade and raids against New Mexican colonials into the first half of the nineteenth century. Weaker Paiutes, according to Blackhawk, viewed Mormon immigrants as potential allies against the Utes, and the research for this thesis tends to confirm that fact.²³ Blackhawk stresses that the violence associated with captivity permeated borderlands relationships and became inseparable from societal thought and practice.²⁴ Blackhawk’s argument applies to Native American-Mormon relationships as well. Mormons were not above using violence as a means of accomplishing their goals and this is true of Brigham Young’s instructions in some cases, particularly concerning the Mormon attack on Black Elk and Patsowet’s Tumpanawach Utes near Utah Lake in 1850.²⁵ Mormons acquired some children and women as prisoners in the wake of attacks on Indian villages. Various Utes, Shoshones, and Paiutes also employed violence as a tactic against each other and the Mormons in the context of both trade and conflict.²⁶ Many Native American children came to Mormon homes as a result of the established slave trade carried on by equestrian

²³ Natale A. Zappia, “The Interior World: Trading and Raiding in Native California 1700-1863,” (PhD. diss., University of California, Santa Cruz, 2008), 183-84.

²⁴ Ned Blackhawk, review of *Captives and Cousins: Slavery, Kinship and Community in the Southwest Borderlands*, by James Brooks, *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, 28:1 (2004); Blackhawk, *Violence Over the Land*, 119-224, 40-241

²⁵ Jared Farmer, *On Zion’s Mount: Mormons, Indians and the American Landscape*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), 70-76.

²⁶ Gottfredson, Peter. *History of Indian Depredations in Utah*, (Salt Lake City, Utah: Skelton Publishing Co., 1919). This early source clearly favors the Mormon side of the argument but does a thorough job of listing many and possibly most of the attacks by various Native bands or individuals as well as Mormon attacks. Most aggression on both sides appears to have been initiated in response to earlier attacks.

raiders such as the Ute Wakara, steeped in the violence endemic to such traffic. The authors noted above help contextualize the evolving identities of Indigenous peoples who lived with a Spanish presence for centuries before they collided with the Mormons.

Writers who cover times and areas outside the Southwest and the Great Basin, may also provide useful tools with which to analyze the Native-Mormon historical context. The historian Richard White details the analogous “Middle Ground” where Iroquois, Hurons, Sac and Fox, and other nations negotiated their place in the Great Lakes region by playing off the French and the English against one-another in a way that reserved an open balance of power. This balanced middle ground, sustained largely by “shared misunderstandings” and the inability of any single polity to gain the upper hand, eventually collapsed when the Americans won independence and exerted sufficient power to consolidate colonial authority over the land and the Indigenes who lived there. White’s model serves as a useful way to look at the Great Basin in the nineteenth century.²⁷ For example, Utes, like Wakara, pursued an equally skilled but precarious course with the Spanish in New Mexico and rival nations such as the Comanche and the Navajo in a Southwest Borderlands middle ground where no one faction could gain sufficient power to marginalize the other participants. When the Mormons arrived in Utah, not only Wakara but some of those bands he preyed upon, such as the Paiutes and Sanpitches, attempted to negotiate in this middle ground with the newcomers, but found the opportunity to maintain the balance of power rapidly diminishing in the face of the

²⁷ Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815*, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

Mormon and United States practice of colonization incident to the idea of “manifest destiny.”²⁸

Over the past years many scholars have employed an expanding multi-disciplinary analytical tool chest to clarify historical happenings such as those named above. This practice represents an exciting but complex topical approach. Historian Robert Berkhofer’s work speaks to the uneasy marriage, or “extended courtship” between history and anthropology, called ethnohistory, and the difficulties involved in reconciling their two, often competing, analytical approaches. He expresses the dilemma of trying to narrate Indigenous societies that appear at times to have persisted unchanged from an Anthropological perspective, while changing drastically when viewed from a historical vantage-point. This thesis tries to inhabit the borderlands where the complex tension between the two disciplinary world-views lives.²⁹ Authors who delve more specifically into nineteenth-century Paiute and Ute history using ethnohistorical methodology include anthropologist Martha Knack, who supports Weber’s contention that the intercultural boundary in Utah had two sides and that to understand Paiute reactions to Mormon actions requires knowledge of Paiute cultural structure, myths and oral history.³⁰ This present work, following Knack’s lead, strives to see the people involved in the historical narrative as individuals rather than essentializing them as unchangeable stereotypes. This is especially important in dealing with layers of meaning in both primary and secondary sources. Ethnohistorian Ronald Holt tells the story of the Paiutes as well, concentrating

²⁸ Ronald W. Walker, “Wakara Meets the Mormons 1848-1852: A Case Study in Native American Accommodation,” *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 70, 3, (summer 2002): 215-37.

²⁹ Robert F. Berkhofer, “The Political Context of a New Indian History,” *Pacific Historical Review*, 40, 3, (Aug., 1971): 357-382.

³⁰ Martha C. Knack, *Boundaries Between: The Southern Paiutes 1775-1995*, (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2001), 73.

on paternalistic and colonial Mormon behaviors that, he argues, damaged the Paiutes as much as raw exploitation would, stating: “Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that the manner in which the Mormons assumed and ensured their dominance over the Paiutes and other Great Basin Indians was a unique combination of conquest and paternalism.”³¹ Holt’s work deals more with the relationship between Mormons and Paiutes in the latter part of the nineteenth and well into the twentieth century, than with the earlier encounters when the children were first placed in Mormon homes. My research indicates that Mormon conceptions of Native Americans drifted from Indians as part of scattered Israel in their first years in Utah, to the more general American view of Indians as an obstacle to be controlled or removed in later years. Mormon behaviors from cooperation to control seemed to mirror this drift. The secondary source material written about the Native American children in this study provides additional evidence of this trend. Authors simplified and stereotyped individual Native Americans by emphasizing their behaviors that reflected well on Mormonism while deemphasizing or demonizing those actions that demonstrated a tendency to resist assimilation.

In scholar Stephen Van Hoak’s description of Ute equestrian adaptation in the century preceding the Mormons’ advent to the Great Basin, he asserts that the Utes initially viewed Mormon settlement as a positive development that complemented their annual trading and raiding cycle. The resulting environmental changes and cultural conflicts, however, forced the Utes from the Eastern Great Basin and proved to be the demise of their regional dominance.³² This is in line with White’s “middle ground”

³¹ Ronald L. Holt, *Beneath These Red Cliffs: An Ethnohistory of the Utah Paiutes*, (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1992), 24.

³² Stephen P. Van Hoak, “Waccara’s Utes: Native American Equestrian Adaptation in the Eastern Great Basin, 1776-1876,” (M.A. thesis, University of Nevada Las Vegas, 1998), 76, 89-91.

model. The parties to Indigenous-Mormon borderland negotiations often acted based upon mistaken cultural suppositions concerning the intentions of their opposites. For example, Wakara appeared to believe that the slave trade could continue unabated indefinitely and the Mormons accepted the status quo, while Brigham Young and the Mormons saw the Ute slave trade as an impermanent situation that would eventually dwindle, and thus temporized with the passage of territorial indentured servant legislation. The final outcome constituted something different than either Mormons or the Utes expected, but moved in the Mormon direction as they gained sufficient strength to enforce their position.

Douglas Braithwaite helps to define the LDS position by presenting a more detailed exposition of Mormon doctrine vis-à-vis the Indians or “Lamanites,” as the Mormons designated them, than most of the other academics. He also summarizes the practical steps of Mormon colonization, contending that while the initial Mormon intent was to convert and aid rather than harm the Paiutes, the resulting Paiute dispossession mirrored typical American expansion and colonization—a view that appears to be shared by most of the writers on the topic.³³ Western historian Jared Farmer tells a similar tale about the Mormon settlement in Utah County. Farmer’s story of how the Tumpanawach “Fish Eater” Utes lost their main food source, the fish in Utah Lake, and the surrounding land to Mormon incursions constitutes a case study in dispossession. In the relocation of the main Utah County landmark from the lake to a mountain ironically named “Timpanogos,” after the vanished Fish Eaters, Farmer sees the historic tendency of

³³ Douglas C. Braithwaite, “The Mastery of Cultural Contradictions: Developing Paiute Indian Leadership,” (PhD diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1972), 150-153, 180-199.

conquerors to forget the vanquished by reimagining the landscape.³⁴ The current research finds that the victors lay claim not only physical but psychic landscapes. Many of the secondary sources created before the late 1960s often paint a far rosier and simpler picture than the primary documents. Mormon conceptions of Indians originally varied from the standard European notion of Indigenes as less evolved than Euro-Americans. However the reality of Native-Mormon encounters eroded those initial doctrinal impulses and, in many ways, the end result—dispossession—mirrored the general outcome. Additionally, after the nineteenth and very early twentieth centuries a Mormon forgetting of things Indigenous, and an emphasis on pioneers entering a mostly vacant landscape, devoid of Native Americans, appears to have occurred as emphasis on missionary work among the Indians faded.

Still more scholars deal with Mormon perspectives of Pioneer-Indian relations. Southern Utah historian Juanita Brooks is best known for her treatment of the Mountain Meadows Massacre which highlighted the difficulties endemic in a borderland where a third party enters the scene and roils existing relationships. In this case, the third party consisted of non-Mormon emigrants from Arkansas, headed for California, who passed through Utah Territory at a time when U.S.-Mormon tensions increased to their highest level since the Latter-day Saints were driven from Illinois. A series of unfortunate events led to a horrific denouement—the slaughter of the wagon train and ensuing cover-up attempt—with Mormons trying to lay sole blame for the massacre on local Paiutes, which poisoned relations between Paiutes and Mormons for generations.³⁵ Brooks also edited a number of pioneer diaries detailing Indian-Mormon relations, as well as writing

³⁴ Farmer, *On Zion's Mount*, 10-11.

³⁵ Juanita Brooks, *Mountain Meadows Massacre*, (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962).

biographies of southern Utah pioneers, including her grandfather, Dudley Leavitt, leaving a rich source of primary and secondary literature.³⁶ Her mid-twentieth century approach to Indian-Mormon relations and the Mountain Meadows Massacre caused her a measure of discomfort during her life as some Mormon leaders took her to task for writing accounts not in sympathy with prevailing Mormon perspectives.³⁷ However, from the vantage of the twenty-first century, her work now seems protective of the Mormons. Regardless of her relative sympathy for her subjects, Brooks' secondary source material is invaluable in providing a wide survey of the situation of Mormons and Native Americans in southern Utah during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and this current thesis employs those sources frequently.

Leland Creer added to Brook's extensive work by gathering a number of the earliest important primary and secondary accounts of the Indian slave trade in Utah. Creer contended that Utes used the threat of killing Indian captive children to impel Mormons to purchase them.³⁸ Although much of his prose and assumptions are dated—for instance, Utes and Comanches both used captive torture as a marketing technique long before the Mormons arrived—the early sources he tapped in his research make his work valuable in this current work.

As the Mormons attempted to find ways to shut down the New Mexico slave trade, they arrested Don Pedro Lujan, who led a party of Mexican slave traders into Utah

³⁶ Brooks, Juanita. "Indian Relations on the Mormon Frontier", *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 12, (Jan-Apr. 1944): 1-48. Juanita Brooks, ed., *Journal of the Southern Indian Mission: Diary of Thomas D. Brown*, (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press), 1972. Juanita L. Brooks, *Dudley Leavitt, Pioneer to Southern Utah*, (1942), 45-46 Accessed February 12, 2010.

<http://www.archive.org/stream/dudleyleavittpio00broo#page/44/mode/2up>.

³⁷ Gregory A. Prince and W. Robert Wright, *David O. McKay and the Rise of Modern Mormonism*, (Salt Lake City, UT: University of Utah Press, 2005), 53-55.

³⁸ Leland H. Creer, "Spanish-American Slave Trade in the Great Basin, 1800-1853", *New Mexico Historical Review*, 14, (July, 1949): 171-183.

in the early 1850s. Utah historian Sondra Jones tells the story of Lujan's arrest and trial by the Mormons, and its effect on the Great Basin slave trade. She argues that although slavery had been banned in New Mexico for two-hundred years, the black market supply line of bonded labor from the Great Basin to feed captives into the indenture system remained alive and well. Jones details the process by which the Mormons used U.S. laws and the trial of one hapless New Mexican *genízaro* (former captive of blended ancestry) slave trader as the test case to close the door to the Utah slave trade.³⁹ Jones' work provides important information that helps to contextualize Brigham Young's actions concerning these initiatives in the early 1850s. She also published an important historiographical summary of Native American-Mormon scholarship that proves invaluable to any research in this field of study.⁴⁰ My subsequent examination of nineteenth-century secondary sources is enriched by her insights and builds upon them by examining the place of stereotyping in imposing racial identity.

Researcher Richard Kitchen identifies hundreds of Indian children and women who lived in Mormon households between 1847 and 1877, by scouring journals, court and cemetery records, family histories, genealogies and census records. His excellent database of Native Americans provided the foundation for this current research. Kitchen argues that Mormon treatment of Indian children and women often contrasted markedly with prevailing nineteenth-century notions of interracial interaction although that attitude generally applied more to those Native Americans who were willing to accept Mormon

³⁹ Sondra Jones, *The Trial of Don Pedro Leon Lujan: The Attack Against Indian Slavery and Mexican Traders in Utah*. (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 2000). The term *Genízaro* refers to a person of blended Indigenous and Mexican lineage, generally a slave or soldier on the borderlands, and considered low on the New Mexican social scale. See Brooks, *Captives and Cousins*, 374.

⁴⁰ Sondra Jones, "Saints and Sinners."

religion and culture.⁴¹ My current research indicates that this is an accurate assessment, at least in the early period of Mormon settlement and missionary efforts among the Great Basin Indigenes. The Mormon treatment of Indian spouses in blended marriages appears to have remained relatively positive even when Mormon attitudes concerning Indians in general moved more towards the prevailing national sentiments.

LDS scholar Scott Christensen tells the story of the survivors of the Bear River Massacre and their acceptance of the Mormon faith as well as the tug-of-war between the Federal Government and the Mormons to incorporate the band into a reservation/farming economy.⁴² His work provides an in-depth examination of one of the few Native American bands—the Northwestern Shoshone—to almost completely convert to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and more specifically provides a wealth of detail about Frank Warner. This information broadened my knowledge of Warner’s life and helped clarify the complex motives that drove him as he constructed an identity to bridge the gulf between his Native American and Mormon beliefs and cultures.

Concerning current trends, BYU historian Ronald Walker laments the dearth of solid Indian-Mormon scholarship as of 1989 and suggests that conflicting revisionist and LDS scholarship in the 1960’s and 70’s displayed little patience with Mormon ideology and values on one side, and suffered from bland, conservative Mormon scholarship on the other. This, in Walker’s view, led to revisionist writers portraying Mormons as land hungry and suspect in all their dealings with Indians, while grudgingly conceding some few positive Mormon peculiarities. Walker’s solution was more scrupulous attention to

⁴¹ Richard D. Kitchen, “Mormon-Indian Relationships in Deseret: Intermarriage and Indenture 1847-1877,” (PhD diss., Arizona State University, 2002), 223, Appendices C-D.

⁴² Scott R. Christensen, *Sagwitch: Shoshone Chieftain, Mormon Elder, 1822-1887*, (Logan, UT: Utah State University Press, 1999).

the rich (and often unmined) primary source material on the Mormon side, and serious reference to ethnological, ethnographic and anthropological studies on the Indian side of the narrative, leading to a synthesis of thought, acknowledging that no race or culture monopolizes good or evil.⁴³ Walker's approach is useful in terms of understanding the humanity of the various historical actors who populate this thesis. His article about Tumpanawach Ute Wakara provides a template for the steps needed to carry out Walker's concept. This current thesis represents an attempt to tread Walker's middle path acknowledging the violence and horror that punctuated Mormon-Indian relations, while honoring the genuine good that existed and exists in both in Spanish, Indigenous and Mormon heritage, ideology and values.⁴⁴

Brian Cannon's work on Native children in Mormon households provides a rich source for the specific time period and relationships covered by this thesis and initiated the author's current interest in this topic. Cannon appears to take Ronald Walker's advice in his balanced, thoughtful treatment of the topic, with a good-faith effort to include Indian voices in the narrative. Cannon argues that while wide variations existed in the treatment of these children, "the evidence suggests that most whites who opened their homes to Indian children did so primarily for altruistic, humanitarian reasons" and that they "sincerely desired to improve the children's lives."⁴⁵ While I primarily concur with this conclusion, the history of these Native American children provide some evidence of poor treatment and a degree of prejudice, which this work will detail. While Cannon provided a substantial amount of detail about the children included in this current

⁴³ Ronald W. Walker, "Toward a Reconstruction of Mormon and Indian Relations, 1847-1877", *BYU Studies*, 29, 41, (1989): 23-42.

⁴⁴ Ronald W. Walker, "Wakara Meets the Mormons 1848-1852: A Case Study in Native American Accommodation," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 70, 3, (summer 2002): 215-37.

⁴⁵ Brian Q. Cannon, "Adopted or Indentured," 341-357.

research, he did not follow up with much information about their later lives, including marriages and family life as adults. This thesis aims to fill in some of those blank spots. Cannon also left a good deal of analysis to perform concerning the secondary sources that he introduced in his work. A rich trove of Mormon primary and secondary sources, largely untapped by Cannon, helps narrate the accounts of Native American children in Mormon homes which augment the previously mentioned oral traditions and ethnohistory of the various tribes. These include a number of biographical sketches of LDS Native Americans in the publications of the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, many of them edited by Kate B. Carter between the 1930s and the 1960s.⁴⁶ A wealth of detail and insight into Mormon attitudes and changes in those attitudes between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries may be profitably extracted from these works by analyzing the statements contained there and contrasting them with earlier primary and secondary sources. My thesis utilizes this valuable material as evidence of both Mormon external racial imposition and internal reinforcement for Mormon self-conceptions that were prominent at the time the sources were written.

To understand what human actions impacted history, and how they did this, requires a wider conceptual net. Several scholars, sociologists, and historians have dealt more specifically with the cultural dynamics of ethnogenesis and cultural identification. Western historian Gregory Smoak describes the process of ethnicity and race formation

⁴⁶ John Bennion, (1829-1877) "Diary," TMS. Special Collections and Manuscripts. Harold B. Lee Library, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah; Lucy Meeks "letter to Dear Mother, June 17, [1871]," Priddy Meeks Letters, Harold B. Lee Library, L Tom Perry Special Collections; Norman Rambeau, Ed., *Nuwuvi: A Southern Paiute History*, Inter-tribal Council of Nevada, (Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 1976); Kate B. Carter, *Heart Throbs of the West*, Vols. 1-3, Second Edition, (Salt Lake City, UT: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1939); Kate B. Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, v. 4, (Salt Lake City, UT: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1964); Kate B. Carter, "The Indian and the Pioneer," in *Daughters of the Utah Pioneers Lesson for October 1964*, ed. Kate B. Carter, (Salt Lake City, UT: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1964).

for the Newe peoples, from which the Shoshones, Bannocks and Paiutes derive, by employing the narrative of the 1870 and 1890 Ghost Dances. Smoak explicates these ceremonies, as practiced by substantial numbers of Native Americans, not as the temporary delusional event practiced by a disappearing people, but rather as “a culturally consistent appeal to a supernatural power aimed at restoring the flow of that power toward Native People.”⁴⁷ Smoak also argues that the Ghost Dances comprised “a vehicle for the expression of meaningful social identities.”⁴⁸ The conversion of numbers of Native Americans to Mormonism during the period from 1870 to 1890 makes the Ghost Dance timeframe particularly pertinent to their experiences. This thesis explores the connections between Native American, and Protestant, Catholic and LDS religious impulses such as the fall of Adam, original sin, millenarianism, and power to heal, as expressed for example in Indigenous creation myths. The effect of Indian response to such doctrines is part of this current story.

Sociologist Joane Nagel provides further explication of identity formation. She maintains that “identity and culture” constitute “the basic building blocks of ethnicity.” By constructing identity and culture, she writes, “individuals and groups attempt to address the problematics of ethnic boundaries and meaning.” For Nagel, ethnicity is best grasped as a “dynamic, constantly evolving property of both individual identity and group organization.” Thus, the “dialectic played out by ethnic groups and the larger society” provides the tools for individuals to construct their unique identity within the wider culture or cultures. Both structure and agency affect this process.⁴⁹ A primary

⁴⁷ Gregory E. Smoak, *Ghost Dances and Identity: Prophetic Religion and American Ethnogenesis in the Nineteenth Century*, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2006), 3.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Nagel, “Constructing Ethnicity,” 152.

purpose of this current work involves exploring the multi-layered, complex character of Native American and Mormon identity and culture using documentary sources to obtain clues that explicate how identity was structurally imposed and individually expressed.

Adding further insight to agency as it applies to the formation of culture, religious scholar Catherine Breckus, writing about Mormon women, notes that “the conceptual confusion over how to imagine [Mormons] raises larger questions about the challenges of writing...history.” Breckus contends that “historians outside the LDS community seem to have been influenced by...caricature[s].” This thesis recognizes that such stereotypical pigeon-holing knows no cultural limits, but constitutes a regular feature in attempts to impose racial culture upon persons considered as “other” by members of a more dominant group. Often writers in such cultures persist in portraying minorities with trite characterizations and vapid depictions that exclude, or marginalize, historical characters that should be taken more seriously. “On the other hand,” asserts Brekus, “Scholars who specialize in Mormon history have been so determined to defend [Mormons] against lingering stereotypes that they have sometimes exaggerated their agency.” The result, laments Brekus, “is that we are left with a fractured picture of [Mormons] as either deluded downtrodden slaves or fiercely independent [pioneers].”⁵⁰ Yet, she stresses, “Habitual and routinized activities are not devoid of agency [and]...agency is not limited to challenging social structures; it also includes reproducing them.” Brekus suggests that “scholars in search of a ‘usable past’” would do well to acknowledge “ordinary believers” as agents who “helped to reproduce [ethnic and] religious communities across

⁵⁰ Brekus, Catherine A. “Mormon Women and the Problem of Historical Agency,” *Journal of Mormon History*, 37, 2, spring 2011, 60-61.

generations.”⁵¹ Some of the children in this study incorporated Mormon structure into their personal expressed identities. This thesis maintains that they are no less agents, and represent expressions of identity as valid as those who opposed Mormon structure.

Considering the external imposition of racial identity, Mormon Dakota scholar Elise Boxer asserts that Mormon use of the term “Lamanite” denotes an active effort to “maintain an Indigenous identity” for Native Americans, Polynesians, and Mexicans “based on religious ideologies primarily gathered from the Book of Mormon.”

According to Boxer, calling a fellow member a “Lamanite” created a “unique racialized space that simultaneously subjugated and venerated Indigenous peoples in the LDS Church.”⁵² As a Native American and a Mormon, Boxer’s is in a unique position to examine these issues by considering both LDS and Indigenous perspectives. Plainly, as Boxer asserts, the early Mormon understanding of the term “Lamanite” included both the belief that Native Americans were heirs to a bright future as members of the House of Israel, and that their ancestors had fallen from the first promise. This fall, from the LDS perspective, required the Mormons, as Gentiles, to assist Native Americans to become an integral part of the Mormon Zion.⁵³ Frank Warner’s journal account represents evidence that some Native Americans accepted the Book of Mormon narrative that supports this belief, and taught it to other Native Americans. Boxer details “three...phases of Mormon Euroamerican colonization. First, Mormon manifest destiny, second, missions to and

⁵¹ Ibid, 72-73, 78-79.

⁵² Elise Boxer, “To Become White and Delightful: American Indians and Mormon Identity,” (PhD diss., Arizona State University, 2009), iii.

⁵³ Armand L. Mauss, *All Abraham’s Children: Changing Mormon Conceptions of Race and Lineage*, (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2003), 17-32.

among Indigenous communities, and finally, formal programs like the Indian Student Placement Program.”⁵⁴

My work also recognizes three evangelistic impulses originating with the Latter-day Saints during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which correspond to Boxer’s three phases, but builds on her work by recognizing that frequent external U. S. executive and legislative initiatives also affected the circumstances which spurred these Mormon phases. I believe this factor complicates Boxer’s argument that “racial formations” and the power to define and give meaning to race served as the driving force behind all three phases. While racial formations certainly provide a major part of the explanation for Mormon missionary or “colonizing” phases, they seem insufficient as an exclusive explanatory cause. Indigenous responses to LDS colonization, federal policies, as manifest in executive, legislative and judicial initiatives toward both Native Americans and Mormons, and preexisting racist attitudes of the nation at large also exerted major influence on these phases.

Boxer also argues that Mormons have not been recognized sufficiently as primary actors in “the construction of race and identity” in the United States, because both LDS and non-LDS historians have emphasized the persecution of Mormons while downplaying Mormon roles in dispossessing and destroying Indigenous cultures, lands and peoples.⁵⁵ This current work has attempted to keep the persecution of the Latter-day Saints as an explanation for LDS actions to a minimum. However, the Mormon presence in the Great Basin in the nineteenth century at least partially resulted from their expulsion from points east. Mormons would probably not have settled in the Great Basin so soon,

⁵⁴ Boxer, *To Become White and Delightful*, iii.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 13.

or in such numbers, or at all if Mormon communities in Kirtland, Ohio, Jackson County, Missouri or Nauvoo, Illinois had succeeded. If settlers in the Great Basin had been someone beside Mormons, their interactions with the Native Americans perhaps could have resulted in a substantially different outcome.

Mormon sociologist Armand Mauss's impressive work *All Abraham's Children*, published six years prior to Boxer's work, considers Mormon attitudes and practices, in some detail, as they pertain to racialist formation and identification. Mauss thoroughly examines LDS doctrine and practice as they impacted race and identity construction. He not only describes Native American-Mormon racial and cultural dynamics, but also applies them to African-American and Jewish-Mormon relationships. He contends that the Mormons have "traditionally taught particularistic doctrines favoring some ethnic groups over others, yet," he continues, "the church has always had an extensive proselyting program with a focus intended for all peoples everywhere." These two tendencies, according to Mauss, represent a "dialectical tension throughout Mormon history and each has affected and modified the other."⁵⁶ This tension appears very much in play throughout the records that tell the story of the children placed into Mormon homes and deserves a closer look, which this current work will incorporate.

This thesis is divided into two sections. The first section is titled "Slaves, Indentures and Adoptions." Chapter One, in Section One, sets the historical stage by introducing the Great Basin and its people from pre-contact with Europeans to the Mexican Revolution, stressing Indigenous beliefs and customs as they apply to marriage and family. This chapter also contextualizes Native American land-use, culture and relationships with the Spanish and early American trappers and traders, as well as their

⁵⁶ Armand L. Mauss, *All Abraham's Children*, 1-2.

situation on the eve of the Mormons' arrival. Chapter Two covers the time between first contact with Indians and Mormons through the passage of the Utah territorial indenture law (1847-1852) as Utes attempted to find new trading partners, Paiutes tried to find new allies, New Mexican *genízaros* fought to hold onto old sources of slave trade, and Mormons began to assert their will over a land they believed God gave them. During this time Utes first brought Native American children to the Mormons as a trading commodity and Mormons attempted to find ways to deal with this new wrinkle in Indian-Mormon relations. The process of Mormons acquiring children through extra-legal trade, and then legitimating that trade by passing the indenture law, will be described and analyzed as a means of understanding the attitudes of the traders, the traded and those who acquired the trade. This chapter also examines how Mormon indentured servitude in Utah resembled and differed from that in other states such as California. Chapter Three (1853-1865) examines the details of life in a blended home with Indigenous and Mormon children, and the way that individual agency began to create a measure of understanding in some cases, resistance to assimilation in others, and occasionally a combination of the two. The effects of these interactions on identity formation are also considered. This chapter also deals with the decade of conflict between Native Americans, Mormons and the U.S. Army as the Civil War came west, as well as the way Mormons and Indians dealt with the consequences of horrific ethnic cleansing and pondered future Indian-Mormon relationships. During this time many of the children reached adolescence and early adulthood. This chapter describes and analyzes the dynamics of growing up Native American in a Mormon home and examines whether native cultural retention was possible in this environment.

Section Two is titled “Marriages, Conversions, Perception and Identity.” Chapter Four (1865-1900) begins with a demographic summary of this research, including marriage statistics. During this time some of the Native American children reached adulthood, fell in love and married, some to caucasian Mormon spouses and others to Native Americans. This chapter will consider the relationships that developed in these marriages and how they were perceived inside and outside the relationships. Some of these Native Americans either found it difficult or impossible to find a marriage partner in the Mormon culture or freely chose to forgo marriage. This chapter will also describe how they responded, and what this says about race and ethnicity, how Mormons and Native American manifested and reacted to those attitudes, and their implications for Indian-Mormon relations.

Chapter Five, the Epilogue, explores the pressure that increasing federal power exerted over both Native Americans and Mormons as both groups responded to new cultural norms. During this time a wave of religious excitement passed through many Indigenes that resulted in impulses as varied as the Ghost Dance and some mass conversions to the LDS Church. Since these conversions affected some of the children in this study, the impulses are germane to this thesis. In the midst of this turmoil, Native Americans raised in Mormon homes, now matured, married and raised families of their own, negotiated the practices and beliefs of competing cultures to create unique and complex identities, and their children also constructed identities that sometimes resembled and some times differed from their parents. As the children grew old and passed away, secondary sources narrating their lives began to appear and persisted through much of the twentieth century. The writers of these sources tended to simplify

and stereotype unique human beings, in very complex relationships and circumstances, in order to advance their own agendas. These secondary sources reveal perhaps more about the way that the authors reflected Mormon attitudes toward Native Americans into the twentieth century than they depict the real lives of those they profiled. By examining these sources we may more completely understand the social dynamics at work during the time they were written. This chapter will also speak to “forgetting” as a colonizing tactic, which speaks to the persistent challenges involved in resisting, negotiating or accommodating cultures. Finally this work will conclude with a summary of findings, and a review of how this work reinforces or departs from historiographical precedents.

Methodology

The lives of specific Indian and Mormon men, women, and children best tell this story as they forged many new cultural expectations and behaviors, constructed and sometimes reconstructed altered identities, while sometimes also clinging to old stereotypes and prejudices as well. Their stories are important because many of these cross-cultural voyagers represented anomalies in their host communities, and as such they are often invisible in broader surveys of Indian and Mormon history. In the course of this work we will encounter Goshutes such as Kanosh Bennion, who worked hard and happily as a thirteen-year-old trail boss, and Nicaagat, or Captain Jack, who ran away from an abusive Mormon family and participated as a war chief in the Milk Creek Battle in Colorado. These young men represent opposite sides of the spectrum in terms of the way Mormons treated these children and the way they responded and self-identified. Paiute Sarakeets asserted his independence in a different way, and resisted Church President Wilford Woodruff’s plans for his future life. Navajo Janet Smith Leavitt, adopted by a

Mormon family in Parowan, chose to marry Dudley Leavitt as his fourth plural wife. Two-year-old Shoshone Beshup Timbimbo (Frank Warner) found wandering the carnage of the Bear River Massacre and holding a bowl of frozen pine nut gravy, became a Mormon bishop and a missionary to the Assiniboines. These Native Americans demonstrate the resilience of the human spirit in the face of crushing difficulty.

Many Mormons also related to Native Americans as children and found much to admire. Two of these children included Mormon boy Nick Wilson who ran away from home to become Shoshone chief Washakie's adopted brother, and Israel Bennion who worked side-by-side with his older foster-brother, Kanosh, and reveled in the kindness of his Indian neighbors. Their accounts teach us much about the way Mormons of that day remembered Indian-Mormon relationships in later times. Despite their kind words and thoughts, cultural preconceptions show through their writing and tell us much about the attitudes endemic to their culture and time. Accounts of other fascinating Native Americans and Mormons also fill these pages. Not all their stories ended happily but neither were they all tragic. Rather, they reflect the painful, important and even trivial aspects of the human condition.

Primary and secondary sources allow us to view parts of these children's lives, as well as providing details about those who traded them and those who acquired them. The primary sources tended to be written by the Mormons involved in these trades, and in raising these children, rather than by the children themselves, although some provided a few primary documents of their own in later years. However, these latter documents almost exclusively reflect the Mormon culture in which they lived. Many secondary sources reflect a chronological gap between the time when the children lived in Mormon

homes and the time when later Mormon biographers chronicled their lives, allowing cultural forgetfulness and a smoothing of edges that perhaps should have been left rough. However, much useful information may be teased from such sources. A common thread running through most treatments of Indigenous history concerns the expressed difficulty of telling the Indian side of the story and that difficulty dogged this research. Each of the Indians, whose narrative we know, represents hundreds of others whose stories remain untold because of a lack of personal primary and secondary documentation.⁵⁷ Historian Alan Taylor's metaphor for researching Indians typifies the difficulty of recovering these captives' pasts and making them live: "We know their presence, just as we do a black hole's, primarily by their effects on nearby objects, in this case documents colonists made."⁵⁸ For example, if John and Israel Bennion had not written about Kanosh we would know nothing about him. Even Kanosh's four recorded spoken words come from the reminiscences of Israel Bennion. While we must use the resources with care, not relying on them as representing the full story, we must still acknowledge that they are the only written record of that story. Source difficulties do not change reality. These human beings were not simply names on pages. Kanosh, Nicaagat, Sarakeets and Janet—Pahvant, Goshute, Paiute and Navajo—lived, as we do now. They woke in the morning, squinted against the light and wondered what the day would bring, just as we do. We know joy and fear and boredom. They did as well. We do Kanosh's Pahvant legacy a disservice by seeing solely through John or Israel Bennion's eyes.

⁵⁷ Historian, Richard Kitchen compiled a list of over four hundred Indians living in Mormon homes from 1847-1900. yet we have only partial biographies of just less than seventy of the four hundred. See Kitchen, "Mormon-Indian Relations in Deseret," Appendix 2.

⁵⁸ Alan Taylor, review of *The Unredeemed Captive: A Family Story from Early America*, by John Demos, *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, 52:3 (July 1995): 518.

We can work through this challenge by applying an ethno-historical methodology to the primary sources. For example, the narrative of Kanosh Bennion being traded to John Bennion and the transaction that brought Sally Young to Brigham Young's home may be told from the perspective of the children rather than the Mormons by using marriage and family, or trading customs of Great Basin Native Americans of their time period to reconstruct these events, so that we see them new. If we know, as a result of anthropological studies, that children in Paiute homes were loved and treasured, then we may assume that giving them up, as a result of famine or destitution, caused unimaginable pain for children and parents. Using these sources we may infer the difficulties that may have existed and the human drama that responding to those circumstances entailed. In addition one may employ such source material as maps, music, paintings, photography, folklore, oral tradition, site exploration, archaeological materials, museum collections, enduring customs, language, or place names. Using these as tools, we may add dimension to the stories of these people.⁵⁹ The photographs, maps and charts in this work, as well as links to online oral sources such as interviews with Tony Tillohash, represent the attempt to employ such sources. Using this perspective of informed ethnographic historical imagination to filter primary and secondary Mormon sources, we will explore Kanosh's, Sally's, Sarakeets' and Janet's familial relationships as well as many others.

⁵⁹ James Axtell, "Ethnohistory: An Historian's Viewpoint". *Ethnohistory* 26, 1 (1979): 3–4; Ronald W. Walker, "Native Women on the Utah Frontier," *BYU Studies*, 32, 4, (1992), 88. Commenting on this difficulty and possible solutions Walker states:

"To fill this gap, for the past half century ethnographers have reconstructed early Indian society by studying surviving artifacts and routines, augmenting their findings with the memories of aged Native Americans of the second and third generations. These data, in turn, can be enlarged by the hundreds of journals and reports of the white pioneers who described Indian ways. While bearing the usual ethno-historical bias of events seen through white eyes, still, with care, these latter sources add to our understanding.

While Brian Cannon's work on these same children told their story from a mostly Mormon perspective, this essay will take a further cue from Ronald Walker, who suggested telling the children's stories, as completely as possible, from the perspective of Indians having a Mormon experience rather than Mormons having an Indian experience. By switching perspectives we may, in the words of Native Studies Scholar Michael Dorris, "stop treating Indians like sacred, one-dimensional European myths and begin the hard, terribly difficult and unpredictable quest of regarding them as human beings."⁶⁰ Joined to the Mormon narratives, these stories will help us to see the change, over time, as the two cultures adjusted, and in some cases blended and borrowed from one another. We may then see how and why individual human beings such as Kanosh, Sarakeets, Janet and Nicaagat, constructed their own identities because of, or despite the external race and ethnicity imposed upon them. Considering the lives of these cross-cultural voyagers in this light may increase our appreciation for their assertiveness, resilience and courage, and underscore the reality of their experience.

⁶⁰ Michael Dorris, "Indians on the Shelf," in *The American Indian and the Problem of History*, ed. Calvin Martin, (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1987), 105.



Figure 1 Pre-contact Great Basin Indigenes

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Section I

⁶¹ Cabrillo College. "The Native Peoples of North America: Great Basin Cultural Area." Accessed June 20, 2012. http://www.cabrillo.edu/~crsmith/noamer_basin.html

Slavery, Indenture and Adoption

The Indigenes of North America's Great Basin developed a way of life based on the available resources the Basin provided. Their culture and customs provided a stable means of understanding and interacting with the forces of nature and men. Their myths elaborated on their expectations, hopes, and fears, in real and metaphorical ways, as evidenced by stories of the trickster Coyote. As Great Basin bands came in contact with the Spanish and other Europeans, they adjusted their mode of gathering necessary resources based on new technologies, such as horses and guns, as well as their myths to cope with change. This process entailed some adjustment in their perceptions of the world around them and in their own perception of their identities. Some Indigenes, such as the Utes and Comanches, raided other Native bands throughout the Southwest enslaving women and children who they traded to the Spanish in exchange for additional horses and guns. Native American children, acquired through this difficult and wrenching raid-and-trade process, experienced a major cultural shift that imposed upon them an external identity. They reacted to that shift in varied ways that expressed individual constructed identity. The Utes and others who sold, traded or gave them away, and the Mormons who purchased, accepted or received them in trade, struggled to define rules governing the practice and their obligations concerning the children caught up by that practice. Individual personality characteristics, preconceived notions about the opposing culture, and the external actions of the United States federal government, complicated rules definition and the subsequent behavior of those involved.

Chapter One

From Before the Europeans to Mexican Independence

The Great Basin

Long before Euro-Americans lived in the West, the Great Basin supported an extensive population and culture. To understand the pre-contact history of this region, its early inhabitants, and those who first contacted Europeans and learned to interact with them before 1847, is to gain a clearer view of the story that follows. The first point of understanding that emerges from such historical awareness is that many communities developed profound attachments to this landscape. Both Native Americans and Euro-American settlers who came to the Great Basin came to consider it their own. Their conflicts involved struggles by each culture to appropriate this land as their own physical and spiritual space.⁶² The land and its myths, the maps made to appropriate it, the activities pursued on its surface, even the structures built on the land to claim it as home may teach us what those who came before thought, believed, and hoped. They belong to this story.

Bordered by mountains on all sides, North America's Great Basin presents a diverse geographic aspect. Numerous north-to-south oriented mountain ranges divide the Basin's valleys. The tallest of these form a boundary, enclosing both the western and eastern portions of the region. To the west the Sierra Nevada Range soars to more than 13,000 feet above sea level, dispossessing clouds from the Pacific Ocean of their moisture, and creating a "rain shadow" that deprives Death Valley and the Mojave Desert of precipitation. On the Basin's east side, the Wasatch Range wrings out the humidity that remains and deposits it in rain and snow that funnels into mountain lakes and

⁶² Colin G. Calloway, *One Vast Winter Count: The Native American West Before Lewis and Clark*, (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2003), 13.

streams. At the higher elevations, aspen, spruce and fir grow to the tree line, above which loom rocky peaks crested most months with snow. Pinion and juniper dot the foothills of these ranges which consist of successive benches where Lake Bonneville anciently ebbed and flowed. The foothills give way to arid valleys cut by ravines and washes, separated by plateaus, bluffs and buttes, and carpeted with shad scale, rabbit brush, yucca and sage. With no outlet to the sea, the Basin's creeks and rivers carry spring water and snow runoff onto these plains which eventually disappear into underground aquifers or evaporate from stagnant saline pools such as Mono Lake or the Great Salt Lake. Along these rivers, spring floods deposit good soil and cottonwoods line the banks offering shade and concealment. Snow covers much of the Basin in the winter but the lower elevations bake in shimmering summer heat, while the spring and fall tend to be temperate. Toward the east side of the Basin, in present-day Utah, one of the region's few large lakes presents a fresh water oasis, rich with native trout, that once provided a year-round food source. Though Utah Lake belongs to the Great Basin it does not partake of the desert nature of much of the rest of the region because of the perennial rivers and streams that feed it. With an outlet to keep its water sweet, Utah Lake offered the most attractive living conditions available in the area, and perhaps even entered into the realm of Spanish legend as the great lake called Teguayo or Copala: a land rich with gold.⁶³ Utah Lake's outlet stream, named the "Jordan," after the river that drains the Middle Eastern Sea of Galilee into the Dead Sea, empties north into the shallow, brackish Great Salt Lake. The land to the east of this lake featured tall grasses nourished by a number of perennial streams issuing from the pine-topped Wasatch Range.

⁶³ Farmer, *On Zion's Mount*, 25.

Today's Great Basin fauna continue to populate the region though some species from the past dwindled almost to extinction, such as the buffalo. In times past elk, bear, cougars and wolves roamed the high country, while mule deer grazed on the foothills. Hawks patrolled the skies, hunting the jack rabbits, cottontails and prairie dogs which fed on the desert plants and grasses and tried to avoid hungry coyotes. Buffalo grazed here and wallowed in the dirt of the stream beds. Ravens, sage hens and owls found a home, as well as various rattlesnakes and lizards.⁶⁴ This region provided the stage for the following drama of interaction and colonization that affected the descendants of pre-contact Indigenes.

The Indigenes

Despite a harsh, dry climate and marginal growing conditions, the land later named the "Great interior Basin" by explorer John C. Fremont, provided these Indigenes food, shelter and clothing.⁶⁵ While the Numic ancestors of nineteenth-century Utes, Shoshones, Goshutes and Paiutes do not play a central role in the time period of this thesis, a summary of their customs and place on the land and their relationships with other seventeenth and eighteenth-century Europeans will help contextualize the nineteenth-century history of the Great Basin.

Numic nations told myths and creation stories that helped them identify their people as inheritors of and integral actors on the land. The Nuche and Newe Great Basin dwellers, viewed their place on the face of the land through the lens of shamanism, a

⁶⁴ Tarleton State University. "Great Basin Desert (including marginal contacts with Colorado and Columbia Plateaus)." Accessed May 18, 2012.

<http://www.tarleton.edu/Departments/range/shrublands/Great%20Basin%20Desert/greatbasindesert.html>
Michael J. Mac et al. ed., *Status and Trends of the Nation's Biological Resources*, v. 1 (Reston, VA: U.S. Dept. of the Interior, U.S. Geological Survey, 1998), 505-42. Accessed May 18, 2012.

<http://www.nwrc.usgs.gov/sandt/Great-bn.pdf>

⁶⁵ Farmer, *On Zion's Mount*, 22-25.

range of animistic religious convictions. They believed that skilled practitioners of this religion, called shamans, could access a universally pervasive life force or *bo'ha* and use it to bring good or evil to the people. Although all living things possessed their own distinct *bo'ha*, faunal carriers appeared most common in animism's Great Basin version, as purveyors of specific virtues. The eagle conveyed healing, while the wolf and bear possessed strong war *bo'ha*, and the rat offered the power to climb well.

In contrast, Coyote or Trickster caused or experienced various maladies and difficulties. Coyote's blunders might be analogized to the traditional Protestant conception of the fall of Adam.⁶⁶ Undoubtedly, Indian religions, including the Newe, the Nuche and others "integrated preexisting beliefs in shamanism and prophecy with the informal and direct introduction of Christian doctrine," claims Historian Gregory Smoak, even while he cautions that "construct[ing] a static picture of 'traditional' religion," and then comparing and contrasting it to Native American doctrine, in order to identify specific Christian elements that Indians integrated "would be simplistic, misleading and impossible."⁶⁷

This is because "folktales" such as those Coyote inhabits, like the people he represents, have evolved over the years. Anthropologist Peter Nabokov points out that "ninety percent of the published stories in American Indian folklore were elicited during decades (1880-1940) of dizzying change, the terrors of population loss, the anxieties of land loss, political powerlessness, cultural disparagement, and religious suppression, all dumped on a bed of abject poverty." Combining this observation with the idea that "folk genres, the tale, or *marchen*, allows for the imagination's readiest responsiveness to

⁶⁶ Smoak, *Ghost Dances and Identity*, 49.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

shifting socioeconomic conditions,” Nabokov suggests that it “does not seem farfetched” that “Indian reflections, value judgments, and pent-up fury about conditions of everyday life might be folded into this body of oral literature.”⁶⁸ Indeed, political anthropologist James C. Scott sees “‘hidden transcripts’ encoded within these stories [that] constitute a dominated population’s repertoire of resistance to their historical predicament. They are expressed in ‘anonymous actions’ such as poaching, shunning, and other forms of passive resistance, as well as through secretly insubordinate speech acts.”⁶⁹ One finds the subset of the this mythic tale populated by legion manifestations of trickster: “Coyote, Old Man Raven, Turtle, Sendeh (Kiowa), Gluskabe (Abenaki), Blue Jay, Rabbit, Manbozho (Algonquian), Iktomi (Sioux), and a host of other incarnations.”⁷⁰

Shivwits Tony Tillohash, whose surname means “Orphan” in the Southern Paiute language, one of the children who lived in a Mormon household, recounted a tale of Coyote, concerning the creation of the Nuche people and their arrival in the Great Basin. According to Tillohash, Coyote wooed and won Ocean Maiden as his wife, and “they lived together for a long time at the coast of the Pacific Ocean.” Then Ocean Maiden said to Coyote:

I wanted you a Coyote go back to your country [and] take this sack...[b]ut do not open it until you are arrived at your own country...even if you are so interested do not open it[.] Please don’t, said Ocean Maiden,

...Coyote [started] out with the sack on his back. The sack was... very heavy to carry along distant. A coyote stoped [Sic] to a rest and he was a very interested of the singing going on in the sack so he opened [it]...[He] looked back [and] saw the people going out of the sack in all the direction[.] [H]e run to close the sack[.] [T]here was only a few lift [Sic].

⁶⁸ Peter Nabokov, *A Forest of Time: American Indian Ways of History*, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 108-9.

⁶⁹ Nabokov, *Forest of Time*, 109; James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990), 162-63.

⁷⁰ Nabokov, *Forest of Time*, 110

Now said...Coyote, I have not keep my promise not to open the sack until I have had arrived at my own country. He then took the sack with [those] lift [Sic]...to his own country[.] These were the Paiute.⁷¹



Figure 2 Shivwits Paiute Tony Tillohash and Family.⁷²

Tony Tillohash would find himself existing between worlds. He was born in a Paiute world, then lost it and was raised in a Mormon world. He tried to belong there, but married back into the world he came from. Although his genetic inheritance was Paiute, his cultural life inhabited an area somewhere in between. Anishinaabe writer Gerald Vizenor encapsulates Tony's world and how it relates to Coyote: "[He] is between worlds, so's the trickster; he's neither tradition nor antitradition; he's not power or weakness... You have to find some meaning not in the sides but in the seam in between

⁷¹ Mabel Jarvis, "Typescript of Tony Tillohash's original handwritten manuscripts, owned by Ambrose M. Cannon, 1936," *Utah Historical Records Survey, Federal Writers' Projects WPA*, Washington County Library Special Collections, St. George, UT. Tillohash lived with the Heaton's, a Mormon family, near St. George, Utah at the turn of the nineteenth century.

⁷² Wikipedia. "Tony Tillohash." Accessed May 19, 2012. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tony_Tillohash

and that's obviously where a [mixed-culture], and earthdiver, a trickster, must try and find all meaning, imaginative meaning."⁷³

The land Tony Tillohash described in his Coyote tale was in the seam, between famine and plenty. When the Nuche and the Newe landed after falling from Coyote's sack the country seemed hostile, but supported many human desert dwellers then, even as it does today. For thousands of years various Indigenes inhabited the Great Basin—nomads who followed hunting and gathering practices established by long experience and others who stayed closer to familiar territories. These various, mostly small, family groups used Great Basin resources over the years. Some groups spent the majority of their time here, such as the ancestors of the Paiutes and Utes in the central and southern areas or the Shoshones and Bannocks in the northwestern regions. Others encountered the Basin more peripherally, like the Puebloan peoples and the Navajos, through trade or warfare with the more permanent inhabitants, especially in post-contact times.⁷⁴

The Fremont people lived in central Utah from about 400-1300 C.E. and pursued hunting, farming culture based on corn grown along river banks, and small game. What happened to these people remains a matter of conjecture. Some evidence indicates points of subsequent settlement as far away as Idaho, Nebraska or Kansas. Some may have migrated south and joined the precursors of the Pueblo tribes. The Numic-speaking Uto-Aztecan communities may have absorbed some of the rest.⁷⁵ Although the Nuche apparently descended from common language traditions they did not gather in an over-

⁷³ Gerald Vizenor, in *Winged Words: American Indian Writers Speak*, ed. Laura Coltelli, (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), 20.

⁷⁴ Willard W. Hill, "Navajo Warfare," in *Yale University Publications in Anthropology*, no. 5, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1936), 3.

⁷⁵ Dean R. Snow, *Archaeology of Native North America*, (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2009), 269-71.

arching confederation or nation, but rather consisted of family groups, some as small as one couple with their children and a few relatives. Defining these groups, anthropologist Julien Steward wrote, “The bands were no more than purposeful or accidental congregations of individuals.”⁷⁶ Without exact sociological parallels and models elsewhere, they have been called bands, protobands, family clusters, kin, and clique groupings, or demes.⁷⁷ This size suited the low-yield capacity of the available desert plant and animal nutrition. Many of these family clusters migrated seasonally to take advantage of different food sources that ripened or matured in different places at various times in the Basin, and even referred to other bands by designating the type of food gathering most common to each group.

Those living in the vicinity of Utah Lake became known as Pawanuch or “Lake People” or alternatively Tumpanawach “Fish Eaters.” Sometimes a predominant characteristic might suggest a cluster’s name. The southern Numic people, the Nuche referred to the Newe to the north as “Left Handed Ones,” or Kumantsi. Later some of this nation split off from those we now call Shoshones and Bannocks, and migrated southeast out of the Great Basin, onto the Plains becoming the Comanches.⁷⁸

Their society would eventually baffle most Euro-American settlers, who attempted to impose a governing structure upon these family groups where none existed. Speaking of Indigenous leaders, historian Ron Walker has noted: “Far from being the monarchic figures we usually picture, chiefs were respected for their superior wisdom or

⁷⁶ Julian H. Steward, “Native components of the White River Ute Indians, historical groups,” in *The Ute Indians of Utah: an Analysis with Supplement in Ute Indians*, 1, (1974): *American Indian Ethnohistory: California and Basin Plateau Indians*, (1954; reprint New York, NY: Garland Publishing 1974), 47.

⁷⁷ Carling Malouf, “Ethnohistory in the Great Basin,” in *Current Status of Anthropological Research: 1964*, 4; Warren L D’Azevedo, “Introduction,” *Current Status of Anthropological Research*, 1964 12-13; Don D Fowler, “Great Basin Social Organization,” *Current Status of Anthropological Research*, 1964, 62, in Walker, “Native Women on the Utah Frontier,” 89.

⁷⁸ Farmer, *On Zion’s Mount*, 25-26.

supernatural power, but had limited power to control the members of their band. While some served until death, others ministered only until the completion of a specific task like heading the annual deer hunt or an interband raid.” He continues: “Followers might drift from band to band, as the exigencies of resource season and personal predilection dictated. There were few social structures to use anthropological terms. There were no segments or lineages, no moieties, and no age, grade, hunting, or women’s societies.”⁷⁹

But as in all family groups, regardless of time, ancestry or ethnicity, Great Basin Indigenous women, men and children cared for and loved one another. Even before a child’s birth, prospective parents engaged in specific, “sympathetic treatment...[T]o ensure a vigorous child...parents shunned intercourse and abstained from or avoided meat. It was understood that beaver meat, for example, could impede delivery.” Women leaned willows together to prepare a birthing hut, allowing room to stand. A two-by-six-foot pit was dug within the structure to be “filled with hot stones and covered, making a soothing radiant bed for the mother and child. The mother gave birth by squatting or kneeling while elderly women held the waist and pressed down. The newborn was immediately washed with yucca soap and wrapped in a soft sagebrush bark blanket. A day later, the infant was allowed the breast.”⁸⁰

After the birth, parents placed the child’s umbilicus in a skin pouch. Once the child walked, some parents removed the cord and laid it across an ant hill to “promote future energy and toil,” for industry was prized. “For ten days after childbirth, the father might run up and down a hill to make the child active and fleet. During this period some

⁷⁹ Walker, *Native Women on the Utah Frontier*,” 88-9; Julian H Steward, “The Foundations of Basin Plateau Shoshonean Society,” in *Languages and Cultures of Western North America*, ed. Earl H Swanson Jr., (Pocatello, ID: Idaho State University Press, 1970) 114-51.

⁸⁰ Walker, “*Native Women on the Utah Frontier*,” 90.

men declined the use of their best horse, perhaps for a similar reason.” For some time after the child’s birth, parents avoided “grease, meats, sexual contact, and even scratching their bodies except with specially prepared scratchers [and dabbed] their faces with red pigment.” When the child survived a month of life, the restrictions ended and both parents “might surrender their best clothes to attendants, as tokens of appreciation and respect.”⁸¹

The new child spent much of his or her first two years on a cradleboard, swaddled in skin rags. A mother could carry the cradleboard on her back or place it upright to rock the baby. If danger threatened, having the child secured allowed for more rapid flight.⁸² During this time parents or elders gave the child a name that might endure for life, or could perhaps be changed if an event or a personal characteristic suggested something better. Occasionally the shaman might suggest a name change based upon a revelatory experience. Often children also received nicknames.⁸³

Because nursing tended to optimize spacing of children, mothers sometimes continued to allow children the breast until the age of six. Discipline tended to be quite relaxed. “Adult attitudes toward children were completely permissive,” ethnographer Anne Smith has written, “and little ones were not restrained from doing what they wanted unless they were endangering themselves. Small children were immediately comforted if

⁸¹ Walker, “Native Women on the Utah Frontier,” 91; Conner Chapoose, “Oral Interview, July 30 1960”, 42-46, *Duke Collection*, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City; Anne M. Smith, *Ethnography of the Northern Utes*, in *Papers in Anthropology*, No. 17, (Santa Fe, NM: Museum of New Mexico, 1974), 138-40; Donald Callaway, et al., “Ute,” *Great Basin Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 11, (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, U.S. Government Document Printing 1986), 350-51.

⁸² Smith, “Ethnography of the Northern Utes,” 21, 87, 101-4 142-43.

⁸³ Chapoose, “Oral Interview,” 32; Smith, *Ethnography of the Northern Utes* 143; Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins *Life Among the Piutes in Let Them Speak for Themselves: Women in the American West 1849-1900*, ed. Christianne Fischer, (New York, NY: E P Dutton, 1978), 261.

they fell or hurt themselves in any way.”⁸⁴ Historian Ron Walker adds that they were “indulged with toys and pets. Girls were allowed clay crafted dolls and birds, doves, owls, and baby eagles served as companions.”⁸⁵

As children matured, parents taught them and looked for signs that portended entry into adulthood. A boy’s first big game kill often marked his arrival as a man. Upon entering camp with the carcass, he was bathed by an elder, probably a shaman, and then his body was painted red with pigments or with the first kill’s blood. The young man offered the meat from his conquest to those who conducted the ritual.⁸⁶

Blood also marked a girl’s entry into womanhood. At the first sign of menses the mother prepared her daughter to enter the menstrual hut. Avoidance of menstrual blood was a basic tenet of the people, and required the assistance of “protective supernatural power.” Women erected the place of confinement each month to shelter themselves. The “newly built hut, perhaps eight to twelve feet in diameter’ also had sufficient space to permit standing. While staying in this room, the women observed “helpful taboos, though these varied from group to group.”⁸⁷ Guided by a mother, grandmother, or other, older woman, the young girl was instructed to drink hot water to expedite her flow. She was not to consume meat for fear that her skin might darken. The women kept specially reserved utensils for “cooking and eating during this time; meats or anything gathered by her brothers or father were avoided; the menstruating woman should not touch her face or teeth; a scratching stick should be employed for itches. After seven to ten days, the

⁸⁴ Smith, “Ethnography of the Northern Utes,” 144-45.

⁸⁵ Walker, “Native Women on the Utah Frontier,” 91.

⁸⁶ Joseph G. Jorgensen, “The Ethnohistory and Acculturation of the Northern Ute,” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 1965).

⁸⁷ Demitri B. Shimkin, “Eastern Shoshone,” in *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 11, *Great Basin*, ed. Warren L. d’Azevedo, (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1986), 325.

woman, after bathing, might return to her former society, preferably before dawn so that she might be first seen cooking.”⁸⁸

While some scholars indicated that the menstrual hut subordinated the woman’s social position to men by “stigmatizing her as a source of ceremonial pollution,”⁸⁹ Walker suggests that there may have been a partial compensation. The confinement allowed several days’ respite each month from the hardest women’s work, and the confined women could talk privately and socialize.⁹⁰

A pubescent young Ute woman became eligible to take part in the Bear Dance, her culture’s most important ceremony. A rite of renewal held in late February or early March to petition for good hunting, the Bear Dance also marked the opportunity for the young woman to announce her availability for marriage as various bands gathered and many young men attended. The man that the woman chose must, by custom, accept. She danced in a female line while he danced opposite with his fellows. Sociality and gambling followed the dance each evening. Throughout the festival, the dancing became more athletic and sexual. Sometimes, after five or ten days one couple donned bearskin robes, while shorter lines formed and several couples advanced, retreated, and advanced again to the rhythm of the rasps and drums. “At last, couples danced together, arms entangled around each other’s waist, each attempting to exhaust the other before collapsing together on the ground. The dance chief would then rouse them by drawing a

⁸⁸ Walker, “Native Women on the Utah Frontier,” 95-96; Smith, “Ethnography of the Northern Utes,” 146-47; Chapoose, “Oral interview, July 30, 1960,” 52; Walker notes that “Sarah Winnemuccah Hopkins, a western Paiute reared in the nineteenth century, in present day Nevada, spoke of a young woman’s first menstrual rite as a twenty five day sacred ritual, during which the grandmother played a leading role. The initiate was expected to gather fifteen stacks of wood daily as a mark of her coming strength and to bathe every fifth day.” Hopkins, *Life Among the Piutes*, 262-63.

⁸⁹ Shimkin, “Eastern Shoshone,” 311.

⁹⁰ Walker, “Native Women on the Utah Frontier,” 96.

rasp across their backs. Not surprisingly, many Utes credited the Bear Dance with the beginning of their courtships.”⁹¹

Of course, variations in courting rituals existed. A suitor might wrap a blanket around his intended’s shoulders, hoping that she would return the favor and signify her acceptance.⁹² Some talented young men employed flutes, conveying their love in distinctive tunes, risking multiple responses.⁹³ Meat placed at the girl’s door succeeded only if the girl herself, and not a relative, claimed the morsel.⁹⁴ Paiute writer Sarah Winnemucca described a type of ambitious suitor who displayed impressive horsemanship, followed by a direct approach. Coming to the wickiup of his intended, fully clothed, he cast himself at her feet. Rudely awakened, a stern grandmother guarded the young woman as she and the anxious young man exchanged looks but no words for several hours. If the young woman tired of this ‘interview,’ she turned away and went back to sleep. Much to the young man’s chagrin this process might continue a year before the girl indicated to her grandmother, rather than the boy, that the necessary discussions could begin that would lead to the consummation of an alliance.⁹⁵

Parents and relatives might also attempt to influence a young woman’s selection. Much of this parental pressure may have been applied during the monthly stay in the menstrual hut. Her mother and grandmother stressed that she was not to badger her husband. “She should take care with the washing and cooking. Babies must be kept

⁹¹ Walker, *Native Women on the Utah Frontier*, 96; Joseph G. Jorgensen, “Ghost dance, Bear Dance, and Sun Dance,” in *Handbook of North American Indians*, ed. William C. Sturtevant, 11:662-63; Thomas Vennum Jr., “Music,” *Handbook of North American Indians*, 11:694; Smith, *Ethnography of the Northern Utes*, 221-22; Janetski, *Ute of Utah Lake*, 107; Conetah, *History of the Northern Ute People*, 3.

⁹² Richard F. Burton, *The City of the Saints and Across the Rocky Mountain to California*, (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963), 537.

⁹³ Smith, “Ethnography of the Northern Utes,” 106.

⁹⁴ Grant Borg, “Indian Courtship,” July 22, 1938, in *Works Progress Administration Collection*, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City.

⁹⁵ Hopkins, *Life Among the Paiutes*, 262.

clean. The home should be hospitable.” They might also gently nudge her in a particular direction. ““That young man is a good hunter. Wouldn’t you like to marry him?” they might say. Early on, the family might settle on a choice, often an older man, but [the girl’s] agency was usually allowed. If her parents insisted on an unacceptable selection, the maiden might leave to live with relatives in a close-by band.”⁹⁶

Whoever the young woman chose, the new couple would need hard work and a good understanding of where food existed, when it could be obtained and how to hunt or forage to bring it home. For those Great Basin Indigenes who lived in the more arid regions of the Great Basin, survival required being in the right places at the right times. Spring snow melt brought water to the desert. Grasses sprang up that could be harvested for seeds. Corn and squash could be planted along the creek banks to use the new moisture and mature later in the summer. Rabbit drives provided spring and summer meat and fur for clothing. Yucca roots yielded a cleansing soap while the sharp pointed leaves provided both sewing needles and weaving fibers. Summer might include trips to the mountains to hunt elk or to bluffs that could be used for buffalo runs. Fall meant a journey to the foothills to harvest pine nuts. For those who settled more permanently, the rivers and lakes provided fish. Both those families who migrated seasonally and those who stayed closer to one location gathered hundreds of pounds of these sources of nutrition to last through the winter.

Busy mothers working to gather the harvest, and prepare shelter and clothing for winter required the grandmother to take primary care of her grandchildren. “The mother must never discipline the children,” recalled an observer. “That was always the duty of

⁹⁶ Smith, “Ethnography of the Northern Utes,” 129-30; Chapoose, “Oral interview, August 17, 1960,” 35-36.

the grandmother...Children learned at a young age where the authority came from.”⁹⁷ As a central figure in the family, the maternal grandmother carved wood or shaped clay to form the infant’s cradleboard.⁹⁸ Grandparents usually slept at the preferred south end of the brush shelter wickiup and sat at the seat of honor, by the eastern door. They received food first and spoke first in council.⁹⁹ Grandmothers taught their grandchildren how to tan animal skins, weave baskets, and gather food. But this was only the beginning of education. Grandparents were cultural educators as well, conveying the people’s traditions. The winter was a time to camp down by the steady streams and rivers, keep close to shelter, preserving energy and food as carefully as possible and tell stories of the first people and the good and bad spirits that touched their lives. In families then, as now, deep bonds of attachment and love grew between parents, children and grandchildren, and then, as in any family, children sometimes caused difficulties.

In the stories told around campfires an unruly child might be warned that owl, bear, or ghost might visit them, or a witch could carry them off in her basket. Some stories told of a haunted spring near Salt Mountain, in present-day Juab County, where “a malevolent spirit harmed the wayward.”¹⁰⁰ Notes historian Ronald Walker: “From earliest childhood girls and boys were endlessly told of the extended family’s lore often before an evening’s fire, and especially during the winter’s lengthy councils, which might begin in the afternoon and proceed to the early morning.”¹⁰¹ These tales possessed power

⁹⁷ Alva Matheson, “Oral interview, 1968,” *Duke Collection*, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, UT., 2-3.

⁹⁸ Smith, *Ethnography of the Northern Utes*, 79, 104.

⁹⁹ Fred A. Conetah, in *A History of the Northern Ute People*, ed. Kathryn L. Mackay et al., (Salt Lake City, UT: Uintah Ouray Ute Tribe, 1982), 7-8; Smith, “Ethnography of the Northern Utes,” 37.

¹⁰⁰ Walker, “Native Women on the Utah Frontier,” 91; Smith, “Ethnography of the Northern Utes,” 144-46.

¹⁰¹ Chapoose, “Oral interview, July 30 1960,” 2, 14, 27-28 and “August 13, 1960,” 28.

and had to be conveyed at the right times and places to preserve the people and avoid danger.¹⁰² The myths, asserts one scholar:

[A]re invented and adapted through diverse enactments to provide practical assistance for people in confronting actual problems, even unexampled social catastrophes. By refusing to admit that 'primitive' people in fact live lives as 'historical' as our own Western experts have denied to those they pretend to admire the terrible honor of tragic experience and the imaginative strength to face boldly the realities of defeat and irreparable loss.¹⁰³

Oral myths may not “necessarily be in conflict with archaeological data and scientific wisdom about ancient America,” suggests historian Colin Calloway. Rather, he maintains, “They may be metaphors.” Variations in the myths may represent “glimpses and echoes” of a “long vanished world” of “ancient memories.”¹⁰⁴ Alternately, these myths may speak to the current concerns and individual perceptions of those who narrate them. They may also represent an attempt to find courage to live through dangerous or puzzling times or resist external cultural pressure.

This may be demonstrated by the earlier myth, as told by Tony Tillohash. His Coyote tale varies in a number of ways from other iterations of the same story mentioned in other sources. In an alternate version, Coyote crossed the great sea to the east and met the mother of his many children. Preparing to return home Coyote placed the children in a *wosa*, “a woven willow basket with a cork.” Though Coyote had strict instructions not to open the *wosa* until he reached the Rocky Mountains, his insatiable curiosity led to a similar but more wide spread dispersion of his children over all of North and South America. The two remaining children Coyote identified as the western Shoshone or

¹⁰² Peter Nabokov, *A Forest of Time: American Indian Ways of History*, (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 85-104.

¹⁰³ Karl Kroeber, *Artistry in Native American Myths*, (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 86, in Nabokov, *Forest of Time*, 92.

¹⁰⁴ Calloway, *Winter Count*, 32.

“Newe” and the Paiutes or “Numa,” rather than only the Paiutes as in the Tillohash version. This version recounts that the two children began to fight each other and this is the reason that Coyote “kicked them apart,” and told them that they would be the most fearsome of all his children.¹⁰⁵ The story adjusted to fit the circumstances. Both versions may reveal more about the invented identity of the teller than the tale. For example, Tillohash, an orphan living in the seam between two civilizations, spent much of his youth in a Mormon foster home, near St. George, Utah. As he matured his foster parents, the Heatons, encouraged him to attend Pennsylvania’s Carlisle Indian school in the east. He was very homesick there. According to Juanita Brooks, upon his return to Utah he tried to court a Mormon girl but was rejected and later married a Shivwits woman. Tillohash became a tribal chairman but was also baptized as a Mormon in 1961 in his seventy-eighth year, apparently honoring both his native and adopted culture. He lived until 1971.¹⁰⁶ Tillohash living in the seam may have sometimes felt like he had been dumped out of Coyote’s sack. In addition, his west facing version of the Coyote myth may include a subtle rejection of things “eastern.” The Carlisle life with its strict dress-code and grooming standards took away “Indian” dress, customs and language. Yet when Tillohash returned, accoutered in eastern finery, Mormons rebuffed his attempt to marry any Mormon woman and he may have felt stung by the realization that even proper eastern accoutrement could not off-set latent prejudices. The Latter-day Saints who

¹⁰⁵ William Edmo, *History and Culture of the Boise, Shoshone and Bannock Indians*, (Pittsburg, PA: Dorrance Publishing Co. Inc., 2010), 33.

¹⁰⁶ Brooks, “Indian Relations,” 47. Kay Fowler, “Oral Interview with Tony Tillohash, St. George, UT., June 16-17, 1967,” Typescript and MP3 digital audio, Western History Center, University of Utah, *Doris Duke Oral History Project*, in Utah American Indian Digital Archive. Accessed May 19, 2012; <http://content.lib.utah.edu/cdm4/document.php?CISOROOT=/uaida-oht&CISOPTR=1202> ; Familysearch. “Tony Tillohash baptismal record,” Accessed May 19, 2012. <https://new.familysearch.org/en/action/hourglassiconicview?bookid=p.KCXY-VDL&focus=p.KCXY-VDL&svfs=1>

themselves originated in the east had raised him but could not totally accept him. Tony Tillohash married a woman of his own people, became a cattle rancher, a western man. His Paiute children had ancestors who may have long ago originated in the western valleys and hills of California and Nevada. His “Ocean Maiden” came from the west. The Great Basin was an inseparable part of Tony Tillohash, as it remained with his people and the other Native Americans who lived and still live there. Perhaps some other explanation may be found for the variations in his version of the Coyote tail. It is unclear whether Tillohash’s iteration represented the original tale, an alteration by other southern Paiutes, or by Tony himself. The story, like the man moves in the seam between cultures.

In a similar way, as detailed by Armand Mauss’ work, Latter-day Saint’s concepts of their place in relating to the Lamanites and to their Great Basin promised land, also reflected changes as evidenced by their scriptures and narrative myths.¹⁰⁷ The history of the Great Basin hinges significantly upon Indigenous, Mormon and American myths and the worldviews they engendered. This work will return to those myths and narratives as the tale unfolds.

Contact

By the time of the first European contact Utes, Goshutes, Paiutes, Pahvants, Bannocks and Shoshones had called the Great Basin home for centuries. Though all these Numic-speaking tribes lived here, the Great Basin was one of the last regions known to European colonizers in North America. With no natural river outlets to the sea and a dry, uninviting climate, there was little reason for explorers and pioneers to traverse or settle the Basin. Nevertheless, to those whose people who had lived on the land for

¹⁰⁷ Mauss, *All Abraham’s Children*, 41.

generations, the land was not *terra incognita*.¹⁰⁸ Native Americans knew the Great Basin intimately. They understood where they needed to be at what season of the year to gather and feast from the available resources. Small family groups raised garden plots of corn and squash along steady watercourses in the early summer, harvesting roots, berries and insects in the late summer and autumn, and hunting mostly small game such as rabbits, ground squirrels, birds and some deer. For centuries the Basin was a largely self-contained and isolated region.

Spaniards, horses and guns changed everything. As the Spanish moved northwest from Mexico, the Utes began to acquire horses and guns in the 1640s and this acquisition accelerated in the wake of the Pueblo revolt of 1680. Horses allowed the Utes to travel farther and faster, covering much more ground in their search for food and resources. However, new technologies also caused new problems. Those who owned horses became their servants. Horses needed care and forage, requiring the owners to range more widely so that they did not exhaust the equine food supply.¹⁰⁹ Similarly guns required additional supplies such as gun-powder, lead shot and repair tools to maintain their use. These were generally only available from Europeans. The new way to wealth required horses and guns, but the demand for them required Utes and others to trade for or steal them. Indigenes learned also that possession of horses and guns dictated the style, as well as the necessity, of raiding and warfare. Thus, those who used the technology became locked into the technology.¹¹⁰ The newly mounted equestrians acquired additional guns and horses by raiding or trading with the Spanish, the French

¹⁰⁸ Calloway, *WinterCount*, 11.

¹⁰⁹ Farmer, *On Zion's Mount*, 28.

¹¹⁰ Colin Calloway, *New Worlds for All: Indians, Europeans and the Remaking of Early America*, (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 92-114.

and other tribes, often using captured Paiutes or even members of their own people as a trading commodity. Other Great Basin nations, like the Shoshones and the plains Comanches who separated from them, also followed suit.¹¹¹ Horses, guns and slaves thus comprised a triangle trade. The southern Great Basin lay upon the seam of the Southwest Borderlands, and New Mexico needed Indian slave cadres to dig in mines and farm land grants, or *encomiendas*.¹¹² The Utes were only too happy to fill this need and attained profits by trading slaves for weapons that they could use in raiding parties to acquire new horses.

Although many North American Indigenous nations captured and enslaved rivals before European contact, those pre-contact captives primarily represented increased status for the owner and debasement for the captive, rather than becoming a means to obtain economic rewards from unfree labor. Certainly those so enslaved, before the coming of Europeans, worked to increase the yield of resources for their captors but were not often traded to acquire additional economic advantage.¹¹³ However, when the Spanish arrived in North America, early in the sixteenth century, fresh from the *Reconquista*, seeking riches and fortune, they imported concepts of servitude acquired during centuries of conflict with the Moors on the Iberian Peninsula. Some similarities existed between the slave cultures of the Spanish and the Native Americans. In the Southwest Borderlands, the male “providers,” in both groups, exercised power by trading captives, consisting especially of females and children. Such trades produced contrasting

¹¹¹ Van Hoak, “Waccara’s Utes,” 18.

¹¹² Junius P. Rodriguez, *Encyclopedia of Slave Resistance and Rebellion*, (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007), 184.

¹¹³ Alan Galley, *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670-1717*, (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2002), 8, 29.

connections of revenge and affection, diverse traditions of honor and shame, violence, kinship and community that continue to this day.¹¹⁴

Slavery and slave-raiding became central to the political economy of the Borderlands, because slaves contributed not solely the labor needed to tend livestock, work in mines or grow crops, but also reproductive labor, a scarce resource in many small native and New Mexican settlements. “Proscriptions against endogamy forced men to look beyond their communities, leading to ‘mutualistic or competitive patriarchal exchanges of women,’” writes Historian Claudio Saunt. “When men married their female slaves, the line between slavery and kinship, captives and cousins, dissolved. Brooks recognizes that kinship slavery involved its own form of exploitation and coercion. Nevertheless, even if they were still in subordinate positions, when slaves became kin, they contributed to the growth of families and communities.”¹¹⁵ This is an important point not only for the New Mexican trade, but also for the modified version that found a later place in Utah Territory. As Spanish influence extended north into the Great Basin of present-day Utah and Nevada, ancient Indian servitude patterns, based on tribal assimilation and repopulation, combined in new and disturbing ways with the Spanish need for forced labor to make a profound mark on the culture of Southwest slavery. Utes, Comanches and others developed an aggressive, slave-oriented, raid-and-trade political economy based on the horses and guns acquired from Europeans. They needed items to trade. The Spanish wanted slaves and the horses and guns the Utes now possessed made capturing their fellow indigenes much easier. They preyed on their

¹¹⁴ Brooks, *Captives and Cousins*, 8-10

¹¹⁵ Claudio Saunt, review of, *Captives and Cousins*, by James Brooks, *William and Mary Quarterly*, 60, 2, (April, 2003): 436-39; Brooks, *Captives and Cousins*, 365.

neighbors as hundreds of women and children, through coercion or kidnapping, lost contact with their homes.¹¹⁶

The Spaniards used slaves in many capacities; some led short brutal existences in the mines. Others were “adopted” and received Catholic baptism, becoming *criadas* or *criados*, or wards of the *hacienda*. These captives generally worked as house servants, and as they attained adult status often bore children by Spanish masters. The children of these unions, called *collotes* or *coyotes*, children of blended ancestry, were often resettled in border villages, and classified as *genízaros*, by the Spanish, after the Jannisary mercenary guard of the Ottoman Empire.¹¹⁷ By the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries many of these *genízaros* comprised the defensive forces on the northern New Mexican border and some participated in slave raids and traded with Utes, Comanches, and other bands for slaves. A Spanish padre noted that the Utes occasionally brought “little captive heathen Indians” to Taos and Abiquiu, *genízaro* settlements, for trade, along with “good deerskins” to barter for horses.¹¹⁸ The Utes, under their leader, Wakara, and others, ranged from California in the winter to the mountains of Utah and Wyoming during the summer. They raided horses and cattle from the Spanish, and traded worn-out horses for Paiute, Goshute and Shoshone slaves. Other tribes in their path between the Great Basin and New Mexico such as the Navajos suffered similar depredations.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ Farmer, *On Zion's Mount*, 31.

¹¹⁷ Brooks, *Captives and Cousins*, 127-128.

¹¹⁸ Ibid, 128, 151-53. Eleanor B. Adams, et al., ed., and tran. *The Missions of New Mexico, 1776: A Description by fray Francisco Atanasio Domínguez with Other Contemporary Documents*. (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1956; Reprinted, 1975), 252-53. Blackhawk, *Violence Over the Land*, 70-80.

¹¹⁹ Brooks, *Captives and Cousins*, 234-35. Because so many of the slaves came from the Great Basin and the Utes dominated the slave trade there, many Paiute captives were most likely mistakenly listed as “Yutas” or Utes. See Blackhawk, *Violence Over the Land*, 73-75.

It is likely that Utes generally targeted Paiutes for captivity. Juan María Antonio Rivera kept a journal of a 1765 expedition into the Great Basin, during which he noted the different reception his party received from Utes and Paiutes. The Utes “joyfully welcomed” the Spaniards, while Paiutes, on seeing the expedition, “sounded alarms and fled our intrusion.” It took Rivera some time to convince them that he had not come to capture, but to trade with them. Apparently they had previous unhappy experience with mounted forces.¹²⁰ The pedestrian Paiutes were easy pickings for the more mobile, well-armed Ute raiders. In addition to incorporating prisoners into the tribe, the raiders sold or traded some of their captives to the Spanish or to other tribes for profit. Less technologically favored tribes, like the Paiutes and Goshutes, suffered the results of the new equestrian technological surge combined with the more virulent and violent strain of slavery, and struggled to adapt and survive in a climate of deadly disease and escalating violence, becoming prime targets for the trafficking. The European presence stimulated and sustained the system, but Native Americans played their role as well. Western historian Pekka Hämäläinen asserts that not only Europeans, but Indians “too, could wage war, exchange goods, make treaties, and absorb peoples in order to expand, extort, manipulate and dominate” rather than acting simply to strategize for survival.¹²¹

By the end of the eighteenth century pathological disasters began to engulf entire Indigenous nations. While swift travel on horseback enabled human raiders to diminish their neighbors, it also allowed measles and small pox to spread at unprecedented rates through many indigenous populations, decimating them. Most tribes lost more than fifty percent of their number while the scourge took ninety percent of others. Many died from

¹²⁰ Blackhawk, *Violence Over the Land*, 81, 86.

¹²¹ Pekka Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), 7.

the European diseases before they ever saw a European. Completely different family and tribal combinations emerged in the wake of the disaster. The west that Meriwether Lewis and William Clark “discovered” little resembled the more highly populated landscape of just a decade or two earlier.¹²² In the wake of these devastating disasters, many indigenous bands blended and migrated to cope with their losses. As these newly formed groups assessed their situation, the need for new alliances and trade partners seemed more vital for survival than ever. The search for such connections intensified as Spain’s hold over her American colonies lessened. Control of New Mexico by the Mexican government became increasingly tenuous following Independence from Spain (1821). The government lacked resources to control trade in New Mexico, and New Mexican-Ute relations became increasingly strained.¹²³ The raider Wakara, a Tumpanawach Ute who lived seasonally in the Sanpete Valley of central Utah, took advantage of this power vacuum by trading the horses and slaves he and his Utes had stolen in their travels to American newcomers and individual New Mexicans at fur-trading rendezvous, and in Albuquerque and Santa Fe.¹²⁴ This cycle accelerated as French and American trappers entered the regional trade with the Shoshone, Ute, Goshute, Paiute, Navajo and Pueblo, defying Spanish attempts to maintain a monopoly on the Southwest, in general, and the Great Basin in particular. However, larger changes loomed on the Great Basin horizon.

The Mormons

Enter the Mormons. Fourteen-year-old Joseph Smith’s vision of God the Father and Jesus Christ, in upstate New York during the spring of 1820, set off a cascade of events. Subsequent visions, revelations and “translations” yielded a religion—The

¹²² Calloway, *One Long Winter Count*, 367-426.

¹²³ Kelly, *Southern Paiute Ethnography*, 53-55; Blackhawk, *Violence Over the Land*, 129.

¹²⁴ Van Hoak, “Waccara’s Utes,” 1-2.

Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints—and new scripture, the Book of Mormon, to augment the Bible.¹²⁵ Those who joined the LDS Church, as it also came to be known, were drawn by the concept of a God, as conceived in the Book of Mormon and other LDS scriptural works, who continued to reveal himself as a loving father, who desired his children, mortal men and women, to return to his presence. This deep sense of a loving relationship between God and humanity also imbued Mormon parents with a sense of gratitude to God, expressed by their kind and gentle care of their own children, and an appreciation of the family as a potentially eternal unit. These concepts would play an important role in later attempts to incorporate Native American children into Mormon homes and should be kept in mind as part of the contextual background of this story. A more complete examination of Mormon doctrinal beliefs will also assist in clarifying specific Native American-Mormon relationships.

Latter-day Saints accepted the Book of Mormon as a literal ancient record that chronicled the history of former inhabitants of today's South, Central and North America, descendants of the House of Israel, through the tribes of Manasseh and Ephraim, who separated soon after arrival in the New World into two opposing groups called "Nephites" and "Lamanites." The Book of Mormon claims as to the blood ties and lineage of Nephites and Lamanites are complex. A close reading of the Book reveals three separate migrations from the Old World to the New World. The Book presupposes pre-existing non-migrating inhabitants that blended with the immigrants, although this

¹²⁵ *Pearl of Great Price, Joseph Smith--History*, 1:1-20, 28-75, (Salt Lake City, Utah: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1981); *Doctrine & Covenants*, Section 20:1-3, (Salt Lake City, Utah: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1981); Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling: A Cultural biography of Mormonism's founder*, (New York, N.Y.: Vintage Books, a division of Random House, 2005), 30-108; Charles Sellers, *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815-1846*, (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1991), 218-222.

nuance seems lost on both on the book's believers and its critics. Seven familial divisions occurred within the major migration recounted in the record. Four families formed Nephite society, named after the birthright son, Nephi. Three families under the oldest son, Laman, ignored the wishes of the family patriarch and rebelled against Nephi, forming the Lamanites. The two contending factions also mingled with groups from the other migrations mentioned in the record. Sporadic and repeated demographic shifts between the two major factions resulted in a complete cultural mixing of all the migrating groups. Originally the Nephites obeyed God and the Lamanites did not. However several role reversals occurred during Book of Mormon history, with "dissenters" from the Nephites leaving to join the Lamanites, and Nephite prophets converting thousands of Lamanites to righteousness that exceeded that of the Nephites. The Book of Mormon account narrates the coming of Jesus Christ after his resurrection to those who survived natural disasters incident to his death. The resulting society had no racial or class divisions for more than two hundred years. Finally factions re-emerged and all of the Book of Mormon people degenerated into "wickedness." The Nephites, "a white and delightsome" people ceased to exist as a separate culture, leaving only the Lamanites classified as "dark and loathsome" and a few Nephite dissenters.¹²⁶ Both supporters and critics of the book tend to oversimplify the racial component of its doctrine, as well as the origin of those supposed to have descended from Book of Mormon progenitors. However, for the purposes of this current work the important information concerns what Mormons in the mid-nineteenth century understood about Lamanite origins and destiny.

¹²⁶ *Book of Mormon*, 1st Nephi, 2nd Nephi, Ether, Mosiah, Alma, Helaman, 3rd Nephi, 4th Nephi, Mormon, Moroni.

Mormons, in the nineteenth century, believed that many if not all Native Americans descended from the latter group—the Lamanites.¹²⁷ In addition, traditional Latter-day Saint (LDS) doctrine also defined members of the church as literal descendants of the ancient House of Israel, primarily through the tribe of Ephraim, who were scattered throughout the “Gentile” or non-Israelite nations after the destruction of Samaria by the Assyrians in the eighth century B.C. Due to intermarriage of their Israelite progenitors with citizens of European nations, Latter-day Saints believed that they themselves were also classified as Gentiles, and passages in the Book of Mormon referencing Gentiles pertained to them. Based upon these beliefs, Mormons considered themselves called to begin the second gathering of Israel, preparatory to the return of Jesus Christ, with a particular responsibility to assemble the Lamanites. The Native Americans, as descendants of the favored Lamanite lineage, were foreordained to assist in restoring the gospel and building the city of Zion, the New Jerusalem, together with the Latter-day Saints, their Ephraimite cousins.¹²⁸

Although Latter-day Saints accepted these preferential lineage doctrines as binding, they also believed the New Testament doctrine that every person on earth could and would be “grafted into” the covenant people of Israel upon their acceptance of the Latter-day restoration and entrance into the Kingdom of God by baptism.¹²⁹ These two conflicting doctrinal impulses created a tension between the restrictive lineage-driven doctrine of Israel, and the universal call to take the gospel to “all nations, kindreds, tongues and peoples.” Each would each play a part in shaping Mormon responses to

¹²⁷ *Times & Seasons*, no.3 (Sept. 15, 1842): 921-22, (Nauvoo, Illinois: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints) *Book of Mormon*, 2nd Nephi, 5:1-24, (Salt Lake City, Utah: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1981).

¹²⁸ Mauss, *All Abraham's Children*, 2.

¹²⁹ *Ibid*, 1-2.

Native Americans in the coming decades. Mormons over the first decades of the Church's existence would be both drawn to and repelled by aspects of Indigenous culture in ways that would encourage missionary initiatives among Native peoples while simultaneously leading to Mormon actions that dispossessed the Indigenous of their land and culture.

Within weeks of the founding of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, on April 6, 1830, Joseph Smith began to call missionaries and send them to the four points of the compass to preach the restoration to "every creature." One month later in May, the U.S. Congress passed the Indian Removal Law, reinforcing the United States' resolve to relocate all Native Americans west of the existing states in the Union. Five months later, Smith received a revelation calling Oliver Cowdery, Peter Whitmer, Jr.; Parley P. Pratt; and Ziba Peterson to "go unto the Lamanites and preach my gospel unto them" with the instruction that if they received the Mormons teachings Cowdery should "cause [God's] church to be established among them." Mormons in New York had further cause for excitement when the same revelation pointed to a possible location for the Mormon Zion, "on the borders by the Lamanites." This was the first of many missionary initiatives launched by Mormon leaders toward Native Americans. At least three recognizable waves of Latter-day Saint missionary initiatives aimed at Native Americans may be identified from that time to the present. This first mission inaugurated the first wave which played out as Mormons were driven from the eastern and Midwestern United States in the 1840s. The second wave occurred as part of the Great Basin settlement in the early 1850s and faded in the early 1900s. The third wave arose in the mid-twentieth century but appeared to ebb in the last quarter of that

century.¹³⁰ These impulses and the consequences that followed profoundly affected both the way Mormons and Native Americans classified each other and the self-identities they formed over the past one-hundred, eighty-two years.

Those called on the first mission promptly left in mid-winter to travel the fifteen-hundred miles to the relocated Indians. The four missionaries first taught a Catteraugus group at nearby Buffalo, New York, and placed two copies of the Book of Mormon with them. In Sandusky Ohio they visited some Wyandots who, according to the missionaries, “rejoiced over their message.” By January 1831 they arrived in Jackson County, Missouri. Some of the missionaries set up a tailor shop to provide funds, while the others crossed “the borders of the Lamanites” or the Missouri state line, walked across the Kansas River on the ice, and reached a Delaware camp twelve miles to the west. Delaware leader William Anderson Kithtilhund met them with suspicion. The Delawares had been relocated here just months earlier after their own forced march and entertained few kindly feelings toward white Americans. Despite the initial chilly reception, Cowdery managed to win Kithtilhund’s assent to a council where, for several days, Cowdery taught the Delawares the Book of Mormon account of the Lamanites. The Delawares appeared receptive, but federal Indian agent Richard W. Cummins, after writing a letter of complaint to superintendant of Indian affairs, William Clark, warned the Mormons to leave or he would have them arrested. This officially ended the first Lamanite Mission.¹³¹

¹³⁰ Mauss, *All Abraham’s Children*, 41-113.

¹³¹ Max H. Parkin, “Lamanite Mission of 1830-1831,” in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism: The History, Scripture, Doctrine, and Procedure of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. Daniel Ludlow et al., (New York, NY: MacMillan Publishing Company, 1992), 802-4; Doctrine & Covenants, 28:8-9.

An unintended consequence of that mission eventuated in the wholesale conversion of a group of non-Indian Campbellite followers, friends and former religious associates of Parley Pratt, in Ohio, on the outward journey. Their baptisms increased the fledgling church's membership by two-thirds, introduced a number of future church leaders into the congregation and resulted in a removal of the New York branch of the church to Kirtland, Ohio.

The vicissitudes of establishing an alternative to Christian orthodoxy necessitated a wandering but growing church membership. The "saints" left, or were driven from upstate New York (1831), Kirtland, Ohio (1837), and Jackson and Clay counties in Missouri (1839) by a combination of disaffected members and angry outside opposition to Mormon concepts of communal land use, church doctrine, continuing revelation, high estimation of Indians, and abolition. This persecution culminated in Joseph Smith's murder at the hands of a lynch mob in Carthage, Illinois. In early 1845 the Mormons again pulled up stakes and left Nauvoo, Illinois under the direction of Smith's intensely efficient successor, Brigham Young, and the Church's Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. The first Mormon pioneers arrived in the Salt Lake Valley, in July 1847.¹³² The Mormons found themselves in an arid, distant land that they supposed no one wanted. But the Great Salt Lake Valley was a contested border between Utes and Shoshones. Utah was home to large numbers of both transient and permanent Indian residents and Wakara and the Utes were looking for new trading partners. What followed would put both Mormon millennial expectations for the Lamanites, and Native American notions of a Great Basin status quo to the acid test.

¹³² Terry L. Givens, *The Latter-day Saint Experience in America*, (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004), 59-89.

Chapter Two

Encounters, Negotiations, Extra-legal Slave Trade, and the Indenture Act: 1847-1853

The First Trade

Wanship, “a tall, dark, thin Ute” who spoke the Shoshone language lived in the valleys of present-day northern Utah. In 1847 Wanship and his band visited the Mormons within days of their arrival in the valley, bringing with them two captive children, obtained in a raid against Little Wolf’s Tumpanawatch camp.¹³³ The historical record does not provide the children’s names. One girl appeared to be about seven years old. Fox tails trimming her dress marked her as the daughter of a Bannock leader so the Utes treated her with particular cruelty.¹³⁴ She shivered in the fall morning from fear, cold and pain, “gaunt with hunger, and smeared from head to foot with blood and ashes.” The Utes killed the other girl and then “shingled [this little one’s] head with butcher knives and fire brands, [hacked the] fleshy parts of her body legs and arms...with knives, and stuck...fire brands...into the wounds.”¹³⁵ She bowed her head and cried out against the blows and the yelps of her captors. A large Ute thrust her forward and she stumbled at the feet of several men dressed in the clothes of the Americans. They argued in a language she did not understand, then one of the Americans handed the Ute a gun, and loosed the rawhide thongs from the girl’s hands as he led her away from the Ute *tipis*

¹³³ Wanship taught Mormons how “to live off the land, find game, live and trade among the natives.” The small town of Wanship in Summit County, Utah is named after him. Summit County Historical Society. “Website.” Accessed May 22, 2012. http://www.summitcounty.org/history/wanship/pendleton_house.php. University of Utah, College of Engineering. “Native Americans, Trappers and Mappers.” Accessed May 22, 2012. <http://www.coe.utah.edu/~cfurse/ftp/echS/Chapter%20two%20-%20Native%20Americans,%20trappers%20and%20mappers.pdf>

¹³⁴ Van Leer, Twila. “LDS Ute Chief praised by Indians, whites alike.” *Deseret News*, March 12, 1994, B2.

¹³⁵ John R. Young, *Memoirs of John R. Young: Utah Pioneer, 1847*, (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Press, 1920), 62.

toward the Mericat houses.¹³⁶ The man gave her to a woman who removed the fox tail dress and bathed and bandaged her wounds, then put her in clothes like the woman wore.

At first “taciturn and unresponsive” following the trauma of captivity and torture, the girl soon became more talkative as she learned some American words, especially the name they called her—Sally. She learned that these Americans called themselves “Mormons.” Sally learned that the man who traded the gun for her was called Charley Decker and the woman who washed her was his sister, Clara, one of the wives of the Mormon leader, the man they called “Brother Brigham.”¹³⁷ Sally “trained as a ‘helper;’ Brigham Young did not like to use the term, ‘servant.’”¹³⁸ “Aunt Clara,” recalled Clarissa Young Spencer, “made a wonderful housekeeper out of [Sally] by the time she was grown.”¹³⁹ More indentured domestic servant than daughter, Sally did not learn to read or write and she slept “in the basement, near the kitchen.”¹⁴⁰ Surrounded such trappings of luxury as the Mormons imported or constructed, Sally was fourteen at the completion of the Beehive House, Brigham Young’s official residence as governor, and sixteen when workers completed the imposing Lion House, next door. Pianos freighted by wagons from the east, and pine pillars and paneling faux-painted to resemble hard wood or marble, reflected their sense of taste and refinement. By the time Sally was in her mid-twenties, familiar with the customs of those she served, she had adapted to the customs of the home where she lived. A photograph of Sally at twenty-eight, shows a

¹³⁶ Peter Gottfredson, *History of Indian Depredations in Utah*, (Salt Lake City, Utah: Skelton Publishing Co., 1919), 16.

¹³⁷ Clarissa Young Spencer and Mabel Harmer, *Brigham Young at Home*, (Salt Lake City, Utah: Kessinger Publishing LLC., 2004), 122-23.

¹³⁸ Van Leer “Kanosh,” B2.

¹³⁹ Spencer and Harmer, *Brigham Young at Home*, 123.

¹⁴⁰ Virginia Kerns, *Journeys West: Jane and Julian Steward and Their Guides*, (Lincoln Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2010), 228.

woman familiar with dresses and lace.¹⁴¹ Sally was the first recorded Ute captive traded to the Mormons. Many more would follow.



Figure 3 Sally Young Kanosh aged about Twenty-eight.¹⁴²

The Deadly Dance

Soon after Charles Decker traded his gun for Sally, Ute parties began bringing additional captives from other tribes, to trade with the pioneers, as they had for centuries with the Spanish in New Mexico. Ute raiders and traders such as Tumpanawach Ute Wakara and his brother Arapine attempted to leverage trade in the timeworn manner by bringing stolen horses and children to the Mormon settlements, while encouraging the Mormons to settle among them.¹⁴³ The Utes' technique of killing or torturing children they could not sell to extort a trade, a strategy perfected over years of New Mexican slave trafficking, reinforced Mormon conceptions, learned from the literature of their day, of Native Americans, as war-like and fierce.¹⁴⁴ This tactic exhibited a variation on

¹⁴¹ "Photograph of Sally Kanosh, Sally Kanosh: Died December 1878. Wife of Chief Kanosh." *Gift of Joleen Robinson. Digital Image 2009*, P.1 39222001354005.tif No. 14401 970.2 14401 Utah State Historical Society. Accessed March 25, 2010.

http://content.lib.utah.edu/cdm4/item_viewer.php?CISOROOT=/USHS_Class&CISOPTR=20573

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Walker, "Wakara," 219-221.

¹⁴⁴ Alfred B. Thomas, *After Coronado: Spanish Exploration Northeast of New Mexico 1696-1727, Documents from the Archives of Spain, Mexico, and New Mexico*, (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma

behaviors in use over a century earlier. In the mid-1700's Fray Andres Varo, a Franciscan priest, expressed horror at the Comanche "deflowering" of female captives before "innumerable assemblies of barbarians and Catholics" before giving them to the Spanish. As the slave traders handed the weeping captives over they said, "Now you can take her—now she is good."¹⁴⁵ One historian maintains that these serial "public rapes were a way to generate markets for captives," as well as "a graphic warning of the horrors the women would...endure should the [buyers] refuse to ransom them."¹⁴⁶ In 1813, Mauricio Arze encountered a similar strategy while on a trading expedition into the Ute country, north of Abiquiu, New Mexico, to Utah Lake. Arze testified that "Indians insisted on selling [him] slaves." When Arze and company refused their offer, the Utes "killed eight of [the Spaniard's] horses and one mule."¹⁴⁷ Ute slavers among the Mormons, in 1847, simply perpetuated a long-standing marketing ploy. The Utes, noting the reticence of the new Mormon trading partners, resorted to the hard sell. Utes offered two children for sale at old Salt Lake Fort. When the Mormons refused to deal, the Utes vowed to kill the young captives at sunset if they remained unsold. The Mormons, attempting appeasement, bought one, but the Utes shot the other child. Shaken, the Mormons promptly purchased the next two captives offered for sale. Near Provo, one of Wakara's Utes told Mormons they had no right to refuse to trade. An angry Arapine, Wakara's brother, employing the trading tactic that worked in New Mexico, killed

Press, 1969), 13-14; Mary Rowlandson, *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God, A Narrative of the Captivity and Removes of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson*, (Cambridge, MA: Samuel Green, 1682).

¹⁴⁵ Fray Andres Varo, "Report of the Reverend Father Provincial, Fray Pedro Serrano, to the Most Excellent Señor Viceroy, the Marquis of Cruillas, in regard to the *Custodia* of New Mexico, in the year 1761," in *Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico, Nueva Viscaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773*, 3 vols. ed. Charles Wilson Hackett, (Austin, TX: Pemberton, 1966), 3: 486-87.

¹⁴⁶ Hämäläinen, *Comanche Empire*, 45.

¹⁴⁷ Carling Malouf, and A. Arline Malouf, "The Effects of Spanish Slavery on the Indians of the Intermountain West," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, 1, 3, (Autumn 1945): 380.

another boy, taking him by the heels and smashing his head on the rocks. If they had any heart, he taunted the Mormons, they would have bought the boy to save him. Stung by the apparent devaluation of life displayed by the Utes, Mormons promptly purchased the next two children offered, as well.¹⁴⁸

Servitude and Latter-day Saints

In the intricate and deadly dance of “captives and cousins” that typified the trade of Indian children by Indian captors, the slave traders faced members of a religion that considered Native Americans as both “degraded” and “of Israel.”¹⁴⁹ Mormon concepts of Indian ancestry and servitude expedited Mormon acquisition of these children, even in the face of their revulsion for the slave trade, or more accurately because of the treatment of the captives. Certainly, many church converts came from a society accustomed to black slavery. However, Mormon attitudes toward Native Americans as Lamanites appear to have impacted their decisions when the Utes came to trade. These beliefs found a somewhat singular basis in Mormon scripture, as noted earlier. Three concepts should be kept in mind when pondering Mormon thinking about Indians and servitude. First, Mormons, in the 1800’s, firmly believed that all the survivors of the final war chronicled in the Book of Mormon were Lamanites, whom the Book described as “wicked” people. These ancestors passed down their fallen nature to their descendants, the Indians.¹⁵⁰ Second, in the last days Lamanites were prophesied to return to righteousness and the truth, and become “white,” or “pure” and “delightful” in the

¹⁴⁸ Leland H. Creer, “Spanish-American Slave Trade in the Great Basin, 1800-1853,” *New Mexico Historical Review*, 14: 3 (July, 1949): 171-183.

¹⁴⁹ Brooks, *Captives and Cousins*; Christensen, *Sagwitch*, 82.

¹⁵⁰ *Book of Mormon*, Mormon 9:7-21

1840 edition of the Book of Mormon.¹⁵¹ Third, Mormons conceptualized indenturing Native Americans as differing from the practice of enslaving Africans and their posterity.

Brigham Young, who assumed the Presidency of the Church following the death of Joseph Smith, stated his opinions concerning this difference in several discourses. In one of these delivered to the Utah Territorial Legislature, Young stated, “My own feelings are that no property can or should be recognized as existing in slaves, either Indian or African. No persons can purchase them without their becoming as free, so far as natural rights are concerned, as persons of any other color...” Then recounting the perils experienced by Indian captives under the coercive trading practices of the Utes, Young endorsed purchasing the captives, “it soems [sic, seems] indeed that any transfer would be to them a relief and a benefit. Many a life by this means is saved, many a child redeemed from the thralldom [sic] of savage barbarity, and placed upon an equal footing with the more favored portions of the human race...This may be said to present a new feature in the traffic of human beings; it is essentially purchasing them into freedom, instead of slavery...” Then Young explained that it is proper for persons thus purchased to owe a debt to the man or woman who saved them. “If in return for favors and expense which may have been incurred on their account, service should be considered due,” Young said, “it would become necessary that some law should provide the suitable regulations under which all such indebtedness should be defrayed.”¹⁵² Young, by this reasoning, supported the passage of an indenture law, aimed at removing Native

¹⁵¹ M. Gerald Bradford and Alison V.P. Coutts, “Uncovering the Original Text of the Book of Mormon,” *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 11/0 (2002): 1–57. The 1837 edition containing the word “white” was the basis for the European Editions of the Book of Mormon, which in turn became the basis for the 1879 and 1920 editions. When the 1981 edition was published, the editors reinstated the word “pure” from the 1840 edition, as edited by Joseph Smith. However, the edition most of the Utah pioneers had available to them was the edition with the “white and delightful” description for repentant Lamanites [Indians].

¹⁵² Brigham Young, “Governor’s Message to the Council and House of Representatives of the Legislature of Utah,” *Deseret News*, Jan 10, 1852.

American slaves from the control of the Ute and New Mexican slave traders, so they could be indentured into Mormon culture and prepared for freedom.

Young found the cultural practice of slavery repugnant, particularly as it applied to God's chosen people, the Lamanites. Certainly Mormon scripture condemned servitude, stating: "Therefore it is not right that any man should be in bondage to another." But he also believed in what he accepted as the biblically established principle of African servitude that a curse rested upon those of African descent. Thus Young could tell the legislature on January 5, 1852 that he was opposed to the system of slavery with its "cruelties and abuses [that are] obnoxious to humanity," and less than three weeks later express, "Inasmuch as we believe in the Bible, inasmuch as we believe in the ordinances of God, in the priesthood and order and decrees of God, we must believe in slavery," because, "[t]his colored race have been subjected to severe curses, which they have in their families and their classes and in their various capacities brought upon themselves. And until the curse is removed by Him who placed it upon them, they must suffer under its consequences; I am not authorized to remove it."¹⁵³ This justification for African and African American slavery echoed the antebellum controversy in the eastern United States at this time. Evangelical scholar Mark Noll noted that "Despite wide distaste for slavery" a number of Protestants "concluded that the Bible...upheld slavery." However, he maintained, "anything but unanimity existed about how to act upon that conclusion."¹⁵⁴

Brigham Young and many of the first Mormons came from New England stock, and doubtless, retained many societal and cultural conventions from that heritage in their

¹⁵³ Mark A. Noll, *America's God: From Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln*, (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2002), 386-87.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

world-view. In addition, three particular intellectual impulses that seemed to run at least parallel to Mormon theology during the nineteenth century may have influenced Latter-day Saints' thinking. Numbers of prominent scholars and clergymen propounded the first theory that American Indians descended from the lost tribes of Israel, while in a second impulse, others maintained that the British Isles, America's mother country, housed a body of Israelites as one of the locations for the gathering. Royal genealogies sported links to Judah through Joseph of Arimathea.¹⁵⁵ The third idea found expression in the concept of Anglo-Saxon triumphalism. Nineteenth-century literary romanticism blended with scientific racism to propose "schemes to classify humankind into races." To early proponents of this racialism, "'blood' accounted for the main differences in civilization," with Anglo-Saxon bloodlines indicating superior culture and intellect. Such ideas were "pressed into service of British imperialism, on one side of the Atlantic, and American Manifest Destiny on the other."¹⁵⁶ Although the record remains unclear as to the effect of these cultural currents on Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, or the rest of the Mormons, clearly they were contemporaneous with the Mormon restoration, and the bloodlines of the members in the early nineteenth century were drawn from New England, Great Britain and Scandinavia.¹⁵⁷

The result of this blend of Mormon doctrine, strong belief in a literal Biblical exegesis, and perhaps the cultural heritage of some of its members, the Mormons recognized slavery as evil but apparently tolerated its presence among them as it pertained to those of African descent because of their belief that somehow, by

¹⁵⁵ Mauss, *All Abraham's Children*, 18-19; An example of this royal claim: Charles Fox Parham. "Queen Victoria (Heir To King David's Royal Throne)." Accessed May 22, 2012.

<http://www.ensignmessage.com/archives/queenvictoria.html>

¹⁵⁶ Mauss, *All Abraham's Children*, 19-21.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

disobedience, ancestors of the Africans had brought the curse of servitude upon them and that curse would continue until they repented. This accorded with the previously mentioned nineteenth-century Euro-American cultural presuppositions. Lamanites, according to Mormon doctrine, as divinely sanctioned members of the House of Israel, required different treatment, on the condition that they repent and become one with the Latter-day Saints, living as they lived and worshipping as they worshipped. However, Mormon resolve to act kindly toward the Indigenes was tested when Mormons came face-to-face with Lamanites trading Lamanites for food, horses, money or supplies, and Lamanites stealing Mormon cattle. How could they alleviate the suffering of these children of Israel while maintaining a good relationship with those who expressed initial kindness to the Latter-day Saints but callous cruelty to their captives? How could they safeguard precious food resources and still extend fellowship to those who took the food away? Such were the quandaries that confronted the Latter-day Saints as they pondered tactics of response.

Wakara's Utes

In 1847, the slave trader Wakara invited Mormon settlers to come to the Sanpete Valley and, as a token of his serious intentions to cooperate with them, also sent a deputation to the Shoshones, seeking peace, in accordance with Brigham Young's request.¹⁵⁸ Looking for a way to defend the southern borders of the Salt Lake Valley, and also to find room for a flood of new immigrants, Brigham Young, at the urging of Wakara, sent pioneers south to settle outposts in what is now central and southern

¹⁵⁸ Walker, "Wakara," 216, 220.

Utah.¹⁵⁹ These two areas would play important roles in the alternately friendly and tense Indian-Mormon relationship over the next several years. Utah Valley and Sanpete County in central Utah became the frontier, as the Mormon borderlands expanded and the 1840's drew to a close. In 1849, as Mormons traveled south to settle Parowan, Wakara met them with bad news: Forty-niners, passing through the Sanpete valley, had infected many of his people with measles, and large numbers were dying. The Mormons proceeded to follow him to Sanpete County and establish a settlement. Throughout the difficult winter that followed, with the pass to Salt Lake closed by deep snow, Sandpitches and Mormons rationed food and Mormons nursed those stricken by the dread disease. In the spring, Brigham Young sent all the supplies Wakara requested the fall before, except for whisky. Wakara expressed appreciation through Manti Church leader Isaac Morley. If the Mormons had not cared for them, Wakara reportedly said, "the Sandpitches all would have died, and his men to[o]."

On March 13, 1850 Wakara and a number of his band accepted baptism at the hand of the Mormons and later Church leaders ordained him to the Melchizedek, or high priesthood. Whether these steps represented a true conversion or a political expedient may be debatable. However, several occurrences of spiritual and visionary experiences reported in accounts about Wakara indicate that his willingness to join the Mormons appeared genuine. The turning point may have come just weeks earlier. At the beginning of March 1850, in a reversal of the normal trade, Wakara approached Isaac Morley's tent. He demanded that Morley give him Morley's new "nine-month-old son." Wakara wanted to make the boy part of his own family. The Morleys, stunned beyond

¹⁵⁹ Ronald W. Walker, "Wakara Meets the Mormons 1848-1852: A Case Study in Native American Accommodation," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 70, 3, (summer 2002): 215-37.

belief, and fearing for the settlement if they refused, spent what must have been several days of agonized soul searching which certainly mirrored that of Paiutes and Utes who placed their children into Mormon hands. At length, Morley gave the baby to Wakara reasoning that “it was better to lose his child than ‘the whole settlement and the boy too.’” Days later Wakara returned the little boy, the test of friendship passed, and Wakara joined the Church.¹⁶⁰ This incident, perhaps better than any other, demonstrates the complexity and humanity of Wakara and the good faith effort expended by both Mormons and Native Americans to work through tensions and differences in benefiting common interests.

By 1851, at the peak of his power and wealth, Wakara stood a little more than five feet, seven inches tall and weighed about 165 pounds, with dark eyes and black hair “cut short.” A writer who met him described his complexion as “reddish olive.”¹⁶¹ His name, Wakara, derived from the Ute word for yellow. Utah historian Sondra Jones demonstrates Wakara’s effectiveness as a slave trader by using statistics of Indians captured by Utes, and transported to New Mexico in the decades before, and during, the demise of the trade. The 1840s show the largest spike in this figure with approximately 225 Paiute or Ute captives brought to New Mexico between 1840 and 1849—more than in any other decade.¹⁶² The 1852 Indenture law and action against New Mexican slave traders began to slow the captive flow out of Utah Territory, but this took some time. Between 1850 and 1859 the flow decreased to 64 captives, but did not altogether cease. In the 1860s traders still brought 35 Paiute or Ute captives to New Mexico. A skilled

¹⁶⁰ Walker, “Wakara,” 223-231

¹⁶¹ “Indian Measurements, August 2, 1852,” *Indian Affairs Files, Brigham Young Papers*, Archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Church History Library, Salt Lake City, UT.

¹⁶² Jones, *The Trial of Don Pedro León*, Chart 13, 97.

negotiator Wakara deflected Mormon requests from Brigham Young and others to stop raiding other tribes and Mexicans. “My men hate the Spaniards,” he contended, “they will steal from them and I cannot help it.” But he insisted that his people “love your people and they will not steal from you, and if any of the bad boys do, I will stop them.” By claiming an inability to stop his “uncontrollable” men Wakara could maintain the flow of horses and cattle raided from New Mexico and California to continue a healthy balance of trade for Mormon goods, while placating Mormon fears that his warriors would cause them any harm.



Figure 4 “Wacarra, Ute Chief.”¹⁶³

Mormon Captives

But trading for children with Wakara and others did not account for all children who lived in Mormon homes. Mormons acquired Native children by alternative means which demonstrated the provisional and sometimes violent nature of the early Indigenous-Mormon encounters, as well as a propensity for Mormon ruthlessness when settlers perceived a threat to their ability to survive. Primarily during the early 1850s, Mormons forcefully took Indigenous prisoners and made them slaves, servants or family

¹⁶³ “Chief Walker, painting by Solomon Carvalho from the book *These Were the Utes* by Madeline C. Dixon, p.52.” P.2 39222001553374.tif No. 23017, 970.2, Digitized by: J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, 23017 Digital Image 2009 Utah State Historical Society.

members. These women and children were often captured in Mormon retaliatory raids after starving Utes and Paiutes took Mormon cattle.

An examination of the demographics in Utah during this time may clarify the reasons for conflicts that resulted in Native American and Mormon blood being shed and captives taken. In the mid-1840s, approximately 20,000 Indigenes lived in present-day Utah. According to the 1850 census 11,380 non-Native Americans, primarily Mormons, had arrived in the Territory within the previous three years. Ten years later that number had quadrupled and 40,273 settlers needed a place to live.¹⁶⁴ Brigham Young had engineered the exodus of thousands of Mormons from the east after other Americans refused to let them stay. Young was grimly determined not to move again. His worries about the possibilities of continued persecution from the United States were offset by concerns about the potential for conflict with the Indigenes. Young was apparently steeped in the Euro-American version of the history of colonial America with its tales of Indian depredations against settlers. He believed that a valid cause for concern existed about potential hostilities between Natives and the Mormons in the Great Basin.

Concerning this fear and his response to it, Young declared:

We can scarcely read of one colony founded among the aborigines in the first settling of this country, wherein the tomahawk of the wild Indians did not drink the blood of whole families. Here there have been no such deeds committed; because when we first entered Utah we were prepared to meet all the Indians in these mountains, and kill every soul of them if we had been obliged to do so. This preparation secured to us peace.”¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁴ State of Utah. “Early Indigenous and Mormon demographics.” accessed June 24, 2012. www.Indian.utah.gov/we_shall_remain/project.html

¹⁶⁵ Brigham Young, “An Address Delivered by President Brigham Young, in the Tabernacle, Great Salt Lake City, May 8, 1853,” in *Journal of Discourses: by Brigham Young, President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, his Two Counselors, the Twelve Apostles, and Others*, 26 vols. ed. George D. Watt, (Liverpool, UK: F.D. and S.W. Richards, 1854), 1:105.

Despite the stated doctrines concerning the Lamanites as a chosen part of Israel, capable of salvation, the Mormons needed room to grow, and would soon need much more. After sending settlers to Sanpete and Utah counties, Young listened as Mormon Battalion members, returning from their long march to San Diego during the Mexican War, as they told stories of California's bounties and the fertile Pacific coast. Young's plans for a seaward outlet for the territory of Deseret envisioned settlements on that coast.¹⁶⁶ As further Mormon exploration and colonization targeted southern Utah along the main travel corridor to California, conflicts between Latter-day Saints and Native Americans increased. Apostle Parley Pratt and others established the first settlement in the far south at Parowan, about 50 miles north of today's Cedar City, at the foot of the mountains. As in Utah Valley several years earlier, a familiar pattern soon developed: Utes and Paiutes returned from seasonal foraging to find the water courses and prime agricultural land taken by Mormons, who encouraged them to settle down and farm with the new settlers. With traditional means of providing food diminished by the grazing Mormon livestock the Paiutes resorted to appropriating meat on the hoof in lieu of land rent. The Mormons viewed the loss of some of their oxen and cattle as theft rather than payment and soon they spilled Ute and Paiute blood in both central and southern Utah in conflicts that took at least 185 Indian and 39 Mormon lives during the 1850s.¹⁶⁷ Incidents in these conflicts, including those that follow, resulted in Mormons taking

¹⁶⁶ Milton R. Hunter, *Brigham Young, the Colonizer*, third edition, (Independence, MO: Zion's Printing and Publishing Co., 1948), 75.

¹⁶⁷ Approximate Indian deaths during these wars in the 1850s, included 70 Tumpanawach Utes at Fort Provo in February 1850, 110 Utes during the Walker War, between 1853 and 1854, and 5 of Tintic's Utes. Black Hawk Productions. "Timeline of the Black Hawk War." Accessed June 24, 2012. <http://www.blackhawkproductions.com/Black%20Hawk%20War%20Timeline.htm>

Indian women and children captive and incorporating them into Mormon households as slaves or family members.

In the winter of 1849 a band of Utes made camp at the foot of Utah County's Mount Timpanogos. They were herding cattle taken from Mormon settlers at Willow Creek (present-day Draper, Utah). Driving the livestock to a hot springs to feed on grass growing on the banks, the Utes set up camp and began to slaughter and skin the cattle. Suddenly a challenge rang out. A squad of pursuing militia from the Mormon Battalion had tracked them down. In the ensuing fight at least two Utes, Roman Nose, Blue Shirt, and perhaps several others died and the rest of the warriors scattered, according to the Mormon account written years later, apparently leaving behind women and children.¹⁶⁸ The settlers rounded up these captives for the journey back to the settlement. An unnamed nine-year-old girl appeared to hesitate joining either the Utes or the Mormons. Captain Elnathan Eldredge suspected she was a captive taken during a Ute raid and took her home to his wife, Ruth, to replace a daughter left behind when Ruth's first husband threw her out after a quarrel about her new religion. Ruth's reaction to her husband's gift, as described years later by an Eldredge descendant, may tell us as much about the descendant as about Ruth: "[H]er heart still aching for her blue-eyed darling, [Ruth] looked down at the dirty, swarthy little half starved waif. Her heart contracted with pity for this forlorn Indian child." She made the girl clean and found warm clothes. They named her Mary Mountain. When the spring came most of the other women and children slipped away but Mary remained with the Eldredges.¹⁶⁹ Unstated in this Mormon

¹⁶⁸ Howard Christy, "Open Hand and Mailed Fist: Mormon-Indian Relations in Utah, 1847-52," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 46 (Summer 1978): 216-35. Walker, "Wakara," 222.

¹⁶⁹ Kate B. Carter, *Treasures of Pioneer History*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City, UT: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1952-1957), vol 4, 365-369.

account is the terror that the women and children must have felt at the deaths of their husbands and fathers and the grief that surely accompanied their forced march over the mountain from Utah Valley to Salt Lake Valley.

Settler Joel Johnson noted that during the winter of 1849-50 “a band of Indians [sic] robbers” took “most of the settler’s cattle, [in Parowan, southern Utah, and] commenced firing at and otherwise abusing the people of the fort.” Mormon leaders determined to take action, sending “about a hundred men” in retaliation. They found and “killed 25 or 30 of their warriors, and took their women and children, prisoners which were distributed among the people. I took two women and three children, who were all sick, occasioned by exposure after having the measles.” Of the five only a ten-year-old girl survived the illness. Johnson called her “Virogue.”¹⁷⁰ These deaths, attributed by Johnson to measles and exposure, illustrate the devastation visited upon Native populations by the arrival of Euro-Americans. Virgin soil diseases swept through populations previously unexposed to the particular pathogens and claimed a fearful toll of lives. In addition, the hunger and exposure of the Indigenes, incident to the dispossession of their lands and their loss of access to food resources by encroaching Euro-Americans, intensified the effects of the diseases with even more deadly effect.¹⁷¹

The tensions caused by the new southern Utah Mormon settlements continued and increased. Two years later, on the March 1, 1852, Joel Johnson continued his journal account: “My son Sixtus missed one of his oxen for which he searched most of the day, and at evening it was ascertained that he was driven off by two Indians.” Twelve men

¹⁷⁰ The mention of measles as a cause of death in Joel Hills Johnson (1802-1882) “Diary,” Vol. 1, Typescript, 1945 HBLL, *Perry Special Collections*, Harold B. Lee Library, Provo, UT., 20.

¹⁷¹ Alfred W. Crosby, “Virgin Soil Epidemics as a Factor in the Aboriginal Depopulation in America”, *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 33 (2 1976): 289–99; Suzanne A. Alchon, *A Pest in the Land: New World Epidemics in a Global Perspective*, (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2003).

left Parowan three days later in search of the missing ox, but returned empty handed. On March fourth, four Paiutes, two old men and two boys, twelve and five years-of age, camped to dry the beef from the ox they had slaughtered earlier in the day. Four armed Mormons burst from the willows and sage and took the Paiutes captive. After the capture Sixtus Johnson and the others came to Coal Creek and began to cross; their horses balked and three prisoners took the opportunity to flee, leaving the five-year-old standing on the bank. The Mormons pursued on horseback, killing one man and wounding the other, who managed to get away by hiding in the willows with the older boy as dusk fell. Sixtus “returned home with the youngest boy,” and the elder Johnson “took [him] into my family, and called his name Sam.”¹⁷² Johnson’s matter-of-fact reports of killing and capturing Paiutes appears to reflect attitudes about Native Americans that align more closely with the more dominant colonial narratives of clearing the land of Indians than with the concept of assisting repentant Lamanites to gather to the kingdom of God. This practice of violently taking Native American children appears to have ceased by 1860 and extant documents list the names of only five of the children acquired in this way between 1849 and the late 1850s. After this time, with the exception of the Indian massacres perpetrated by Patrick Connor’s California Union Volunteers (discussed in the next chapter) Mormons took Native Americans into their homes either by trading for them or receiving them from Indian raiding parties or the childrens’ own bands.¹⁷³

Hard Choices

As Mormons appropriated land along the river bottoms, in central and southern Utah, they often left Paiutes, Goshutes and Sanpetes bereft of much of their seasonal food

¹⁷² Johnson, “Diary,” 21-22.

¹⁷³ See Table 2, Appendix I, and database, Appendix III.

supply. Many of these bands were necessarily forced to travel farther seasonally, in a desperate attempt to find enough food, as well as to escape the raids of the better armed and mounted Utes. When the Mormons first settled in the southern part of the territory, some Paiutes initially responded positively, seeing the Mormons as potential allies against the Utes. Often these positive impulses gave way to hopelessness or anger ending in conflict. In other instances Paiute mothers and fathers, faced with dwindling food supplies, made a hard choice and gave away a child either to save them from slave traders or to preserve family resources for remaining family members. In these cases Paiute children were not stolen by other tribes but given away or traded away, either to other Indians, or to the Mormons, to get food and relieve the family of one less mouth to feed. Individual narratives of some of these children demonstrate the variety of ways they entered Mormon homes.

A tiny, one-month old Paiute girl came to Chelnicia Hamilton and her husband in Manti, Sanpete County. Later records noted that the Paiute couple gave their child to Mrs. Hamilton because the Hamiltons were “kind” to them. The baby, named Harriet, grew up as a member of the family, married a white man and lived to the age of fifty, remaining childless.¹⁷⁴ In a similar case, in 1850, little girls gleaning wheat in a Manti field found a new-born baby girl left on the damp sand of an irrigation ditch. Their parents Daniel and Amanda Henrie took her in as one of their own and named her Sally. She married in her teens, as the second plural wife of a white neighbor, against the wishes of her parents (the reason for their objection remained unspecified in the source documents) and died giving birth to her only child, a girl.¹⁷⁵ According to the 1850 Utah

¹⁷⁴ Carter, *Heart Throbs of the West*, v. 1, 112.

¹⁷⁵ Carter, *Treasures*, v. 4, 375-76.

territorial census, thirteen known Native American children lived in Mormon homes as the decade concluded. This represented less than one percent of Mormon households,¹⁷⁶ but their presence provided evidence that the raw edges of the Utah borderlands still challenged Mormons and Indians as they pondered how to relate to one another in the shifting Great Basin balance of power.

Often the information in the sources relating to the children captured or traded contains inconsistencies and conflicts, leaving those who study them with as many questions as answers. This is the case with Waddie, a young Native American of uncertain tribal affiliation, who lived as a daughter in the Daniel and Deborah Leithead family, from about 1850. Separate accounts dispute the reasons for her acquisition. Source list her as being born on February 16, 1844 in Uintah Springs, now Fountain Green, Utah. One version of the narrative has Waddie “brought to the home of Henry Hinman and his wife by a man and woman claiming to be her aunt and uncle,” following a skirmish between the Utes and Blackfeet. Swearing that Nellie’s parents were dead they left her with the Hinmans and failed to return. The second account suggests that Waddie’s father was a chief who could not remarry until he gave her away after the death of her mother. In any case, the Hinmans exchanged a gun and a blanket for the girl. Later, when the Hinmans moved to Canada, they lacked papers to take her across the border. So on the way they found a couple who were willing to take her—James and Deborah Leithead—who adopted her as Nellie Waddie Leithead.¹⁷⁷ Nellie’s story sounds

¹⁷⁶ See xls database in Appendix #3. The percentage is based on an 1850 census population of 11,380, assuming a household size of five persons.

¹⁷⁷ John Nebeker (1813-1886), “biography,” *20th Century Western and Mormon Manuscripts*, MSS SC 1756, LTPSC L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT; See also Genforum. “Hinman Family Association.” Accessed July 16, 2011. <http://genforum.genealogy.com/hinman/messages/935.html>

a number of jarring notes. Her coming to the Hinmans as either the survivor of a battle between competing Native warriors, indicative of the turmoil in the Great Basin at the time, or as the unwanted child of a father anxious to jettison her for a new wife casts her as a tragic figure at best, and an undesired one at worst. Giving Nellie to the Leitheads when the Hinmans departed for Canada suggests that she was seen more as a problem to be rid of, than a family member. A mitigating circumstance in the record does indicate that the Hinmans, having no formal documents for Nellie feared that she might be taken away at the border and left her with someone they could trust to take care of her.¹⁷⁸ The Great Basin turmoil led to many such situations.

In yet another case, Utes captured a nine-month old Paiute baby and her mother about 1850 during a skirmish. The mother escaped but left her child. Anne Blyth Barker traded a “pair of blankets and some flour” to the Utes for the little girl. Poignantly, the Paiute mother later “learned of the whereabouts of her papoose” two or three years after and several times visited the Barkers asking to take her child, but little Rhoda, as the Barkers called her, wept and refused to go with her. The Barkers were the only family Rhoda remembered. Perhaps her foster parent’s attitude also affected her reaction. They probably feared someone taking Rhoda away and she came to believe the same.

Apparently Little Soldier, the Weber band Ute who traded Rhoda, stopped in occasionally “to see how Rhoda was being cared for,” almost like a social case-worker might follow-up on foster parents. This may have been during the time that the Mormons in Ogden, Weber County, placed Little Soldier’s Utes under virtual “house arrest” during the winter of 1854, after the Utes killed some Mormon livestock and burned fence rails for fuel, claiming that the grass the cows ate and the wood for the fences came from Ute

¹⁷⁸ Nebeker, “biography.”

land.¹⁷⁹ His visits evidenced humanity and caring in a time of tension. Rhoda died at 14 or 15 of tuberculosis.¹⁸⁰

Meanwhile, back in Manti, Elvira Cox traded “a piece of bacon and a few pounds of flour” for a seven-year-old girl captive being abused by Black Hawk’s Sanpitch band,¹⁸¹ and Nelson Higgins obtained an eight-year old Paiute boy named “‘Shockman’ meaning ‘Rabbit foot’”, a name he received from his Navajo captors “because he ran so fast trying to escape them.” Higgins later “sold him to James P. Brown for \$25.” This act of reselling an Indian child from one Mormon to another is disturbing. This act demonstrates that at least some Mormons considered these children as chattel slaves. However the Browns appeared to treat the boy kindly. When they took him home he “hid his face against the wall, and it took some time to coax him out of the corner. The Browns named him Alma Shock Brown. They sent him to school but also allowed him to continue speaking his ‘native tongue so he would not forget it.’”¹⁸² The Browns may have wished to honor Alma’s native heritage or they realized that having someone who could translate might come in handy.

Ute prisoners, Cora and Mosheim Rice experienced a circumstance that demonstrates the danger and tension involved in some of these trades. After selling an Indian girl to William Rice, the Utes stole her back on their way out of Parowan, to resell her up the road. The Parowan settlers sent about a dozen armed men to reclaim her. The warriors had already sent the women and children ahead except for the “wife of the chief

¹⁷⁹ James S. Brown, *James Brown: Life of a Pioneer, being the autobiography of James S. Brown*, (Salt Lake City, UT: George Q. Cannon and Sons Co., Printers, 1900). 349

¹⁸⁰ Kate B. Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, v. 4, (Salt Lake City, UT: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1964), 122.

¹⁸¹ Carter, *Heart Throbs*, v. 1, 159-60

¹⁸² *Ibid*, 157.

and her pony, which she had not finished packing.” The remaining “fifteen warriors, well mounted and armed,” bringing up the rear, “denied all knowledge” of the girl, and swung into line to ride away. Mormon leader John Steele told Bob Gillispie to “seize the squaw’s horse.” Gillespie and James Martineau seized the pony and the woman, despite a Ute striking the horse hard to spook it. The woman shouted at them and tried to drag the horse away. A tug-of-war developed while twenty-seven armed men stood face to face with “finger[s] on trigger.” Two Mormons covered the Chief who had not yet mounted and he “stood there...his eyes flashing fire and his lip quivering.” Another Ute attempted to ride Martineau down “but knowing he could not if I stood straight up like a post,” recounts Martineau, “I did so and the horse sheered off one side.” Martineau “yelled at” the mounted Ute and the Mormons began to retreat toward their camp “about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile off, taking the pony with us,—keeping our rifles cocked and leveled on the [I]ndians.” The chief’s wife dug her heels in and tried to twist the halter away from the men. Apparently the Ute chief fired one shot that hit his own horse. Whether the shot was accidental or intentional the journal does not say. The Mormon posse arrived at their fort with the horse and the woman, who made one more abortive escape attempt. She “tied a knot in [the horse’s] tail for a stirrup, and had almost mounted him, “when...attention was called to her just in time to prevent her daring feat.” When the Ute chief realized that the Mormons held his wife and her horse as bargaining chips he sent them a second captive, a little boy, as the girl they had re-stolen “was miles away, and not come-at-ible.” Then the Utes departed.

Two days later the little girl that started all the trouble walked back into Parowan, having escaped from her abductors. “So Rice had two Indians,” notes Martineau, “The

girl—about 13 years old—I named Cora; the boy William named Mosheim, and he kept and raised them in his family.” The girl, that Martineau named for Rice, Cora, later married Martineau as a plural wife.¹⁸³ This episode points up the difficulty faced as two cultures clashed. Although many Native Americans and Mormons worked patiently to achieve positive mutual relationships, others, in both parties resorted to more expeditious and violent means of problem solving. Some of the Mormon retaliatory raids shared characteristics with those detailed in Ned Blackhawk’s accounts of the Southwest Borderlands. The concept of seizing women and children as compensation for lost prestige and property also appears to accord with James Brooks’ description of such transactions in New Mexico. Difficulties persisted both with disputes about resources and about the concept of trading or raiding for slaves.¹⁸⁴

Regulating the Slave Trade, Trials and Indenture

These last trades and conflicts occurred during a time when tensions concerning the slave trade peaked, as Mormons tried to find ways to reduce or entirely curtail the traffic. In 1850 the United States Congress created New Mexico and Utah by passing the Compromise of 1850. During the fall of 1851 the Mormons organized a territorial government. While the Mormons attempted to work with the Utes, Shoshones, Paiutes and other Indians in the Great Basin by feeding some and sending missionaries among them with the intent to reclaim the “Lamanites,” they also pursued lobbying activities in Washington encouraging Indian removal, believing that such a course would extinguish

¹⁸³ Donald G. Godfrey and Rebecca S. Martineau-McCarty, eds., *An Uncommon Common Pioneer: The Journals of James Henry Martineau* (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 2008). 34-35 (Underlining in original.) Accessed April 12, 2012. <http://rsc.byu.edu/archived/uncommon-common-pioneer-journals-james-henry-martineau-1828%E2%80%931848-2-settling-southern-utah-i>

¹⁸⁴ Ronald W. Walker, “Toward a Reconstruction of Mormon and Indian Relations, 1847–1877,” *BYU Studies* 29 (fall 1989): 23–42.

Indian title and leave Mormon settlements on solid legal ground. Until that happened Brigham Young, in his dual role as Church president and territorial governor, sought ways to shut down the slave traffic that took Indian children out of Utah and, in Mormon thinking led to territorial unrest.¹⁸⁵ This trade by New Mexicans the Mormons viewed as reprehensible, and New Mexican slave traders were vilified as “greedy Mexicans who deliberately flouted Utah laws.”¹⁸⁶ The Trade and Intercourse Act of 1834, now extended to Utah when it became a territory in 1850, required the territorial government to regulate Indian relations; this act provided the tool Young sought. As territorial governor, Young believed that he had the authority and responsibility to bar outside non-Mormons from entering Utah to trade with the Utes and others for slaves. In 1851 Young wielded the statute by indicting New Mexican slave traders for violating the law. In December of the same year, the territorial authorities in Manti arrested eight men from Abiquiu, New Mexico found with Indian captives in their possession. Within days, their leader, Pedro León Luján and his associates found themselves in a jail in Salt Lake City awaiting trial in a test case of the newly employed Trade and Intercourse Act that would change the slave trade in Utah. After a four day trial in January, 1852, during which they were found guilty of illegal Indian trade, the court fined the eight a mandatory 500 dollars, confiscated their supplies and trade goods and sent them back to New Mexico. While the slave trade took time to dwindle and die, and records indicate Paiute slaves living in New Mexico were acquired after 1851 for some time, this trial gave Mormons a de facto trade monopoly on Native Americans in the territory as it applied to slaves. The Territorial legislature’s serious intent to regulate the existing trade, and curtail outside

¹⁸⁵ Blackhawk, *Violence Over the Land*, 231.

¹⁸⁶ Jones, *The Trial of Don Pedro León*, 7.

non-Indian traders from frequenting the territory and obtaining slaves from the Utes and other Great Basin nations resulted in discussions of a new law, proposed nearly simultaneously with the Léon's trial.

Young and the territorial leadership pondered altering Native American slave trafficking in the territory by indenturing Native Americans. In their view this appeared to represent a viable temporary alternative to allowing the slavers to sell children south to New Mexico. In addition, according to Mormon thinking, as evidenced by statements by Mormon leaders, indenturing would also place young, supple Indigenous minds in the path of Mormon teachings and culture. A deeply held missionary impulse moved Mormons in general and Brigham Young in particular. Young served several missions prior to his call to be President of the LDS Church. He once left his wife and children with little or no money, during his own bout with malaria, to travel to England on an assignment to "gather Israel."¹⁸⁷ Later, another Church president, Wilford Woodruff would mention missionary work as the primary rationale for adopting a Native American child.¹⁸⁸ When Young carried the message to settlers, in the southern Utah settlement of Parowan, telling them to "buy up the Lamanite children as fast as they could," he probably had missionary potential in mind.¹⁸⁹

Subsequently, on January 31st, 1852, the Utah Territorial Legislature passed "an Act for the relief of Indian slaves and prisoners."¹⁹⁰ An Indian indenture law had been

¹⁸⁷ Eugene England, "Brigham Young as a Missionary," *New Era*, (Nov., 1977). Accessed June 30, 2012. <http://www.lds.org/new-era/1977/11/brigham-young-as-a-missionary?lang=eng>

¹⁸⁸ Scott G. Kenney, ed., *Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 1833-1898*, 9 vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983-84), 5:40-41.

¹⁸⁹ *Journal History of the Church*, May 12, 1851, Archives Division, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

¹⁹⁰ Brigham H. Young, "An Act for the relief of Indian slaves and prisoners," in *Acts, Resolutions, and Memorials, Passed by the First Annual, and Special Session, of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah*, (Great Salt Lake City, Utah Territory, 1852). The text of the Act follows:

passed in 1850, two years earlier, in California. A comparison of the laws shows enough similarities to suggest that Utah territorial law makers reviewed the California statute and enough divergences to demonstrate that the Mormons customized their law to meet specific perceived needs. The Utah law required that whenever any “white person” within the territory obtained “any Indian prisoner, child or woman, in his possession, whether by purchase or otherwise” that person was required to “immediately go,” along with the person to be indentured, to the select men or probate judge. Taken in context, the word “prisoner” appears to refer to a male adult, as the other alternatives are “child” or “woman.” By 1852 several battles between Indians and Mormons in the territory, resulting in a number of captives, appeared to provide a rationale for this clause. The California law contained a provision governing the use of “vagrant” and “convict”

Sec. 1. Be it enacted by the Governor and Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah: That whenever any white person within any organized county of this Territory, shall have any Indian prisoner, child or woman, in his possession, whether by purchase or otherwise; such person shall immediately go, together with such Indian prisoner, child, or woman, before the select men or probate judge of the county. If in the opinion of the select men or probate judge the person having such Indian prisoner, child, or woman, is a suitable person, and properly qualified to raise or retain and educate said Indian prisoner, child, or woman; it shall be his or their duty to bind out the same, by indenture for the term of not exceeding twenty years, at the discretion of the judge or select men.

Sec. 2 The probate judge or select men shall cause to be written in the indenture, the name and age, place where born, name of parents if known, tribe to which said person belonged, name of the person having him in possession, name of Indian from whom said person was obtained, date of the indenture; a copy of which shall be filed in the probate clerk’s office.

Sec. 3 The select men in their respective counties are hereby authorized to obtain such Indian prisoners, children or women, and bind them to some useful avocation.

Sec. 4 The master to whom the indenture is made, is hereby required to send said apprentice to school, if there be a school in the district, or vicinity, for the term of three months in each year, at a time when said Indian child shall be between the ages of seven years and sixteen. The master shall clothe his apprentice in a comfortable and becoming manner, according to his master’s condition in life.

Approved March 7, 1852

Indians, as subject of indenture that the Utah version lacked.¹⁹¹ Perhaps this was because Brigham Young encouraged Mormons to “feed” Native Americans rather than “fight” them. “I love my friends, and as for my enemies, I pray for them daily; and, if they do not believe I would do them good, let them call at my house, when they are hungry, and I will feed them.”¹⁹² The “master” of indentured Indians in Utah was required to send his charges to school for at least three months a year, clothe and care for them, and train them in a vocation. The California law mentioned no schooling or vocational training, but only specified that the persons responsible were “to clothe and suitably provide the necessaries of life for such Indian or Indians.” The maximum term of the indenture specified by the Utah law was twenty years, a clear indication that the legislature intended indentured children to grow to adults before sending them out on their own.¹⁹³

¹⁹¹ “An Act for the Government and Protection of Indians, April 22, 1850,” *Statutes of California*, April 22, 1850, Chapter 133. Accessed May 22, 2012. <http://www.indiancanyon.org/ACTof1850.html>
See Appendix III for text of the California statute.

¹⁹² G.D. Watt ed., *Journal of Discourses*, 26 Vols. (Liverpool, UK: F.D. & S.W. Richards, 1854), 11:111.

¹⁹³ The Indenture document for one of the Native American children, Samuel Beal is included below:
“#4 Samuel Beal,” Utah Historical Records Survey, *Inventory of the county Archives of Sanpete County*, (t.s.) 1. L. of U, 1852 pp. 93-94. Sanpete County Indian Indenture of 1859, in the possession of Frank Anderson of Manti.

Indenture

This Indenture made this first day of February the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty nine, between H. J. Christensen, C. G. Edwards and T. S. Allred, Selectmen of the County of Sanpete, Utah Territory of the first part and John Beal of the second part; Witnesseth that the said parties of the first part have placed and bound out by virtue of an “Act of this Territory entitled “An Act for the relief (sic) of Indians Slaves and Prisoners” (sic) do hereby with the consent of Gardner Snow Judge of the Court of Probate of said County, place and bind out Samule, an Indian boy aged nine or ten years, born in the Territory of Utah, son of (not Known) of the Piede Tribe of Indians, obtained from Arapeen as an apprentice to the parties of the second part, to be taught the trade of farming to live with and serve him for the term of ten years as an apprentice from the date thereof that is to say until the said apprentice shall be of the age of twenty years which the said parties of the first part are informed and believe will be in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty nine, and the said parties of the first part do by these presents give unto the second part all authority, power and right to and over the said Samuel and his service during said term which by the laws of this territory a Master hath to and over a lawful indentured apprentice; and the said party of the second part in consideration thereof doth promise, covenant (sic) and agree to and with the said parties of the first part and each of them their and each of their successors for the time being and with the said Samuel each by themselves respectively to teach and instruct the said Samuel at an apprentice or otherwise cause him to be well and sufficiently instructed and taught the trade of farming after the best way and manner that he can; and instruct said apprentice (sic) by sending him to school three months of the year in each year while the said apprentice is between the age of seven and sixteen; and also

The indenture terms varied in the California legislation, based on the age of the indentured when acquired:

Such indentures may be for the following terms of years: Such children as are under fourteen years of age, if males, until they attain the age of twenty-five years; if females, until they attain the age of twenty-one years; such as are over fourteen and under twenty years of age, if males, until they attain the age of thirty years; if females, until they attain the age of twenty-five years; and such Indians as may over the age of twenty years, then next following the date of such indentures, for and during the term of ten years...¹⁹⁴

The wording in the statute may indicate that Californians expected a wider age-range of subjects under indenture than did Utahns.

As the new indenture law took hold, Mormon families responded to Brigham Young's counsel by purchasing Indian children. Mormon leaders even encouraged Utes and others to bring their captives to the Mormons. Apostle George A. Smith, of the southern Iron County mission, sent a pass with Wakara from Louisa, later Parowan, Utah that read:

To all to whom it may concern:

This certifies that Captain Walker [Wakara] and Peeteetneet of the Eutah Indians and their band have resided here about 3 weeks and as they have showed themselves Friends and gentlemen and are now leaving to visit your settlements it is my desire that they should be treated as friends and as they wish to Trade horses, Buckskins and Piede children we hope them success and Prosperity and good bargains.¹⁹⁵

to train him to the habits of obedience, industry and morality and allow him meat, drink, washing, lodging and apparel for winter and summer and all other necessities proper for such an apprentice during the term aforesaid and at the expiration of said ten; will give unto the said apprentice a new Bible, book of Mormon and two new suits of clothing, suitable to his condition--- In Witness Whereof the said parties have hereunto set their names and seals the day and year first above written.

Signed, sealed and delivered in presence of

C. G. Edwards (S L)

George Peacock

James T S. Allred (S.L.)

Herman J. Christensen

James Wareham

(S.L.)

John Beal

¹⁹⁴ *Statutes of California*, Chapter 133.

¹⁹⁵ Brooks, *Indian Relations*, 6.

George A. Smith

A second Mormon leader, Anson Call, stated that occasional “small bands of Spaniards” passed Parowan, “buying up children for the purpose of making slaves of them. Indians obtained them by gambling and stealing them from different tribes they were at war with.” Call asserted that he taught the local Utes and Paiutes that this was “wrong at every opportunity.” He continued to teach them that they should “not sell the children to the Spaniards, but to sell them to the Mormons,” because “we would clothe them and educate them.”¹⁹⁶ Call practiced what he preached. He told chief Kamas that he would take his son for three years and educate him. The chief brought the boy and the Calls bathed, clothed and sent him to the local school, but the boy’s mother missed her son and came to collect him. Later Call purchased a “three to four-year old boy who he named Dan and a girl of two years called Ruth.” When Ruth came of age she married a former soldier from Johnson’s army, named James Davids,¹⁹⁷ who joined the Mormons, and the couple had seven children, eventually moving to Idaho where Ruth lived a “long and productive life,” according to her twentieth-century biographer.¹⁹⁸ Other Mormons followed suit in trading for children. Some did it to save them from physical harm or death as recounted above; others had religious conversion or “civilization” in mind. Yet others saw the purchase as an adoption of a child when they were unable to have children

¹⁹⁶ Ethan L. Call & Christine S. Call, *The Journal of Anson Call*, (Afton WY: privately published, 1986), 44-5. (copy of pp. 45-6 courtesy of Brian Q. Cannon, in possession of author.) “The Journal of Anson Call, 1810-1890,” *The Life and Record of Anson Call*, Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah, (copy of original with typescript on opposite facing page.), pp.44-45.

¹⁹⁷ Johnston’s Army refers to the United States Army expedition sent to quell a perceived “rebellion” of the Mormons alleged by federally appointed officials who left Utah after sparring with the Mormon officials in the Utah Territorial leadership. The army consequently marched through Salt Lake City after negotiations settled the conflict, and set up Camp Floyd in the western Utah desert. One of their number married Ruth Call. Ruth and David were active Mormons who participated in the Temple ordinances.

¹⁹⁸ Call, “Journal,” 45; Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 1: 456-57.

of their own. Certainly some Mormons acquired children specifically for indenture to provide work in return for room, board, education and training in a trade.¹⁹⁹

Some Mormons, as part of their calling to be “missionaries to the Indians,” even went in search of children themselves. In the mountains of Tooele County, one of the most well known of these missionaries, Jacob Hamblin, found a starving grandmother, left to die by her band, in a “miserable hut,” with a young grandson. She let Jacob take the boy so he would not starve with her. The boy, named Albert, became a trusted and valuable member of the Hamblin household but also died young at 25.²⁰⁰ Hamblin later traded the Utes “a gun, a blanket and some ammunition.” for a six-year-old boy “stolen from a small tribe.” Hamblin brought the boy to “Brother A.P. Hardy, who took him to Parowan.” A non-Mormon offered to trade Hardy a horse for the boy, but Hardy turned him down and gave the child to Zadok and Minerva Judd, “that...a good man [might] have him that would make him useful.”²⁰¹ In considering this case, one might view Jacob Hamblin as a type of nineteenth-century social worker as many Mormons do, or as a slave trader as others assert.²⁰² The fact that Hardy gave this child to a Mormon family rather than trade him to a non-Mormon, might lean in the direction of the first perception, though the presumption of a need to make the boy “useful” smacks of paternalism. The fact that Jacob acquired so many children and parceled them out, sometimes for trade goods, would appear to support the latter characterization. Hamblin’s own words about watching a southern Utah Tonaquint family sell their children display his deep emotions

¹⁹⁹ Cannon, “Native Children in Mormon Households,” 342-345.

²⁰⁰ Brooks, “Indian Relations,” 40-41.

²⁰¹ Brooks, “Indian Relations,” 13; Mary Minerva Dart Judd, 1838-1909 “Autobiography” 1885 Photocopy of microfilm copy of a typescript. 33 pages. Harold B. Lee Library, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Provo, UT., 17.

²⁰² Todd Compton, “Civilizing the Ragged Edge: The Wives of Jacob Hamblin,” *Journal of Mormon History*, 33, 2, (2007): 176-77; Sondra Jones, “Redeeming the Indian: The Enslavement of Indian Children in New Mexico and Utah,” *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 67, 3, (Summer 1999): 229-30.

concerning his work: "I Saw the tears fall from the eyes of the three girls about 10 or 12 years old. The Girls Father and Mother cryd to See them go but they had nothing to eat and it would be beter for the childrin than to Stay and Starve. I felt hart sick to see them dr aged from their homes to be Slaves..."²⁰³ Jacob Hamblin believed that his work saved lives, but mourned over the separating families.

In 1852, as children continued to be traded to Mormons, the brother of an eight-year-old Indian boy, of unknown tribal affiliation, whose parents had died, sold him to Peregrine Sessions in Logan, Cache County, who gave him to David and Phoebe Foss Sessions.²⁰⁴ Down in Parowan Sarah Fish Smith traded one of her husband's guns for a little Navajo captive girl, taken by the Utes.²⁰⁵ From north to south, Native American children were entering Utah Mormon families in increasing numbers, while the New Mexican trade slowly decreased. According to later writers, who may have minimized the trauma of assimilation, both Jim Sessions, as the eight-year-old was called, and Janet Smith, the Navajo girl, adjusted to their new situation as judged by the standard of their Mormon foster families and appeared to thrive, despite some difficulties. Not all Native American children adjusted to Mormon culture in the same way as Sessions and Smith.

²⁰³ Hartt Wixom, "Jacob Hamblin: 'His Own Story,' November, 7, 1998," Lecture Transcript, Dixie State College, St. George, UT. Accessed May 29, 2012.

http://library.dixie.edu/special_collections/Juanita%20Brooks%20lectures/old/Hamblin.html

²⁰⁴ Mary A. Johnson, ed., *Indian Tribes and the Utah Pioneers*, 979.208 D265 No. 526, 406. USU Special Collections, Logan, UT.

²⁰⁵ Snow. Wanda McGregor, "McGregor, William Campbell (1833-1913)," [ca.1975] MS 22229 Church History Library, SLC, UT, 5; Utah State Office of Education. "Barbara M. Adams, as told to Thelma Miller Higbee, 'Sarah Fish,'" in *Historical Pioneer Biographies*, Accessed February 20, 2010. <http://heritage.uen.org/pioneers/Wc2b94e05d2891.htm>

Three examples from the early 1850's illustrate this aptly. In the Salt Lake City *Deseret News* the following notice ran on September 18, 1852:

Ran Away

From this subscriber, an Indian boy about twelve years old; speaks a little English. Supposed to have gone back to Parowan. Anyone giving information where said boy may be found, or returning him to me, shall be liberally rewarded. [Sic] Christopher Merkely, 19th Ward.

Merkely apparently placed a great deal of value in this runaway "Indian boy" since he promised to "liberally" reward those who returned the young man to Merkely's possession. This notice could as easily have been found in a southern newspaper and refer to an escaped slave. Such evidence belies the narrative that all indentures among Mormons partook of altruism.

Accounts of Indian relationships in Mormon homes vary widely during these years. Many loving and solid relationships were formed, but there were also difficulties. Historian Brian Cannon lists several notable accounts of bitter sibling rivalries and of children running away. Tanequickeup, the nine-year-old girl who was so thoroughly scrubbed by her foster mother during her first hours with the family, resented having to share clothes with her younger foster sibling Betsy Hancock, or perhaps it was the other way around since Betsy reports this resentment. Apparently Nicaagat (Leaves Becoming Green) or Captain Jack, an indentured Goshiute boy, had more trouble with the adults that indentured him than with any siblings. Nicaagat reportedly ran away because his master, Mrs. Norton, called his dark skin a curse and whipped him "repeatedly with a buggy whip."

Cannon does not tell us what eventually became of Tanequickeup and Nicaagat, but the records indicate that Tanequickeup received the English name of Mary and was

baptized a Mormon. According to Betsy, her apparently impatient foster sibling, “she was a good housekeeper and could sew and do many things as well as a white woman when she wanted to, but when she got tired or thought she had done enough, she would skip out to parts unknown and not come back until the washing or whatever we were doing was done. Of course” added Betsy, “this would work quite a hardship on me.” One may see both sibling bitterness and an intimation that Tanequickeup found ways to passively resist. Eventually Tanequickeup “ran away and married a Spaniard,” according to Betsy, who appears not to have been impressed with him, and was probably less pleased when her nemesis left the man and returned to live with the Hancocks.²⁰⁶

Nicaagat did not acculturate or submit. Taken from his people by Mexican slave traders and sold to a Mormon family, the Nortons, Nicaagat fled from the apparently abusive situation he experienced there and found his way to the White River Utes of western Colorado. In the last battle to defend the White River Utes’ western Colorado lands, Nicaagat, known to the soldiers with whom he had served against the Dakotas, Hunkpapas and Lakotas, in the Powder River campaign, as Captain Jack, led Ute warriors in the attacks that killed Major Thornburg and many of his men at Milk Creek.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁶ Shurtliff, *Chronicles of Courage*, 56.

²⁰⁷ Cannon, *Native Children in Mormon Households*, 350; concerning sources on information about Nicaagat, historian Sondra Jones notes: “Emmitt includes in his sources for Nicaagat's background personal interviews with Saponise Cuch, who was the son of a close friend of Nicaagat and knew him personally. He was definitely a Goshute, sold by Mexicans to a Mormon family named Norton, baptized, and raised in the Mormon Church. Mrs. Norton repeatedly beat him with a buggy whip until he fled. Other rumors about his background can be found in contemporary accounts written by biased whites, including Wilson M. Rankin, Thomas F. Dawson, F. J. V. Skiff, J. P. Dunn, Jr., and Sidney Jocknick. Nicaagat refused to surrender to authorities after the Thornburg attack and was killed when troops leveled the tipi in which he was staying with cannon fire.” See Jones, *The Trial of Don Pedro Leon Lujan: The Attack Against Indian Slavery and Mexican Traders in Utah*. (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press), 2000. 102-3, 158-9 n.28; Al Look, *Ute's Last Stand at White River and Milk Creek, Western Colorado in 1879*, (Denver CO: Golden Bell, 1972), 12. Robert Emmitt, *The Last War Trail: The Utes and the Settlement of Colorado*, (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954), 39-40; Marsh, Charles F., *People of the Shining Mountains*, (Boulder, Colorado: Pruett Publishing Company, 1982), 95; Mark E. Miller, *Hollow Victory*, (Niwot, Colorado: University Press of Colorado, 1997), 176-185.

Plainly, not all Native American children traded to Mormons easily or happily identified with their new captors.

Although the primary expressed intent of indenture law—passed by the Territorial legislature, and signed by Brigham Young—and the stated desires of such men as Call and Hamblin, may have been to protect or relieve the suffering of Indian captives and children, the result often proved to be less favorable to the captives than the Mormons would have wished. According to one historian, at its worst the California law “created a system of Indian slavery in California,” as white Americans used the law’s provisions to actively seek women and children to steal.²⁰⁸ In the case of Utah’s law, Mormons took solace in the idea that many of the children who might have gone to illicit New Mexican buyers were instead funneled to a Mormon-directed, statute-legitimated market. New Mexican slavers, aware of the tightened Utah territorial restrictions and stricter enforcement of the new laws, turned to increased raids against the Navajos, which may have weakened them enough to contribute to their later defeat by the U.S. Army a little over a decade later.²⁰⁹ The Utes continued to trade Indian children for goods and livestock at an initially increased pace. But the traffic declined considerably over the following years.²¹⁰ While some of the motives behind the law may have been altruistic, Wakara’s Utah slave trade still caused grief and pain to the parents and children of those

²⁰⁸ William J. Bauer Jr., *We Were All Like Migrant Workers Here: Work, Community, and Memory on California’s Round Valley Reservation, 1850-1941*, (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2009). 33-35.

²⁰⁹ Jones, *The Trial of Don Pedro León*, 96; David M. Brugge, *Navajos in the Catholic Church Records of New Mexico, 1694-1875, Research Report no. 1*, (Window Rock, AZ: Navajo Tribe Parks and Recreation Department, 1968), frontispiece, 30, 35-38, 147.

²¹⁰ Jones, *The Trial of Don Pedro León Luján*, 1-4, 95-9; *United States v. Pedro León et al.*, in First Judicial Court, “Minutes,” Document 1533, 11-13, microfiche, Utah State Archives, Salt Lake City, UT. See also, Brigham H. Young, “An Act for the relief of Indian slaves and prisoners,” (footnote 84 in this thesis.)

he stole, and placed these trembling, frightened captives into a culture very different from their own, and imposed new identities upon them.

Residual Trade

Despite the Indenture law and the trial of Don Pedro León, the Utah slave trade did not die easily. In 1853 a party of traders from New Mexico returned to Utah and arrived in Sanpete County to reassert their right to trade with the Indians without Mormon interference. Led by Dr. C.A.W. Bowman, a New York-born mountain man and resident of Abiquiu, the slave traders threatened to “use all the Mormons up” and claimed to have “four hundred” New Mexicans waiting to support Bowman. Brigham Young called out a detachment of the territorial militia who found no resistance as they rode south to Manti. Bowman died, shortly after, at the hands of Utes who believed he cheated them, but not before he managed to stir up the Utes and Wakara by claiming that the Mormons were not giving them enough in trade for the use of their land. Of course Bowman should not get all the blame for the Walker War that followed. Mormon attempts to regulate Ute trade, in accordance with federal laws, and appropriate Indian lands constituted a major cause, as did Ute frustration with Mormon use of Ute lands, the dwindling slave trade and passage of a recent territorial law that shut off the flow of trade guns to the Utes. A plaintive western Ute expressed his frustration: “Without our guns we cannot hunt or defend our families ... we are not anybody now.”²¹¹ Angered by the restrictions and desperate to obtain food, the Utes turned to the last resort—Mormon livestock. Wakara and his warriors launched a series of raids against Mormon settlements in 1853. Initially successful, the raids forced Mormons to “fort up” and

²¹¹ Carter, “The Indian and the Pioneer,” 121, in Van Hoak, *Waccara’s Utes*, 86.

increase the number of guards watching cattle herds. The resulting Walker War of 1853 claimed the lives of about 60 Utes and at least 28 Mormons,²¹² as well as eight members of a U.S. Army surveying party under the direction of Captain John Gunnison.²¹³ When Utes ran low on supplies and food and sued for peace, the war tapered off and ended without resolving many issues. Wakara's death from pneumonia in 1854 and continued restrictions foreshadowed the loss of Ute lands and marked the beginning of the decline of Ute slave trading.²¹⁴ Within a decade many of the Utes would be relocated by the federal government to the Uintah reservation in northeastern Utah. Three hundred years of slave trade in the Southwest Borderlands faded away within twenty years of the Indenture law's passage and the Leon trial.

²¹² Black Hawk Productions. "Utah Indian Wars Timeline." Accessed June 30, 2012.

<http://www.blackhawkproductions.com/Black%20Hawk%20War%20Timeline.htm>

²¹³ James Schiel, *The land between: Dr. James Schiel's account of the Gunnison-Beckwith expedition into the West, 1853-1854*, (Los Angeles, CA: Westernlore Press, 1957), 1; Gottfredson, *Depredations*, 43-83.

²¹⁴ Jones, *The Trial of Don Pedro León Luján*, 104-06; *Deseret News*, Salt Lake City, UT., December 15, 1853, 2, April 30, 1853, 3; Daniel W. Jones, *Forty Years Among the Indian: A True Yet Thrilling Narrative of the Author's Experiences Among the Natives*, (Salt Lake City, Utah: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1890), 54-55.



Figure 5 Abiquiu, New Mexico²¹⁵

²¹⁵ Wikipedia. "Abiquiu, New Mexico." Accessed April 15, 2012.
http://en.wikipedia.org/Abiqui%C3%BA,_Mexico

Chapter three:

Growing Up Indentured or Adopted: Accommodation, Resistance and Identity, 1854-1870

As the Wakara era of raiding and trading began to die, and throughout the years that followed, Native Americans captured, traded, given away, or sold into Mormon homes experienced the difficult cultural shift from growing up Native American to growing up Mormon. Latter-day Saint families, many of whom had acquired these children out of a sense of religious duty, commenced the difficult task of fostering these children in a new culture, with mixed results. Most of these parents felt little or no need to preserve Indigenous customs, so the children, while retaining the external physical characteristics that Mormons and other Euro-Americans used to identify them as “Indians,” were taught to respond as members of Mormon society. Their efforts to reconcile past and current imposed identities interacted with the kind or malicious actions of those around them, resulting in various behaviors that manifested their uniquely constructed internal identities. Some of them learned to live in the seams between cultures, some accepted the new culture, and some resisted it.

All this played out within the wider context of Utah Indian struggles to retain a place in the rapidly changing Great Basin environment as thousands of new Mormon settlers swarmed across the land and pushed their old way of life into the past. Additional tensions between non-Mormon federal appointees and elected Mormons in the territorial government, during these years, conspired to make all these struggles more difficult. Federal officers sent from the east to administer the judicial and bureaucratic workings of a territorial government clashed with Mormon territorial governor, Brigham Young, and an almost exclusively Mormon legislature. Local secular courts that grew out

of the original LDS Bishop's councils, and often used the local bishop as the judge, dealt with secular matters prior to the arrival of federal appointees.²¹⁶ When federal judges and law enforcement officials arrived, these councils tended to continue business as usual, ignoring or marginalizing the appointees. The resulting angry charges and counter charges precipitated the Utah War (1857-1858) that brought U.S. troops to Camp Floyd in the western Utah desert, and "Gentile" businesses and opposition newspapers to Salt Lake City.²¹⁷ Some of the appointees' accusations included the charge that Mormons were stirring up the Indians against non-Mormons, a charge mostly but not entirely untrue.²¹⁸ Mormon attempts to maintain cordial relations with the Great Basin bands suffered from the initial strains of both groups claiming the right to use the land, as well as the growing difficulty of dealing with simultaneous federal threats and Indian needs. The 1856 Republican platform stated the resolve to destroy "those two relics of barbarism, Slavery and Polygamy," presaging the post-Civil War federal struggle to control Mormon practices.²¹⁹

²¹⁶ "The State of Deseret also set up a judiciary. Civil courts replaced the high council and bishop's courts of the "theodemocracy." The latter courts had been adequate during the first years, but with the "gold rush" to California, legal disputes developed which church courts could not resolve. A church court might render a fair decision, but in a case involving Mormons and non-Mormons, a decision was almost certain to be condemned as partial, especially if the non-Mormon lost. This problem was not entirely solved by the establishment of civil courts, because the chief justice and associate judges were all church leaders, and the magistrates of the lower courts were primarily ward bishops. But despite claims of prejudice and unfairness, the courts continued to render an important service to Mormon settlers and people passing through the territory." Eugene E. Campbell, *Establishing Zion: The Mormon Church in the American West, 1847-1869*, (Salt Lake City, UT: Signature Books, 1988), 206.

²¹⁷ James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Co., 1976), 298-99; Sherman L. Fleek, "The Church and the Utah War, 1857-58," in *Nineteenth-Century Saints at War*, ed. Robert C. Freeman (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 2006), 81-106; Christensen, *Sagwitch*, 115-117.

²¹⁸ Norman F. Furniss, *The Mormon Conflict 1850-1859*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1960), 64-65. "Provo Stake President James C. Snow [said]...If the Saints ever 'did come in contact with Uncle Sam,'...they would discover 'that the Lord has got a Battle axe that the Gentiles does not dream o[f]'—a reference to the Indians whose favor the Mormons were trying to gain." Walker, et al., *Massacre at Mountain Meadows*, 108.

²¹⁹ Independence Hall Association. "Republican Platform of 1856." Accessed April 16, 2012. http://www.ushistory.org/gop/convention_1856republicanplatform.htm

During the Civil War, several children were adopted by Mormon families after surviving two horrific massacres perpetrated by a Union California volunteer regiment of the U.S. Army. At the Bear River Massacre and at a subsequent battle the volunteers killed hundreds of Shoshones and Bannocks. Five surviving children, left homeless and wounded in the attacks, required medical attention, food and clothing, which the Mormons in southern Idaho and northern Utah provided. One of the five died and the remaining four were adopted into Mormon homes.

Against this backdrop of conflict and upheaval, Native American children in Mormon homes began to reach maturity and assert their own identities. Mormon foster-parents or indenture holders attempted to teach them while trying to reconcile deeply held cultural prejudices with a sense of mission, and reality.²²⁰

Negotiation

During these years Mormons continued to trade for or purchase Native American children. One of the most detailed of all accounts of such a trade involves two-year-old Anne's arrival in the Marshall family, as told by Earl Marshall, a grandson of George Marshall, who made the trade. While the account gives us a detailed and colloquial look at the process of trading for a child as well as the fears, negotiations and formalities involved, caution must be taken in ascribing historical accuracy to the source for at least two reasons: First the account is from a secondhand source, related to and sympathetic with the white participant in the trade. Second, the language placed in the Native American participant's mouth is almost certainly inaccurate. The racially coded language favors the white participants and demeans the Native Americans. Understanding that the

²²⁰ Elijah Nicholas Wilson, *Among the Shoshones*, (Salt Lake City, UT: Skelton Publishing Company, 1910).

account partakes of this type of bias, it nevertheless represents a dialogue that at least captures some flavor of the negotiations involved in such a trade.

George Marshall settled in Pine Canyon, Tooele County, where he bred and trained horses. While gathering cattle in the canyon he “met an Indian on a horse, who had a little girl...about two years old...with him.” Marshall asked if he was herding cattle, and the Indian said no. Then he continued in “very broken English,”

“I’ve got too many children, and my wife’s got another new baby and I’ve got to get rid of this one.”

George asked, “Well, how ya gonna do it?” The Indian answered in his language (which George apparently understood) and led George to believe that he might abandon or kill the girl. George exclaimed, “Oh, don’t do that!”

The father replied, “Yes, I can’t feed ‘em. Squaw gonna have another one.”

Marshall paused, then said, “[G]ive it to me. I’ll take it and feed it and save it. But I don’t want you to take it back, when it gets a little bigger, when it could kind of help the family...We don’t want to raise a baby and then [you] come and take it away [from] us again. So...I’ll pay ya for the little girl.”

The Indian asked, ‘Will you give me that horse you’re riding?’”

Marshall was riding his prize saddle horse and hesitated, but he knew that is what the Indian wanted, so they negotiated. Marshall “played with the little girl and talked to her while the Indian was looking the [over] the horse.”

Then Marshall said, “Get on the horse and ride it up the trail a little ways and back.” So the Indian “rode the horse both ways, turned it around, and *crowed* it, (made it

buck with an arched back and stiff-legged hop) one thing and another, and the Indian come back to him.” Then the father of the little girl said:

“You like that baby?”

Marshall replied, “I don’t want ya to kill the baby. I would take it and raise it. But I’d want it to be our girl when it grows up and not yours.”

The Indian agreed, “Alright, I’ll give you the girl for the horse.”

Marshall told him, “I wouldn’t let ya have the saddle, because that’s the only saddle I’ve got, and I...use...[it]all the time.”

The Indian agreed, and Marshall “asked the little girl if she’d like to be his little girl and go with him and live with his wife.” Then he and the Indian rode to the Marshall house and George took her in to show his wife.

“[W]ell, see what I got for ya. I’ve got a little girl for ya.”

His wife Agnes looked skeptical, “Oh you can’t have that little girl. We’d just get attached to it and the Indian [would] come to trade back.”

To assuage her concerns and after further discussion, the Marshalls and the Indian “all signed a cross and made out a little bill of sale for the trade.” The Indian returned to his camp and “got the baby’s mother and two Indian men as witnesses. And they all signed a cross and made out a little bill of sale for the trade. And the ol’ Indian, he signed it and his wife signed it. And then he made those two other Indians sign it as witnesses.”

“The ol’ Indian, he was awful tickled,” adds Earl, narrating the story, but the little girl’s mother seemed less pleased, or as Earl puts it she “was about to squawk.”

Marshall insisted, “Now make up your mind right now and never change it, because you can’t have this baby back if you take the horse.”

The Indian and his wife made their decision, and they rode off—the Indian on his new horse—“grinnin’ all over.”

George and Agnes named the baby Anne, but Marshall soon experienced single fatherhood when Agnes died within the year. George remarried within months and moved to Panaca, Nevada. In the 1869 census Anne, aged sixteen, still lived with the family.²²¹

Reading the story at the face value assigned by the narrator, the Indian father who traded Ann implied harm to the girl to gain trading leverage. The narrator tells the story in a way to make the trade appear less callous on the part of the Mormon grandfather, and favors the Mormon perspective that these trades were mostly beneficial for the children involved, an assertion that may not be valid. Earl Marshall’s reference to the little girl as “it,” and her father as “the Indian” projects a narrative style that objectifies the Indigenous participants. The negotiation sounds more like the Marshall’s purchasing a pet than adopting a child. The mother of the child, who must be understandably distraught over the loss of her child “squawks” like an animal rather than weeping for her child. The source trivializes a highly emotional parting of mother and child.

This does not diminish the fact that some slave traders did resort to overt threats as a means of persuasion. Those who rode up to Stephen Markham’s Spanish Fork, Utah County, were much more blatant. They had a “two or three year-old” girl and demanded that Markham trade his cattle for the captive. When Markham demurred one of the band pulled the girl off a horse and dragged her towards the Markham’s chopping block and ax

²²¹ Steven M. Marshall, “Interview with W. Earl Marshall, (1894-1983) 1974, Panguitch, Utah,” Transcript ed. Nancy Saunders, November 11, 1998, (copy courtesy of Brian Q. Cannon, in possession of author), 1-4; Familysearch. “Anne Marshall.” Accessed April 17, 2012. <https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.2.1/MWLH-HR8>

in the dooryard. Markham relented and gave them “all the steers.” The offer of more than one steer to avert the slaver’s threat depleted the Markham family available food at a time when food was scarce. This act indicates the unwillingness of a Mormon settler to see a child suffer or die. The Markhams named the child Julie Ann.²²²

Not all Native children came unwillingly to Mormon families. Batese, a nine-year-old Indian, of unknown tribal affiliation, ran away from his band after shooting a cousin in the foot with an arrow. He eventually took refuge with the Moses Sanders family, who were then living at Fort Supply, later Fort Bridger, in southwestern Wyoming. He not only stayed with them there but also moved with them back to Sanpete County.²²³

Occasionally the first trade was prelude to a second trade between Mormons. The Utes sold “Piede” (Paiute) captive Badigee to Z.N. Baxter of Nephi, when the boy was seven-months-old. Baxter later “presented [him] to J.L. Heywood, who raised him and named him Omer Badigee Heywood.” Again we have the transfer of the child from a Ute trader to an original owner, master or foster parent who then “gives” him to yet another person. We wish for more details. Perhaps there was a family relationship, a nephew gifting an uncle or a father-in-law to a son-in-law. Then again, perhaps Baxter simply owed Heywood money. The sources are silent. Badigee grew to be a faithful member of the LDS faith and received ordination to the priesthood. His behavior seems to indicate accommodation of LDS beliefs, and the esteem in which the community held

²²² Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, V. 4, 194.

²²³ Johnson, “Indian Tribes,” 411-14.

him, according to the record, and their sorrow when he died at age twenty indicates that his effort to belong was accepted by his peers.²²⁴

Growing up in a Mormon Home

On September 15, 1858, in the Great Salt Lake Valley, Utah Territory, a group of Pahvants traded a three-year-old boy and two buckskins to John Bennion for a horse. The primary written evidence of the event comes from John Bennion's journal and letters.²²⁵ The boy, Water Basket (Kanosh in his language) left no record of his experiences that day.²²⁶ But perhaps September 15, 1858 began something like this: Kanosh awakened, squinting against the light pouring through the lodge flap. His three-year-old body shivered in the chill as he wrapped the rabbit-skin blanket about his shoulders.²²⁷ He stepped into the sunshine and breathed deeply. Sage and greasewood smoke drifted on the still morning air. His stomach rumbled at the smell of cooking as his aunt dropped hot stones into the bubbling liquid in the willow cooking basket.²²⁸ Off in the distance, mist rose from the river, partially obscuring the dusting of snow on the eastern mountains. Kanosh went to the fire and gingerly retrieved a modest chunk of steaming

²²⁴ William R. Palmer, "Pahute Indian Government and Laws," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, April, 1929, 38.

²²⁵ John Bennion, "Diary, September 15-17, 1858," Accessed March 5, 2010.

http://content.lib.utah.edu/cdm4/item_viewer.php?CISOROOT=/UU_EAD&CISOPTR=1795

John Bennion, "John Bennion to Edward Wainwright, April 10, 1859," in Ruth W. Rogers, *Bennion Family History: Vol. 4 John Bennion Family*, (Salt Lake City, Utah: Bennion Family Association, 1990), 40.

²²⁶ For another example of this style and viewpoint of narration see, Daniel K. Richter, *Facing East From Indian Country: A Narrative history of Early America*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001); Twila Van Leer, "LDS Ute Chief praised by Indians, whites alike." *Deseret News*, Salt Lake City, Utah: March 12, 1994. "His [Chief Kanosh's] name was a combination of 'Kan' or willow and 'outch, urch or ous,' words for an ordinary water jar. He wrote it 'K-nos' when he...sign[ed] an early peace pact with the Pioneers." Ethnohistories of Great Basin Indigenous may help reconstruct events. See Holt, *Beneath These Red Cliffs*; Isabel T. Kelley, *Paiutes Indians II: Southern Paiute Ethnography*, (New York N.Y.: Garland Publishing, Inc. 1976). Martha C. Knack, *Boundaries Between*. Walker, "Native Women on the Utah Frontier," 87-124.

²²⁷ Kelley, *Southern Paiute Ethnography*, 68.

²²⁸ Scott Dano, Living History School. "Bushcraft Indian Stone Boiling in a Basket." Accessed February 26, 2010. <http://www.youtube.com/user/LivingHistorySchool?feature=mhw5#p/u/1/ydu0r9UVPHU>

rabbit. His aunt gave him a mock frown and shooed him away.²²⁹ Yet, she worried for there was little for her own children to eat. Kanosh wandered from the fire and thought of his mother. He missed the safe warm smell of her, the odor of earth and sage.

Kanosh's Pahvant kin had taken him from the Tooele Mountains after his mother died the previous spring. The Pahvant ranged the Great Basin in search of fodder for their horses and food for their children. They were returning from the Wasatch Mountains to the western desert, where it was warmer and the winter grass more plentiful for grazing.²³⁰ Their sixteen lodges stood on the river flats. Their horses fed in the field of the Mormonee, Bennion.²³¹ Four days earlier, Bennion had come with Terry, the Mormonee who talked Pahvant, to complain. Terry said their horses could not eat all Bennion's grass. Kanosh's uncle replied that the land belonged to all. "Did they not share it with the Mormonee? Was it not right for the Mormonee to let his hungry horses graze?" Terry said that the Chief of the White Father would send soldiers if the band did not move. On this fourth day Bennion returned, riding a fine, well-fed horse, to insist that they leave. The Pahvants appraised the horse. Was it not a fine beast? Their own animals were weak from the journey and this horse could bear many of their burdens. Perhaps they could barter in return for their leaving. But what to trade? Kanosh, the son

²²⁹ Anne M. Smith, "Ethnography of the Northern Utes," 144-45; "Adult attitudes toward children were completely permissive and little ones were not restrained from doing what they wanted, unless they were endangering themselves. Small children were immediately comforted if they fell or hurt themselves in any way."

²³⁰ Dorina Martineau, (Cultural Resource Liason, Kanosh Paiute Band, Cedar City, Utah), in a phone conversation with the author on March 3, 2010 Ms. Martineau stated that Kanosh was probably Pahvant based on the information provided by the author. She also told the author the story of Chief Kanosh's name. She said that it means Water Basket. Water was carried in a woven willow basket, coated with pinion or greasewood sap for waterproofing. As a boy, Chief Kanosh was fond of a particular basket and claimed it as his own; "Me Kanushi," thus the name Kanosh. Ed Naranjo, (Goshute Tribal Office, Ibapa, Utah) and Pearl Littlegeorge, (Ute Library, Ute Tribe of Utah, Ft. Duchesne, Utah) in conversations later on March 3, 2010, concurred with Ms. Martineau's belief that three-year-old Kanosh was Pahvant. Stephen P. Van Hoak, "Waccara's Utes."

²³¹ For the term Mormonee, see Allen and Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 304.

of Tunup, was an extra mouth to feed. Yes, and what else? Those two newly tanned hides might do. They took Kanosh and brought him to Bennion. “Take this boy and these buckskins for your horse and we will leave,” they said. “His father died; his mother is dead too. He is Kanosh.” The Mormonee’s eyes widened in surprise and he hesitated, then dismounted and handed the halter rope to Kanosh’s uncle. Quick fear washed over Kanosh. His lip quivered and he fought back tears. He did not want to go with Bennion. He resisted as his uncle pushed him away. Bennion took the struggling boy by the hand, turned and walked away from the camp. Kanosh hung back, looking over his shoulder, he saw Bennion’s horse whinny and jerk her head back toward her retreating owner. Kanosh’s old life faded in the distance.²³²



Figure 6 Ute women and children²³³

John Bennion described the day that he brought three-year-old Kanosh home, in his diary: “Yesterday a band of Indians come [sic] & camped in my field I invited them

²³² John Bennion, “John Bennion to Edward Wainwright, G.S. Lake County April 10, 1859,” in *Bennion Family History*, Rogers, 40, 126-127.

²³³ Blackhawk Productions. “Ute Women and Children.” Accessed March 15, 2010. <http://www.blackhawkproductions.com/images/ute4.jpg>

to leave by an interpreter Jos [sic] Terry & go outside my field but they wouldn't ...Went to city with tithing of wheat 10 lbs 40 lbs lambs wool 11 lbs butter...I saw Gov Cummings about moving the Indians he told me to get major Allen to muster his men & put them out of the field forthwith ...The Indians were moving off early this morning 16 lodges He had a boy about 3 years old to sell for a horse I give [sic] them the horse I was riding and took the boy, they said his father died some time before his name was Kanosh in cropping [sic] his hair with shears I cut his ear to the bottom of it accidentally."²³⁴ The Bennions were claiming Kanosh as theirs by removing the cultural cues of the "other," as did many of their friends and neighbors.

Seven months later, in a letter to his father-in-law, Edward Wainwright, John added: "[A]bout seven months ago I bought an Indian boy, then about three years old ...[T]he morning [the Indians] moved away, I went to see them riding on my poney [sic], they bantered me for a trade, would give me the boy & two buckskins for my poney [sic], I consented they took the horse and I the boy, took him home, Esther washed & put cloaths on him, he was an orphan, his Indian relatives forsake him as I would a horse I had sold, he soon felt at home among our children."²³⁵ This source, apparently written with no expectation of being published, gives evidence that some trades were lacking in emotion. In this case Kanosh may have been taken from another band, or more likely, in light of later knowledge about his relatives, the family member who traded him was a distant relative and relieved to be rid of a burden. Children in such families may have, in the words of one scholar, "represented one more pair of arms" to help gather food, but also "an additional mouth to feed." In such cases, children may have been "tolerated, like

²³⁴ John Bennion, "Diary," September 15-17.

²³⁵ John Bennion, "John Bennion to Edward Wainwright, G. S. Lake County April 10, 1859," in *Bennion Family History*, Rogers, 126-127.

stray dogs and permitted to stay as long as they were useful.”²³⁶ Alternatively, Kanosh’s family may have had a difficult time deciding to trade him for sorely needed resources—a hard decision to make.

Certainly Kanosh’s trade resembled earlier transactions. Marginal food and clothing resources among Native American family clusters, in the 1850s Great Basin, became harder to find as Mormon settlers appropriated the best fields and river bottoms for their own use. As previous narratives indicate, sometimes the families themselves simply gave away a child when resources became so scarce that the child represented a burden rather than an asset. This practice extended to young women as well. Joshua Terry, John Bennion’s companion and interpreter, married a Shoshone woman. Of that event, Terry noted that the Shoshone ceremony consisted simply of Terry giving his bride’s father “the required horse, and the girl followed [Terry] and began to work.”²³⁷

As Kanosh’s Pahvant camp disappeared in the distance he squirmed and struggled to be free from Bennion’s hand, but the big man gripped his small hand tight and pulled him rapidly along through the sagebrush and cactus, raising puffs of dust with each step staining Kanosh’s cheeks where the tears ran down. Kanosh’s short legs struggled to keep up with Bennion’s stride. Soon a square Mormonee lodge loomed ahead. New strange smells assailed Kanosh’s nose and he trembled with fright. A great commotion arose from the bigger lodge as Mormonee boys ran shouting towards him. They made strange noises. Dogs barked, cattle bawled and the air smelled like leather and dung.

²³⁶ Andrés Reséndez, *A Land so Strange: The Epic Journey of Cabeza de Vaca*, (New York, NY: Basic Books, 2007), 146.

²³⁷ Walker, “Native Women on the Utah Frontier” 101. While Mormons actually went against the grain of most frontier settlements in possessing a larger ratio of women to men and thus did not need Indigenous women as greatly to serve as a reproductive resource as, for example, New Mexico, a number of Mormon men did marry Native American women. These marriages are discussed in Chapter five.

Bennion pulled Kanosh through a dark hole in the side of the lodge. It was too dark to see anything at first, then his eyes adjusted and he saw a tall Mormonee woman looking at him with sad eyes. She said something to Bennion and shook her head. The man returned her kind of noises and she turned and left the room. One of the boys came inside with a water basket that shined like the sky. The woman returned with a bigger water basket like the little one.²³⁸ Bennion took Kanosh's rabbit blanket away. Kanosh tried to hold on but the man jerked hard and it came loose. Bennion wrinkled his nose and gave Kanosh's soft blanket to a boy, who took it outside. Bennion lifted Kanosh up and put him in the big water basket. Then the woman poured cold water over Kanosh's head and he spluttered and began to cry, but she rubbed him all over with a stinky square that foamed like yucca root. Kanosh got some of the bubbles in his mouth and he spit out the bitter taste. Bennion took him out of the basket and rubbed him with a scratchy piece of cloth, then sat him on a big flat piece of wood. The woman held down one of Kanosh's hands and the boy who took his blanket pulled on the other. Bennion picked up two long sharp knives that made scraping noises when he pushed them together. He took Kanosh's long hair in his hand and cut some of it with the knives. Kanosh flinched. There was a sharp pain on his ear and he felt warm blood trickle down his neck. He wept, great sobs shaking his body. The sad eyed woman picked him up and held him tight. He struggled but she held him tighter and made funny quiet noises with her mouth.

²³⁸ Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins, *Life Among the Paiutes: Their Wrongs and Claims*, (1883), Accessed February 17, 2010. http://www.yosemite.ca.us/library/life_among_the_piutes/first_contact.html "So I went to [my father] with my head down, not because I was afraid he would whip me,—no—no, for Indians do not whip their children. Oh, how happy I was when he told me he would give me something very beautiful. It was a little cup, and it made me very glad, indeed; and he told me it was to drink water out of, not to wear. He said, — I am going to tell you what I did with a beautiful gift I received from my white brothers. It was of the same kind, only it was flat and round, and it was as bright as your cup is now."

She was soft and warm and he made small breathing noises that made him tremble until he slept.²³⁹

As Mormons encountered Native Americans, they found that the ideal of the chosen Lamanites of the House of Israel rising up to claim their blessings often clashed with the predominant Euro-American image of the Indians as fallen, dirty and degraded. In coping with this tension, Mormons tried to find ways to bring the latter image up to the higher standards of the former ideal. Thus the washing and clothing of Native American children, as in the case of Mary Mountain and Kanosh was a much noted and repeated feature in many literary and primary accounts of bringing Indian children into Mormon homes. This process, however, is not unique to the Mormons but seems almost ubiquitous in wider captivity and adoption narratives beyond those of the Mormons, and cannot even be classified as a unilateral phenomenon, limited to Euro-American captors and Native American captives. Indeed, a story from early New England narratives illustrates this process from the reciprocal point of view:

[T]here are at least two personal accounts of Kahnawake adoptions, one from the hand of a young Pennsylvania captive named James Smith, the other by Zadock Steele of Connecticut. Smith's experiences included an elaborate haircut, ear- and nose piercing, painting of face and body, several changes of clothing, a ritual bath, and speeches by tribal elders—all of which supposedly meant that 'every drop of white blood was washed out of your veins,' and 'you are adopted into a great family ... in the room and place of a great man.' Steele remembered similar features in 'the ceremony of my adoption, as well as that of many other prisoners.'²⁴⁰

²³⁹ Rogers, *Bennion Family History*, 40. "John...took the boy home with him. 'Don't you have enough boys John?' Esther [John's wife], asked him when she saw the small child. But she bathed the frightened boy, washed his hair and found clothes for him to wear. While John was cutting his hair, the scissors slipped, cutting the bottom of his left ear. The small boy whimpered and Esther's heart went out to him. She held him close and sang to him until he was quiet."

²⁴⁰ John Demos, *The Unredeemed Captive: A Family Story from Early America*, (New York City, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994), 82; James Smith, *An Account of the Remarkable Life and Travels of Col. James Smith*, in Archibald Loudon, ed., *Outrages Committed by the Indians*, (London 1808; repr. New York, 1971), 130; Zadock Steele, *The Indian Captive, or a Narrative of the Captivity and Sufferings of Zadock Steele*, (Montpelier, Vermont, 1786), 70

Like Kanosh, James Smith and Zadock Steele, those who traversed Native American-European borderlands often found that they needed to put on and put off successive identities as they crossed from one ethnic culture to another. Mormon Nick Wilson provides another example of a Euro-American who spent time with Native Americans and experienced the process of becoming part of the Shoshones and then reverting to his own Mormon culture. Wilson learned to speak the Shoshone dialect from a boyhood Goshute friend. Washakie's Shoshones, who camped in the area were impressed with Wilson's language skills and determined to ask the eleven-year-old if he wanted to come with them to their camp, miles away. They bribed him with a pony and Wilson told them he was afraid to go, but asked them what they ate. When they told him that they had "all kinds of meat and berries and fish, sage chickens, ducks, geese, and rabbits," Wilson determined that it sounded better than "greens and lumpy-dick," the customary bland pioneer fare, and decided to go with them. He was among them for two years. When he returned to his family, at the insistence of the Shoshones, and approached home country, Wilson realized that his appearance needed some revision. His account provides a mirror to that of the New England captives.

About noon, I came to some warm springs, and I thought it would be a good idea to wash my face and hands, as I had not done it very often during the past two years...I ran my fingers through my hair and tried to get the snarls out, but after I was dressed again, I could not see that I looked any better. My hands were like an Indian's and my costume was made in the latest Indian fashion. My leggings were made of new red flannel, my shirt of antelope skins, and my frock was heavy buckskin, smoked to a nice red color, and with beads of all colors in wide stripes down the breast and on the shoulders, and fringes all around the bottom that reached nearly to my knees. My cap was made of rawhide, with notches all around the top, and looked like a cross-cut saw turned upside down. It came to a peak in front and

mother put a crown in it with a musk-rat skin.²⁴¹

As he continued homeward, Wilson stopped at a cabin for the night. Despite his grooming attempts the women and children stared at him. “The children would look at me so that I did not know what to do,” he said. One of the ladies handed him a bar of soap and washbasin. “I guess you would like to wash before you eat,” she observed.²⁴² Nick Wilson spent two years as a Shoshone. He ate their food, pursued their customs and spoke their language. He also wore their clothing, made by the processes they had employed for centuries but if he returned to his old life and decided to stay, he would need to shed the physical identifiers of his Shoshone persona.

As with Wilson, so with Kanosh, Mary and others. Many Mormon pioneers told similar tales of washing and clothing newly acquired Indian children. Betsy Hancock Shurtliff, a foster sister to Tanequickeup, a nine-year-old Indian girl, remembered that when Tanequickeup came into the family she was “very lousy” so she was taken to the stable where “all her hair was cut off, and all her clothing burned.”²⁴³

While Mormons abhorred the children’s smells and appearance, to the children their odor seemed good and natural. The Great Basin Indians made objects and tools from the animals and plants they hunted and gathered. Indians used animal brains to tan hides and animal fat as a cosmetic and hair treatment. Women wove willow baskets and coated them with sap from pinions or desert bushes. Smoke preserved meat and served as a purification agent in ceremonies. All these possessed distinctive odors that might comfort a Pahvant child but cause a pioneer mother to wrinkle her nose. Different

²⁴¹ Elijah Nicholas Wilson, *Among the Shoshones*, 129-30.

²⁴² *Ibid.*

²⁴³ Melva Shurtliff Green, “Betsy Jane Hancock Shurtliff,” in *Chronicles of Courage, comp. Lesson Committee*, (Salt Lake City, Utah: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1990), 1:56.

cultures act and live differently and use the objects that surround them to create an environment with its own particular sights, sounds, scents, tastes and textures. Mormon music would sound strange to a Pahvant child, and Pahvant food might be difficult for some Mormons to eat. One can feel the deadening sense of deprivation and the unwelcome new smells and textures and tastes that lye soap, water and cotton or linsey-woolsey could represent to a Paiute child unwillingly leaving her culture and entering another.

Bearing in mind the abrupt changes in sight, sound, odor and taste Native Americans experienced as they entered a totally alien environment, and their corresponding appearance, demeanor, and smell to disapproving Mormon matrons, one might understand why both Indians and Whites altered the appearance of captives, not only to bring their outward appearance into culturally accepted norms, but also to expunge the “other” in them and induct them into the captor’s culture. Additionally, washing and clothing have religious overtones in Mormon culture that may have found unconscious expression as Mormon pioneer women scrubbed newly adopted family members. A verse from a Mormon hymn evokes this concept:

We'll wash and be wash'd, and with oil be anointed
Withal not omitting the washing of feet:
For he that receiveth his PENNY appointed,
Must surely be clean at the harvest of wheat.²⁴⁴

Not only physical dirt, but spiritual filth would need to be expunged, according to this salvational way of thinking. Perhaps Mormon mothers and father understood physical cleanliness as a prerequisite for repentance. Perhaps in this way they believed they could participate in redeeming the Lamanites. Some Mormon mothers may have seen hope that

²⁴⁴ William W. Phelps, “The Spirit of God Like a Fire is Burning”, *Messenger and Advocate*, January, 1836.

their Lamanite child could put off the old culture and their labors would not be in vain when they present a clean child, dressed in Euro-American style to the family. Others, perhaps, simply could not tolerate unfamiliar odors. Their imposition of external markers divided the adopted children from their birth culture and delineated the expectations for future behavior. Some children would seize the cues and build on them, some would resist and others would use ethnic behaviors from each culture. But each would construct an identity they could live with.

Kanosh chose to accept the family's proffered cultural examples. As the months passed, Kanosh became accustomed to the sounds and scents of the Bennion house. Noises made by the family became words and Kanosh soon learned make them too. Two years later on a January morning as the first light shined through the window and started to melt the frost on the panes, five-year-old Kanosh tried to hurry as he dressed. He barely remembered how tight and scratchy his wool trousers used to feel. Now he was happy to be warm and excited for the day to begin. John said he could go out to the sheep camp. Kanosh loved to be outdoors. He climbed down the ladder from the loft and went to the table where he quickly downed a bowl of bread and milk. Then John came in to get Kanosh. He called him "Kinny" now. The two stepped outside into the bright sunshine and John mounted up, reached down and pulled Kanosh up in front of him. He slapped the reins and they were off through the snowy fields to Bingham Creek. John and Kanosh relieved Samuel, John's oldest son, for several days until John Edward, the next oldest son at ten years of age, came to relieve John, who then left Kanosh alone with John Edward and the sheep herd, for four days. Upon returning to the sheep camp,

John stayed and sent the boys home, a full day's ride on horseback.²⁴⁵ It is clear that Kanosh worked at a very early age, but so did his foster brothers. On January 12, 1859 John's diary notes: "John E. herded sheep alone for the first [time] (8 years old)."²⁴⁶ In the summer of the same year he writes, "Harvesting wheat, Mary and John E. watering from big ditch, Angeline and Racheal putting up hay on the bottom."²⁴⁷ John Bennion, a stockman, taught Kanosh and his foster brothers and sisters the family business.

In 1861, John Bennion learned that "Kanosh's father's name was Tunup, and that his mother had died on the west side of the Tooele mountains in the spring of 1858, the year of his adoption. He had two brothers, Cabanup and O'Kagon and an Uncle Peter."²⁴⁸ The fact that John sought information about Kanosh's Pahvant family may indicate an effort to satisfy the requirements of the Indenture law of 1852, which specified that a written record should be filed in the probate court in which the court would try to determine "the name and age [of the indenture], [the] place where [the person was] born, [and the] name of parents if known." The probate judge also had to "try to find [to] which [band the] Indian person belonged, [the] name of the person having him in possession, [and the] name of [the] Indian from whom said person was obtained."²⁴⁹ The fact that John and Esther retained Kanosh's Pahvant name as his given name rather than changing it to English, or adding an English name to the Native American name, is relatively unique among the list of children adopted by Mormon families.²⁵⁰ This coupled with the other family information gathered by John about Kanosh's Pahvant family could indicate

²⁴⁵ Roberts, *Bennion Family History*, 42.

²⁴⁶ John Bennion, "Diary, January 12, 1859."

²⁴⁷ Ibid, "July 12, 1859."

²⁴⁸ Roberts, *Bennion Family History*, 42.

²⁴⁹ Young, *Acts, Resolutions, and Memorials*, "An Act for the relief of Indian slaves and prisoners," Sec. 2.

²⁵⁰ Kitchen, "Mormon Indian Relations in Deseret," Appendices D-E.

an effort to remember and honor Kanosh's origins and heritage or that Kanosh insisted on being called by his birth name.

Kanosh was baptized and confirmed a member of the LDS Church on July 9, 1865 at the age of ten.²⁵¹ Kanosh may have made his own decision when to be baptized, since Mormons typically baptize at eight years. We have no record of his feelings and John did not write of this baptism or those of his other children. However a search of the baptismal dates of all of the biological Bennion children indicates that all those who received baptism did so when they turned eight years of age. Kanosh was baptized on the same day as Maria, one of the other Bennion children. The Bennions apparently strongly believed in the practice of baptizing their children at the age the church specified. It is possible that Kanosh sensed that he had been left out when at an age two years past the time for baptism, his younger sister was preparing for that rite. This may explain why he became a member of the Church at this time.²⁵²

During fifty years of acquaintance with Goshutes, Utes and Paiutes in the Salt Lake and Rush valleys and in Nevada, Israel Bennion developed a keen appreciation for their friendship. By 1869 Israel's thirteen-year-old foster brother, Kanosh, acting as Israel's trail boss, and ten-year-old Israel, his sidekick, moved large herds of sheep in Rush Valley, separated by twenty to thirty miles and a mountain range from the Bennion homestead. Fifty years later, Israel reminisced: "[Kanosh] and I were driving a bunch of sheep from the Rush Valley ranch to Taylorsville, a two day trip...a fearful thunderstorm came up...My hat and part of our food were carried away by the flood so that one biscuit

²⁵¹ Familysearch. "Kanosh Bennion." Accessed February 20, 2010.
<https://new.familysearch.org/en/action/hourglassiconicview?svfs=1&familyid=p.L7N7-F1Z&focus=p.L7N7-F1Z&bookid=p.L7N7-F1Z>

²⁵² Ibid.

each was all the food we had left.” Israel continued, “That morning...we went by [Camp Floyd] on the west side, above the big spring. We reached Taylorsville about midnight; and Kanosh’s first thought revealed the whiteness of his unselfish soul. ‘Let’s not disturb Mother!’ So we crawled into the hay until morning. By the way, I never saw my ‘brother’ Kanosh again; he died of pneumonia before I returned from Dixie.”²⁵³

Israel’s wrote these reminiscences in 1929, fifty-six years after the fact. His use of the phrase “the whiteness of his unselfish soul” grates on racial sensibilities, and supports the idea that Mormons partook of the same racial stereotypes as much of the rest of the nation, in that era. Additional statements that Israel made about Kanosh add context:

“In our family, Kanosh was treated the same as the rest. He went to school, bathed, dressed, ate and slept, and was mother’s boy just the same as the rest of us...My description of the Indian boy would not be complete were I to omit saying here that he was clean, sweet, loyal, brave and sensitive.”²⁵⁴

More than simply making a stereotypical statement about Kanosh’s racial characteristics, Israel and, by extension, his family judged “whiteness” by behavior, not skin color. Later he was quoted as referring to Kanosh as “that white raised Indian boy, Kinny.” For the Bennions, and many Mormon pioneers, “good” or “civilized” behavior was “white” behavior. More than that, it was an indication of a Lamanite becoming “pure and delightful,” of gathering to prepare for Christ’s second coming. The Bennions probably believed that they honored Kanosh by treating him “just the same as” the rest of the children, even if this erased his Indianness. Men in his birth culture sold him away, and he was too young to remember it. He wanted to be one of the Bennion family, or at

²⁵³ Israel Bennion, “Indian Reminiscences,” *Utah Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 2 (April 1929): 44-45.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

least they believed he did. If Kanosh thought about his identity, he never left a record to explain. He became the “black hole” mentioned earlier, indicated only by the Mormon narratives and records surrounding him. Kanosh appears to have adapted to his new family. He took responsibility and contributed to the family good. At thirteen, as the trail boss, Kanosh made the decision not to wake the woman that Israel says he called mother, even though he had ridden all day, soaked to the skin, with no food. Kanosh, if we believe the secondary report, identified as a Mormon and a Bennion. He had been washed, clothed and taught in the Mormon way. Kanosh’s responses to their care pleased John and Esther, and he was rewarded by their love and friendship, which he reciprocated.

Not everyone accepted Kanosh as warmly. Another of Israel’s comments makes it obvious that he faced resistance and prejudice of a culture not inclined to tolerate “Indians.” A neighbor boy sneered, “‘John Bennion isn’t your father,’ Kanosh catapulted into his traducer and proceeded to prove that he was John Bennion’s son, or something just as good.”²⁵⁵ Had Kanosh remained with his Pahvant kin, life might have been short and brutal. Kanosh might have starved or have been traded to the Utes and taken to New Mexico. Or he might have lived a long life, had a family of his own and struggled through all that Native Americans dealt with in the late nineteenth century. He might have loved his Pahvant life and culture and experienced a sense of wholeness. All these contingent possibilities existed for Kanosh before he became Kanosh Bennion, lived for seventeen years, shared experiences with people he called his family and died too young, mourned by them.

²⁵⁵ Bennion, “Indian Reminiscences,” 45.

Prejudice and Preconceptions

The attitudes of members of the LDS Church and even the leaders about Native American customs, appearance and thinking vacillated between the prevailing aversion to Indians, the religious duty to reclaim them from their “fallen nature,” and occasional genuine trust and affection. A member of the Church’s Quorum of Twelve Apostles, Ezra T. Benson, addressing a conference in Provo on July 13, 1855 reveals the complex Mormon attitude concerning the “natives.” Benson quoted scripture saying, “except ye are of one heart and one mind, ye are not mine,” and maintained that many ways existed of “getting into heaven,” perhaps his way of enjoining tolerance for Native religion. Then Benson reminded his “brethren and sisters” of their “duty... to work and bring these natives to an understanding of the principles of civilization, to teach them to till the earth, and earn their bread by the sweat of their brows, and if they are needy and ask us, we should feed them, and at all times be an example to them.” He regretted that the members had “not been as faithful as we ought to have been in many of these things.” Benson recognized the difficulty of the task and revealed his own “repugnance” at the Indian’s “dirty practices.” Citing the example of the two Native American children, “a little boy and girl,” in his own home, Benson averred that he had “passed a great many of these things by; and this I have done because I knew what our duties were.” Benson promised the Provo Saints blessings for faithfully caring for the children they acquired: “In a short season we shall be rewarded for all that we do to civilize this lost and fallen race.” Lamenting that his Native American boy “had yet some of his Indian traits,” and presuming that “some time” would pass “before they are all erased from his memory,”

Benson nevertheless expressed faith that, “The little boy will soon be quite bright, his mind is becoming clear and perceptive.”²⁵⁶

According to a later account, Sam, the boy Benson mentioned in his exhortation, ran away, “presumably to Montana,” after Benson’s death saying that “he wasn’t going to be bossed by women... and was never heard from again.” The girl, Nellie, along with her brother, “attended school and [they] were treated just like the blood members of Benson’s family.” Nellie died at about forty years of age and never married.²⁵⁷

Mormon primary and secondary literature, from this time and well into the twentieth century, was filled with racial epithets and references that seemed innocuous to those who used them at the time, but transformed Native Americans into an “other.” Words like “brave,” “squaw,” and “papoose” found regular usage. Mormon settlers employed demeaning nicknames like “Jim Injun,” “Indian Mary,” and “Martha Squaw,” in the primary sources and others quoted them in later secondary accounts.²⁵⁸

Sometimes these sources dispensed left-handed compliments that revealed underlying attitudes. One young Native American, who fought on the Mormon side in the Blackhawk War, received frequent night-time scouting assignments because “he could see in the dark better than any white man.”²⁵⁹ Apostle George A. Smith’s wife Zilpha took in a Native American girl and sent her to school. According to Smith’s journal: “The school teachers said that it was a great deal of credit to mother; they said she was the first refined Lamanite they had ever seen.”²⁶⁰ Priscilla Leavitt Hamblin, mourning

²⁵⁶ Carter, *Heart Throbs*, 1: 46.

²⁵⁷ John H. Evans and Minnie E. Andersen, *Ezra T. Benson: Pioneer Statesman, Saint* (Salt Lake City UT: Deseret News Press, 1997), 283.

²⁵⁸ Any of the Carter compilations listed in the bibliography are replete with such references.

²⁵⁹ Johnson, “Indian Tribes,” 409.

²⁶⁰ George A. Smith (1817-1875) “Journal,” Typescript (19--?), L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Provo, UT.

the death of Ellen, her Paiute adopted daughter, said of her, “she was just a dusky little diamond,” while others noted that Mary Thompson mourned the death of her six-year-old foster brother “in the way that Indians mourn—stoically.”²⁶¹

Occasionally comments made in the secondary sources demonstrate digs at Native Americans trying to act “cultured.” A writer recalled that Mary Thompson, a Ute captive, who was traded for a sack of wheat, “would do none of the menial things of life.” While Julie Markham, for whom Stephen Markham had given up his steers, “being very proud, when she grew to young womanhood...seemed to desire a fair skin like her white sisters, so she always wore a sunbonnet to protect her face from the sun’s rays.”²⁶² The consistent employment of such words and characterizations appear emblematic of a wider American racism endemic to the mid-nineteenth century that found in Anglo-Saxon lineage a mark of superior rank and potential over what many Anglos believed to be less gifted, blood-lines. While early Euro-Americans, once were inspired by Enlightenment ideas about spreading republicanism and European culture to the Indigenes, by the mid 1800s the prevailing opinion shifted to a belief that the destruction and dispossession of the Indian nations owed more to what some viewed as their inherent racial inferiority. This, according to the prevailing thinking of the day, prevented civilized advancement, and doomed them to fail in their opposition to Anglo-Saxons.²⁶³

As Book of Mormon believers, the Latter-day Saints experienced the conflict between such positive and negative views of Indigenes. Were not the Native Americans heirs to the promises of Israel? In addition, many early Latter-day Saints felt less kindly

²⁶¹ Brooks, “Indian Relations,” 43; Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 124.

²⁶² Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 123, 194.

²⁶³ Reginald Horsman, “Manifest Destiny as a Turning Point in U.S.-Indian Policy,” in *The American Frontier*, James D. Torr, (San Diego, CA: Greenhaven Press, Inc., 2002), 89-95.

towards the federal government than towards recalcitrant Lamanites. This was because the government had allowed them to be driven out of numerous settlements, and interfered with doctrines such as plural marriage, which Mormons believed to be sanctioned and even required by God, while the Indians simply refused to accept Mormon warnings to turn from their wicked ways. Some years later, when polygamy abjured as a church doctrine, Mormons, eager to demonstrate national loyalty, drifted away from the concept of a Mormon-Lamanite destiny as gathered Israel and more toward an adoption of American Manifest Destiny. The former fondly held Mormon concept of Native Americans as Lamanites—heirs of Israel—would fade in favor of the more racist view of Native Americans as rebellious Indians—a dying breed. Emphasis on gathering the Lamanites would fade until the middle of the twentieth century.²⁶⁴

Family Rivalries and Resistance

Despite such prevailing national and Mormon currents of thought, individual families continued to work through real world circumstances and relationships. Some learned to love and appreciate each other, some experienced considerable difficulty in making blended cultures work. Not all members of every family got along equally well. As in all families, personalities played a major role in how the family fared. Battese Sanders, the young Indian who ran away to live with Mormons, demonstrated absolute devotion to John Sanders and even took John as his own given name for legal purposes. Battese also apparently had a crush on John's daughter Nancy, but considered "the rest of the family 'damn mean,'" and they apparently shared the antipathy believing that he

²⁶⁴ Mauss, *All Abraham's Children*, 69. Mauss notes that references to Lamanites in LDS Conference addresses between 1890 and 1959 were "very rare and those few could be found only among a small group of church leaders who "championed the cause of the Lamanites."

“continued to be unruly and savage.”²⁶⁵ When Samuel Knight married for a second time, his new wife, Laura “felt that she did not want [Samuel’s] Indian girl [Jane Knight] with her, so Jane came over to St. George from Santa Clara and lived at the homes of Richard Bentley and Erastus Snow.”²⁶⁶ Betsy Hancock complained about her foster sister Mary (Tanequickeup): “She was the only one I ever contended with.” Betsy continued, “[S]he would aggravate me until I would strike her, then she would hit or scratch me with her long fingernails. She would steal from any and everyone. Father punished her severely at times, but it did no good, and finally she ran away and married a Spaniard.”²⁶⁷ Betsy, judging by her comments, seems to have been Tanequickeup’s rival and resented her presence in the family. The final reference to another ethnic type with which Betsy was apparently none too comfortable reinforces the impression. These references provide evidence that some Mormons did not welcome Native American children in their homes or society.

Some Native Americans reacted negatively and even violently to the new culture. Shem Parkinson, a child survivor of the Bear River Massacre, pulled a knife on his foster father and neighbors restrained him. The twentieth century secondary account of this incident, written by a Parkinson descendant, places blame for the incident on a “deep-seated hostility the boy felt towards...white [men]” despite the Parkinson’s “best efforts” as they “reared him with [their] own children for twelve years.”²⁶⁸ However, no specifics about the specific circumstances surrounding the incident exist.

²⁶⁵ Johnson, “Indian Tribes,” 412.

²⁶⁶ Carter, *Heart Throbs*, 112-13.

²⁶⁷ Green, *Chronicles of Courage*, v. 1, 56.

²⁶⁸ Lester Parkinson Taylor, *Samuel Rose Parkinson: Portrait of a Pioneer*, (Provo, UT: The Claymont Co., 1977), 70-71.

Paiute Nellie Judd chose flight and ran away from the Judd family after her dying Indian brother, Lamoni, told her that “the food of the white folks would kill the Indians if they eat it.” The Judds apparently knew that she planned to leave but did not attempt to stop her. Historian Juanita Brooks believes that “either they thought that she would be happier among the Indians, or they were mildly relieved to have her go.”²⁶⁹ Indeed, the Mormon hopes for and ideals of “redeeming the Lamanites” sometimes collided with the reality of living in close proximity to Indians, and Indian beliefs that they could harness the good-will or coexist unchanged with the Mormons met similar reality checks. This may be well represented by the story of Sarakeets and Wilford Woodruff.

On March 21, 1857, Wilford Woodruff, apostle and future president of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, wrote in his journal, “I bought an Indian boy of Brother Willis this morning abot [sic] 6 years old. His Indian name was Saroquetes. We call him Nephi. He appears like a smart active good boy. I paid \$40 for him.”²⁷⁰ Woodruff hoped that he would be able to “educate him & prepare his mind that he may some day be useful in preaching to his tribe.”²⁷¹ Woodruff perhaps was thinking of The Book of Mormon account of the ancient prophet, Samuel the Lamanite, who not only converted to the true faith, but courageously went to Nephite backsliders and prophesied to them at the risk of his life.²⁷² Mormons also understood the difficulty involved in teaching religious doctrines to someone in a foreign language. Woodruff’s experiences as a pioneer and missionary had surely taught him this lesson. Perhaps then, with

²⁶⁹ Minerva Dart Judd (1838-1909) “Autobiography: 1885,” photocopy of microfilm copy of a typescript. Harold B. Lee Library, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Provo, UT., 28; Brooks, “Indian Relations,” 33.

²⁷⁰ Scott G. Kenney, ed., *Wilford Woodruff’s Journal, 1833-1898*, 9 vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983-84), 6:388. (Many of the citations from the Woodruff Journals that follow are cited in: Cannon, *Native Children in Mormon Households*, 344, 349-350, 354, 357.

²⁷¹ Kenny, *Wilford Woodruff’s Journals*, 5:40-41

²⁷² *Book of Mormon*, Helaman, Chapters 13-15.

excitement over providing the Lord a new tool in the work who could teach in the Paiute tongue, Woodruff enrolled Sarakeets in a private school taught by Elizabeth Cowley in her home in the Fourteenth Ward.²⁷³

The name of Woodruff's Paiute boy varied in spelling over the course of Woodruff's journal and other records, written as Sarakeets, Sarraqueets, Sarokeets, Sarrowkeets and Sarroqueets, and occasionally "Keets".²⁷⁴ Whatever the spelling, Sarakeets displayed an independent streak that seemed to resistant to the Woodruff's most dearly held perceptions. One may discern a troubled relationship and Woodruff's disappointment at his apparent failure to mold Sarakeets into a useful missionary by the fact that after renaming the boy "Nephi," in his first entry about Sarakeets, he never used the name again in his journals and never spelled Sarakeet's name consistently. Three years older than Kanosh Bennion when he joined the Bennions, Sarakeets possibly remembered more of his pre-Mormon past. The "Brother Willis" who sold him to Woodruff for \$40 may have been Ira Jones Willis, a long-time member of the Church who lived in the Salt Lake City Fourteenth Ward, as did Woodruff. Willis had explored the Sanpete country when Walkara invited the Mormons to settle there. He may have acquired Sarakeets at that time, but this is not certain. It also remains uncertain whether Ira is the specific "Brother Willis" mentioned as the man who sold Sarakeets. However, Woodruff did note Ira Willis' death in 1863 in a wagon accident near Lehi, in Utah County. In that passage Woodruff noted that Willis still carried the scars from a

²⁷³ Mathias F. Cowley, *Wilford Woodruff: Fourth President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: History of His Life and Labors as Recorded in His Daily Journals*, (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News Press, 1909), 450.

²⁷⁴ Cannon, *Native Children in Mormon Households*, 357, footnote 77.

whipping by a mob in Missouri. Woodruff considered him a faithful Latter-day Saint.²⁷⁵ Sarakeet's experience with Willis is unknown but may explain Sarakeet's more daring and resistant nature. In all the entries we find no reference to the reason why Willis traded the boy away. It is unclear whether he went specifically to find a child for the Woodruffs, if he acquired the boy himself and found him unsatisfactory, or if he regularly engaged in slave trafficking.

Sarakeet's teenage years proved trying. His behavior evokes studies about African American resistance to slavery in the antebellum south. Slaves broke tools, feigned illness, worked slowly, "stole" food, became "saucy," manipulated tensions between masters and overseers and ran away. They also "drew their own lines, asserted rights and preserved their self-respect."²⁷⁶ One day, thirteen-year-old Sarakeets stole "twenty dollars" from Woodruff's wallet and spent it in the shops downtown. Woodruff discovered the missing money and went from shop to shop "searching out the matter."²⁷⁷ At seventeen Sarakeets took a horse up the canyon, ostensibly to cut wood, but was gone for several days. Woodruff sent someone to go search the hills. They found Sarakeets wandering in the canyon and he returned to the farm.²⁷⁸ Then, in the same year, matters came to a head. On October 26, 1868, Sarakeets, "in a fit of surliness," left his job, crushing cane at Woodruff's molasses mill. Woodruff's five-year-old son attempted to

²⁷⁵ Kenney, *Wilfred Woodruff's Journals*, v. 6, 139; more information on Willis: Long Island Surname Database. "Ira Jones Willes." Accessed May 11, 2012.

<http://longislandsurnames.com/genealogy/getperson.php?personID=1076&tree=Broucard>
Utah Census Search. "Xmission.com." Accessed May 11, 2012.

http://user.xmission.com/~nelsonb/census_search.htm

²⁷⁶ James Oakes, "The Political Significance of Slave Resistance," *History Workshop*, 22, Special American Issue, (Autumn, 1986): 89; Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll Jordan Roll: The World the Slaves Made*, (New York, NY: Pantheon Books, 1975), 147.

²⁷⁷ Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff's Journals*, 6:159.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid*, 6:411-412.

take Sarakeet's place, caught his hand in the rollers and lost a thumb and two fingers.²⁷⁹ The following day, Sarakeets left the Woodruff home. Woodruff, agonized that day in his journal about his two Indian boys, Moroni and Sarakeets. "I have raised two of them nearly from Childhood up But they have made me a good deal of trouble. They are vary [sic] uncertain help."²⁸⁰ The tension eventually lessened. By 1870, Sarakeets returned to work with Woodruff.²⁸¹ At age 29 Sarakeets was working as a teamster in another part of the valley, but he stayed in touch with Woodruff who reported in his journal in 1888 that Sarakeets had visited him.²⁸² Sarakeets eventually succumbed to alcoholism and died in the Salt Lake City rail yard.²⁸³

The overall picture, as in all human relationships, was complex. Sarakeet's troubled relationship with Woodruff demonstrated this complexity. The pattern indicates that the older children may have resisted more than those acquired at a younger age. But the tense relationship between Sarakeets and Woodruffs might as easily be attributed to the vagaries of personality conflict.

Appreciating the Other

While some families experienced difficulties exacerbated by cultural divergences, and others assimilated the children in their homes, some families began blending customs, languages and friendships. For example, Christian Nielson and his adopted children Christian and Lavina, Estella Burt and her friends the Navajos, Israel Bennion and his foster brother Kanosh Goshute, and Nick Wilson and his Shoshone mother, took

²⁷⁹ Cowley, *Wilford Woodruff*, pp. 454-455.

²⁸⁰ Kenney *Wilford Woodruff's Journals*, 6:436-437.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 6:522.

²⁸² Census Bureau, 1880 U.S. Census, Salt Lake County, Utah, Ft. Harrison Precinct, dwelling 57, microfilm. Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff's Journals*, 8:524.

²⁸³ Thomas G. Alexander, *Things in Heaven and Earth: The Life and Times of Wilford Woodruff, a Mormon Prophet*, (Salt Lake City, UT: Signature Books, 1993); Electronic Mail: Ann M. Jones to Wendy Taylor, April 3, 1997. (typescript copy courtesy of Brian Q. Cannon, in possession of writer)

steps outside their own cultures or invited the other culture in and learned to appreciate the individual personalities of their friends and adopted family members.²⁸⁴ These adventuresome people could not always reach entirely past preconceived notions about the alternative culture. But in their stories reside glimmers of hope that common humanity can bridge cultural chasms.

The Christian Nielson family left Denmark after converting to Mormonism. Christian's wife died in Denmark and he and his sons made the journey and settled in Manti, near Wakara's summer camp. Upon arriving in Utah, Nielson entered plural marriage, taking two wives, but both were childless, so Nielson and his second wife purchased two children and adopted them. They called the boy and girl Christian and Lavina. By the time the children spent a few years with the family they spoke not only their native Ute language but also English and Danish.²⁸⁵ Nielson wrote a letter to his relatives in Denmark describing his new situation.

"As for me and my wife," he wrote, "We have no children yet, but to satisfy her longing for children, last Winter about New Year's I bought a little girl, about 4-5 years old from the Indians, one of them stole the child from another Tribe." From Nielson's description he was pleased with the girl's progress. "[S]he is a good, obedient and friendly girl; she pleases us greatly; she is always pleasant and happy." As to her ability to communicate he affirmed that, "She understands our language very well, but now speaks a combination of the three languages, Indian, English and Danish." Nielson

²⁸⁴ Jorgen W. Schmidt, comp. *Oh Du Zion I Vest*, (Copenhagen, Denmark: Rosenkilde og Bagger, 1965); Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, v. 3, 452-53; Israel Bennion, "Indian Reminiscences," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 2 (April 1929): pp. 44-45; Elijah Nicholas Wilson, *Among the Shoshones*, (Salt Lake City, UT: Skelton Publishing Co., 1910).

²⁸⁵ Carter, *Heart Throbs*, v.1, 161.

mentioned the price they paid for Lavina—“about a hundred dollars;” one wonders whether Nielson was relatively wealthy or not much of a negotiator as this seems to be a higher price than other children mentioned. Perhaps his wife desperately wanted children and Christian did his best to please her. Nielson continued the letter by explaining the terms of the indenture for Lavina. “According to the law she belongs to us until she is 16 years old, and we are responsible during that time to keep her in school and raise her as our child.”²⁸⁶

Nielson’s comments in a later letter provide further insight. “Most of the danish Children and the young folk,” he contended, “speak very good English and Indian.” Apparently a large number of Utes and Sandpitches lived nearby, for Nielson wrote that “we may soon learn Indian, as we converse more often with them than with Americans. We already speak a little of both languages.” By now the Nielsons had added the boy, named after his new foster father, and he seemed to be adjusting to the language barrier (perhaps better than Nielson himself). “Our Children speak constantly in English or Indian,” he concluded.²⁸⁷ Both Christian Jr. and Lavina married white settlers and we know that Christian and his wife Annie raised a family. He worked with his father in the

²⁸⁶ Christian Nielson letter to Carl Nielson, “En Emigrant Fortaeller Lost og Fast”, in *Oh Du Zion I Vest*, Jorgen W. Schmidt, comp. (Copenhagen, Denmark: Rosenkilde og Bagger, 1965), 113. Both this translation and the one below are by the writer from Danish. The Danish text follows: “Hva jeg og min Kone angaaer, vi har endnu ingen Børn, men for at tilfredstille hendes lengsel efter Børn har jeg sidste Vinter til Nytaar kjøbt en lille Pige paa 4-5 Aar af Indianerne. Et af dem stjaalet Barn af en anden Stamme; det er en god, lydig og venlig Pige; hun fornøier os meget; hun er alletider munter og glad. Hun forstaaer nu temmelig godt vores Sprog, men selv taler hun nu tre sammenblandede Sprog, Indisk, Englelsk, Dansk; vi gav omtrent hundrede dollars for hende. Efter Lovene hører hun os til, til hun er 16 Aar, og vi er pligtig til I den Tid at holde hende I Skole og opdrage hende som vores eget Barn.”

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 67. “De fleste af de danske Børn og unge folk tale temmelig godt Englelsk og Indiansk... Vi kan ligesaa snart laere det Indiske, da vi kommer oftere til a tale med dem end der gives Leiglihed til a tale med Amerikanerene. Vi kan begyndde at tale lidt av begge slags, vores Børn taler bestandig Englelsk eller Indisk.”

flour mill owned by the Nielson family, and died in Manti, probably in his forties.

Lavina moved away from Manti with her husband.²⁸⁸

Another instance of an apparently happy domestic outcome of a blended family was narrated by Estella Draper Burt whose foster-brother Ammon Draper was traded for a “beef” and came to the Draper Family in sad condition. “[H]e had a strip of buckskin around his waist. This was his only clothing. His face was tearstained and he was almost starved. His hair was matted with burs and mud.” After they cut his hair the Drapers gave him a “cup of bread and milk” with a spoon. Ammon ignored the spoon and happily dug his hands into the cup and retrieved the soggy morsels then drank the milk. “After a warm bath,” Mrs. Draper, “found [him] to be a beautiful child.” He soon learned to adjust to the Mormon way of eating as his foster sister Zemira humorously recalls:

“We had an old flat, iron spoon that the three younger children thought was the only thing they could eat with. I, my younger sister and Ammon...were the ones who must divide the use of that spoon. When a meal would be nearly ready to sit down to, the three of us would race to the cupboard for the spoon, and when one would get it, the other two would sit up and sing a psalm that would not sound as nice as other music I have heard...”²⁸⁹

Apparently Ammon spent a happy childhood and youth among the Mormons but died an untimely death at twenty-seven when a wagon accident fractured his skull.²⁹⁰

In the search for primary documents that narrate the adjustment from one culture and world-view to another in mid-1850s Utah, one notes the scarcity of Native American sources. The story of Nick Wilson, the boy who went to live with the Shoshones, may offer a reciprocal perspective and add some insight. His experiences documented the life

²⁸⁸ Carter, *Heart Throbs*, v. 1, 161.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid*, 159.

²⁹⁰ Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, v. 3, 450-51.

Great Basin Native Americans lived in the mid 1800's and the difficulties a young Mormon faced when learning their culture. Pantsuk, Wilson's friend and work partner, taught him some of the Goshute language. When the Shoshones met young Nick their surprise at his facility with the Goshute dialect led them to invite him to come with them. Wilson experienced the reverse of Kanosh, Sarakeets and the other Native American children, an acculturation to Shoshone ways. Notably the Indians coaxed Wilson rather than kidnapping him—certainly not the usual case with the Native American children when the situation was reversed.

Despite the soft, persuasive approach Wilson went through a painful introduction to life as a Shoshone. The rawhide used for stirrup straps left Nick with a major case of saddle sores. The Shoshones peeled off his pants to reveal that most of the skin was gone from his inner thighs. They came to a salt spring and told Wilson to bathe his legs there. The resulting pain of salt in open wounds made the eleven-year-old howl, and led to his Shoshone name Yagaichi (Crier). After arriving at the Shoshone camp Wilson met his new mother, the widowed wife of a chief and the mother of Washakie, also a prominent Shoshone chief, who Wilson described as “a very large man” of twenty-seven years, “quite good-looking” and a husband and father of a six-month-old son. Over the next two years, Wilson became a member of Washakie's band, although he at first suffered unmerciful teasing. When other children tried to raise his buckskin shirt to see his wounds he “fetched” his tormentors “kicks that sent [them] about a rod.” Such challenges met, Wilson settled into tribal life.²⁹¹

Nick Wilson observed and remembered much of what he saw and left a record of daily life among Washakie's band, and other bands they occasionally encountered, such

²⁹¹ Wilson, *Among the Shoshones*, 16-26.

as that of Pocatello. He narrated crossing the Snake River on boats made of bulrushes that would carry six to eight-hundred pounds. He learned to appreciate the food, calling it tibi tsi djant (very good). He described the Shoshone way of killing buffalo by sending a rider with a long spear to hamstring the beasts, leaving them crippled and unable to run from those with bows and arrows who followed on foot. The women would “rip the animals down the back from nose to tail and then...down the belly and take of the top half of the hide,” then they would butcher “all the meat on that side from the bones.” On finishing the first side they tied ropes to the legs and turn the carcasses over with their ponies, then repeat the process. The meat was then cut into thin pieces, partially dried and then pounded between rocks until very soft, when it was hung up to complete the drying. Wilson explained that “the dried meat was put into a sack and the older it got the better it was.”²⁹² During a rendezvous with several bands, Pocatello’s warriors brought several white scalps, and performed a scalp dance. Wilson, fascinated but repelled, noted that the two women’s scalps were red-headed and dark, while one of the male scalps had grey hair. “I wished I was home living on greens and lumpy dick,” he wrote.²⁹³

The band traveled seasonally to follow food sources and forage for their “four-hundred head of horses and five-hundred dogs, mostly half-breed coyotes,” ranging as far as Deer Lodge Valley in present day Montana. During their journeys Wilson survived a kidnapping by another band, a serious dog bite, cured by applying “sage tea” and “sage-hen entrails,” and fights between his family and others in the camp.²⁹⁴ He came to know and love his adopted mother and brother, Washakie, and learned that the plan to bring him to the Shoshone came as a result of a dream of his mother. She told him that the

²⁹² Wilson, *Among the Shoshones*, 23-25.

²⁹³ *Ibid*, 26-27.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid*, 27-29, 38, 105-07.

“Great Spirit” sent Yagaichi to replace her two boys killed in an avalanche. This tenderness of a mother for her lost children—her longing to replace the loss—helps to inform our understanding of how difficult giving away a child to the Mormons, or losing one to raiders from another Native band might have been. Wilson also spent much time with an older man, Moroganai, who met and traveled with Lewis and Clark. Moroganai spoke to Wilson about his feelings toward the whites:

[H]e had nothing against the white men only that they had spoiled his country and he believed that in a few years there would be no buffaloes and the elk would all be gone...He said that some of the white men used their squaws very badly and also brought diseases among the Indians that had killed many of them.²⁹⁵

Moroganai also told of whites stealing Shoshone women and Shoshone counterstrikes that killed whites. He spoke of whites stealing horses from wagon trains and leaving them with the Shoshones. Other whites then killed Shoshones because they had stolen horses. Moroganai also grieved: “We did not know what the whooping cough, measles and smallpox were until the whites brought” them. A wagon train with sick children infected his camp and “over half” of [their] children died. “Hundreds of our people have died with the smallpox, and we lay it all to the white man,” he said. “They keep crowding us west...where there is nothing but lizards, snakes and horned toads; and if they crowd us any further, we will all have to jump into the great water.”²⁹⁶ These eloquent words encapsulate the sadness and anger that led many Native Americans to lash out at the whites invading their lands and taking their resources.

Eventually, word came to Washakie and his band that Wilson’s parents were searching for him. They held a council and determined that he must return home.

²⁹⁵ Wilson, *Among the Shoshones*, 116-17.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 118-19.

Wilson wanted to stay but the Shoshone, worried that his continued presence would cause an attack against them insisted that he must leave. Against his wishes Wilson prepared to depart.

Wilson had learned to break horses while among the Shoshones and he put the skill to work becoming a Pony Express rider and scout. He fought Indians throughout Utah and lived into the twentieth century, establishing the town of Wilson, in western Wyoming, in the shadow of the Tetons. Writing years later Wilson said, "I have seen so many bloody fights between the white men and the Indian, and being pretty well acquainted with both sides, I find that I cannot blame the Indian as some do."²⁹⁷ Most of the Native American children in this study lacked the option of going home, as Wilson was able to do. But they shared the experience of living two cultures with him. When Wilson, who had become Yagaichi, once again reverted to Nick Wilson, he returned to find the Mormons preparing for war with the U.S. Army. This "Utah War" as it came to be called, would have a large impact on Mormons, Native Americans, and the Great Basin.

²⁹⁷ Wilson, *Among the Shoshones*, 120, 140-222.



Figure 7 Elijah Nicholas Wilson²⁹⁸

Massacres, Blame and Adoptions

Historian William MacKinnon has described the Utah War of 1857-1858 as an “armed confrontation over power and authority between the civil-religious leadership of Utah Territory, led by Governor Brigham Young, and the administration of President James Buchanan—a conflict that pitted perhaps the nation's largest, most experienced territorial militia (called the Nauvoo Legion) against an expeditionary force that ultimately grew to involve almost one-third of the U.S. Army.” The war and the armed expedition sent to prosecute it represented “the nation's most extensive and expensive military undertaking during the period between the Mexican-American and Civil Wars.”²⁹⁹ This conflict placed additional strain on the complex triangle of relations between the federal government, the Mormons and the Utah Indians, “virtually

²⁹⁸ National Park Service. “Grand Teton Historic Resource Study.” Accessed April 20, 2012. http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/grte2/hrs6.htm

²⁹⁹ William P. MacKinnon, “The Utah War and Its Mountain Meadows Massacre: Lessons Learned, Surprises Encountered,” *FARMS Review*: 20, 2, Provo, Utah: Maxwell Institute, (2008): 238-39.

bankrupted the U.S. Treasury and devastated Utah's economy.” As U.S. troops approached the Salt Lake Valley, thirty thousand Mormon refugees prepared to flee to the south from northern Utah to Provo and perhaps farther. This huge refugee caravan placed additional strain on resources in Utah and Sanpete Counties and increased the chance of hostile feelings and actions between the Mormons and the Indians. Although no major battles resulted from the war between the U.S. Army and the Nauvoo Legion, and the troops passed through Salt Lake City and built Camp Floyd in the western desert, southern Utah experienced deadly consequences.

The Fancher party, a group of Arkansas emigrants bound for California, a bacterial infection that killed Indian cattle, bellicose speeches by both the Army and the Mormon leadership, and panicked settlers far from advice in Salt Lake, combined to bring about a perfect storm called the Mountain Meadows Massacre, “the worst incident of organized mass murder of unarmed civilians in the nation's history until the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing.”³⁰⁰ Mormon settlers attacked the Fancher wagon train and killed more than two-hundred men, women and children, then tried to place the blame on the Paiutes. Although some Paiutes participated, the responsibility rested with the Mormon leadership in Iron and Washington counties in southwestern Utah. This attempt at blame, taken together with Mormon appropriation of prime bottom lands along the rivers and streams used by Paiutes, the failure of Mormons to stop all Ute raiding of Paiute children, and an 1866 uprising that Mormons may have blamed unjustly on Paiutes, poisoned Paiute-Mormon relationships for years.³⁰¹

³⁰⁰ MacKinnon, “The Utah War,” 240.

³⁰¹ Sherman L. Fleek, “The Church and the Utah War, 1857–58,” in *Nineteenth-Century Saints at War*, ed. Robert C. Freeman (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 2006), 81–106; Walker et al., *The Mountain Meadows Massacre*; Knack, *Boundaries Between*, 73-85; W. Paul Reeve,

Tensions ebbed somewhat after 1858 for Utahns, but increased in the eastern United States, in the period leading up to the Civil War. The military contingent at Camp Floyd divided into Union and Secessionist camps and departed the territory. This breathing space gave the Church an opportunity to reclaim some authority and augment its numbers. Part of that growth included immigrants. A new system of bringing recent converts from Europe included meeting them in Iowa with wagons sent from Utah so they would not need to purchase wagons and stock, but rather pay a “Perpetual Emigration Fund” to cover expenses and allow others to later make the trek. These wagon trains were designated as “Down and Back” trains and young men received calls each summer for a number of years to participate.³⁰² Now nineteen years old Native American John Battese Sanders, or “Batt” as he liked to be called, found himself on such a journey with his hero and adopted brother, Captain John Sanders. One of his encounters during that 1863 trip demonstrated that Mormon solidarity trumped any Mormon concerns about the color of Batt’s skin. Sanders captained one hundred wagons and J.R. Murdock captained the second hundred. They brought Batt as a hunter to provide meat for the camp, and he was good enough to keep both wagon companies provided. However, one day Batt returned to camp with no meat, but bloodied, bruised, in tears, and “fighting mad.” When questioned, “Batt told...of meeting a large company camped some distance away” who called him over to talk and find out what he knew. “When they found out he was a tame Indian from Utah they asked him about Brigham

Making Space on the Western Frontier: Mormons, Miners, and Southern Paiutes, (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 63-84; Will Bagley, *Blood of the Prophets: Brigham Young and the Mountain Meadows Massacre*, (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), 367-375.

³⁰² David F. Boone, "Perpetual Emigrating Fund (PEF)," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 1075–76; Kevin Folkman, “‘Down and Back’ Immigrant Companies,” *KeepaPitchinin Blog*, September, 13, 2010, Accessed April 20, 2012. <http://www.keepapitchinin.org/2010/09/13/%E2%80%9Cdown-and-back%E2%80%9D-immigrant-companies/>

Young and the Mormons.” Batt answered civilly and mentioned his camp. Then a bully sneered and derogated “Brigham Young particularly and the Mormons in general.” Batt, highly insulted heatedly replied, “No, Brigham Young is a good man, he no like that.” (John R. Young, who told the story and knew Batt well, suspected that he heated up “the argument by stating, ‘dasodamlie.’” Said Young, “Batt could get a lot of words in one syllable.”)

On hearing of the outrage “Captain Sanders called for volunteers to go with him to camp. One hundred stepped forward, but Captain Sanders selected ten to arm and go with the boy to see justice done.” The posse marched to the camp, called for their leader, and demanded to see those responsible for Batt’s condition. “After a parley,” the man who started the fight apologized and paid the captain “\$100 to allay [Batt’s] grief and soothe his pain.”³⁰³

During the Civil War, the Bear River Massacre and subsequent outrages against the Bannocks and Shoshones by Connor’s troops initiated a small secondary wave of Shoshone adoptions by northern Utah Mormons who took in a few child survivors of these calamities.³⁰⁴ To understand the stories of these children, a summary of how and why the massacre occurred is necessary. The short respite from military pressure in Utah (1859-1861) that resulted when the advent of the Civil War drained federal troops out of the territory came to a halt in October 1862 with the arrival of Colonel Patrick Connor and his Third California Volunteer Infantry regiment, who marched into Salt Lake City, itching for a fight.

³⁰³ Johnson, “Indian Tribes,” 413.

³⁰⁴ Christensen, Sagwitch, 41-76; Hart, Newell. *The Bear River Massacre: Being a Complete Source Book and Story Book of the Genocidal Action Against the Shoshones in 1863—and of General Connor and How he related to and Dealt with the Indians and Mormons on the Western Frontier*, 2nd Ed., (Preston, ID: Cache Valley Newsletter Publishing Company, 1983).

Connor wrote to his old California friend Henry Wager Halleck, then General in Chief of all Union Armies, in an attempt to bypass the chain of command, begging that his regiment be transferred to the eastern theatre as his regiment's "services [were] not required [in Utah]" and they desired "to strike a blow in this contest."³⁰⁵ Stung at the rejection of his request Connor turned his aggressiveness toward both sets of Utah's inhabitants. Connor's troops despised Indians and Mormons but were confused as to which they hated the most. Reporting on his first visit to Salt Lake City, on September 14, Connor fumed, "It will be impossible for me to describe what I saw and heard in Salt Lake, so as to make you realize the enormity of Mormonism; suffice it, that I found them a community of traitors, murderers, fanatics and whores." He accused the people of rejoicing at "reverses to our arms," and "[thanking] God that the American Government is gone, as they term it, while their prophet and bishops preach treason from the pulpit."³⁰⁶ Connor scouted out the location for a camp, "on a plateau about three miles from Salt Lake City; in the vicinity of good timber and saw-mills, and at a point where hay, grain, and other produce can be purchased..."³⁰⁷ Establishing Fort Douglas on the benches above Salt Lake City, Connor and the Third Volunteers aimed their cannons at Temple Square.

Though the Mormons managed to avoid Connor's further wrath, the Bannocks and Shoshones would shortly experience the deadly result of the Volunteers' truculence. Chafing over the inactivity when a shooting war raged in the east, Connor determined to control recent Shoshone raids on the Utah, Idaho border.

³⁰⁵ George W. Davis, et al., eds., *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series 1, vol. 50, Part 2, Correspondence, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1897), 130.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 119.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

Over the previous years with the opening of the Oregon and California Trails, mining discoveries in Montana and the influx of Mormon settlers into the northern Utah valleys, the Shoshones saw food supplies and resources steadily shrink. The Fort Hall reservation was established. The Civil War reduced federal oversight and this also exacerbated the problem. Mormon settlers' incursions into prime foraging areas also reduced Shoshone access to food as they were pushed out of the mountains onto the plains. Brigham Young and the Cache and Box Elder County Mormons attempted to provide some compensatory food but lacked sufficient resources to feed all those who needed help. Superintendants of Indian Affairs, Jacob Forney and James Doty, sent message after message to Washington, D.C. warning that the Bannock and Shoshones would starve or raid to feed their families not as a matter of revenge but of survival.³⁰⁸

A number of provocative incidents with murders, attacks and unjust executions by settlers, Shoshones, and the Army alike, led settlers to complain and gave Connor the justification he needed to move north, planning a winter attack to catch the Shoshones in camp.³⁰⁹ When the vanguard arrived in Franklin Idaho, on January, 28, 1863, several Shoshones were loading wheat received from Mormons there. William Hull noted, "we had two of the three horses loaded, having put three bushels on each horse...when I looked up and saw the Soldiers approaching from the south. I said to the Indian boys, 'Here comes the Toquashes [Soldiers] maybe, you will all be killed. They answered 'maybe the Toquashes will be killed too.'" Then, abandoning the third horse, "they

³⁰⁸ Cristensen, *Sagwitch*, 25, 45; Brigham D. Madsen, *The Shoshoni Frontier and the Bear River Massacre*, (Salt Lake City, Utah; University of Utah Press; 1985), 136; Brigham D. Madsen, *The Northern Shoshoni*, (Caldwell, ID; Caxston Printers Ltd, 1980), 35.

³⁰⁹ *Deseret News*, Sept 21, 1859, Madsen, *Shoshone Frontier*, 116-17, 172, Hart, *Bear River Massacre*, 81-84.

quickly jumped upon their horses and led the three horses away, disappearing in the distance."³¹⁰

Early the next morning, January 29, 1863, on a day so cold that whiskey froze in some soldiers' canteens, Connor led his troops forward.³¹¹ William Hull, who followed the troops, saw some of the battle and helped care for survivors, told the tale to his son Thomas. In 1936 Thomas remembered the fight, "The soldiers on horseback got on top of the Bear River Hill over looking battle creek...at day break a bout sun rise and when the Indians saw the soldiers on the Hill above battle creek." Bear Hunter, leader of one of the Shoshone bands waved his hat and shouted "come on [you] California som a bitches we are ready for you." The quick tempered Connor, not waiting for his infantry support, ordered a cavalry "charge...through Bear River quite deep up to the horses sides in water and floating ice." This initial charge resulted in most of the casualties taken by the Volunteers. "[B]efore they got [across] the river 40 saddles was emptied [sic] and a lot of horses killed...Half of the horse soldiers was killed and many wounded...wet and suffering with the cold...quite a number of soldiers froze to Death." Connor seeing the danger "rushed the foot men on right through the cold ice water up too [sic] their armpits."

By this time the muzzle loaders of the Shoshone and their lack of ammunition began to tilt the balance in favor of Connor's men. "The ...soldiers...rushed...the Indians...while they were loading their muzzle loading Riffles [sic]. [T]he soldiers had pistols that would shoot six shots before needing to load again. [They]...shot the Indians right in their holes." Some Shoshones died with bullet molds in their hands, trying to

³¹⁰ Madsen, *Shoshone Frontier*, 182-83.

³¹¹ *Ibid*, 181.

make new shot. The soldiers ran down women and children, shouting “nits will make lice,” and shot them or smashed in their heads. Soldiers killed Bear Hunter early in the fight, and nearly his entire band of Indians died. Some few old men, women and children survived but many of them were badly wounded.³¹²

In the bloody aftermath of the Massacre, several children wandered aimlessly stunned and wounded. These included three children that would be known as Seth Parkinson (the young man who later pulled a knife on his foster father), Jannie Hull and Frank Warner. William, who had watched the battle from a distance describes the scene: “We drove our sleigh as far as the river and rode our horses through the river...An old Indian walk[ed] slowly with arms folded, his head bowed in grief, lamenting the dead...going toward the north. Never will I forget the scene, dead bodies were everywhere. I counted eight deep in one place and in several places they were three to five deep...two-thirds of [the dead] being women and children.” Hull found two women alive with femurs shattered by bullets, and the three children all only two to four years old. The girl that would live with the Hulls carried eight wounds in her body. Shem Parkinson appeared unhurt.³¹³ Beeshop Timbimboo (Red Clay) had hidden under a collapsed wheat grass tipi on the frozen ground. He emerged dazed frightened and cold, two years old and wounded seven times. A relative found him carrying a frozen bowl of pine nut gravy which he clung to all day. “His father, Sagwitch, told him that his mother was dead and his baby sister was left hanging in her *kono* in hopes that someone would

³¹² Mae Spencer, “interview with Thomas Hull, Oct 26, 1936, 1867 Reminiscences,” MS 3399, transcript, LDS Church History Library, Salt Lake City, UT., 3-8.

³¹³ Hart, *The Bear River Massacre*, 183, 185, 191-92.

pick it up. The little boy could not utter a word or cry. His grief was too much. He was frozen and in deep shock.”³¹⁴

So Beeshop rejoined his father and the rest of the wounded and frozen children went with William Hull who said, “They were very willing to go with us. We took them on our horses to the sleigh, and made them as comfortable as possible.” After arriving in Franklin “Nathan Packer, with the help of others, set the broken bones of the Indian women...[S]oon afterwards they joined a tribe of Indians that came to Franklin from Bear Lake...The boys were given good homes; one of them known as ‘Shem’ was cared for in the home of William Nelson over a period of two years, after which he was taken into the Samuel R. Parkinson home. The wounded girl grew up as a member of the Hull household,” and they named her Jannie.³¹⁵ A few years later Sagwitch and his cousin *Ejupie* (Coyote) traveled to Salt Lake City seeking aid from Brigham Young for their starving band. Sagwitch left Beeshop with his brother who sold the boy “to a Mormon family for a Mormon quilt, bag of beans, sheep and a sack of flour.”³¹⁶

A final legacy of the Connor massacres played out the same year with a similar grisly discovery and another rescue. In 1924 William Rose, eighty-five years old, gave an affidavit about a little girl that he found the same year as the Bear River Massacre. This time the Bannocks had suffered Connor’s wrath. Rose freighted supplies between Utah and the mines in Idaho and Montana. Returning from one such trip in late summer 1863, Rose and a companion heard of a battle that occurred the day before and while on their journey came two days later to the location of the fight. Rose remembered, “We found several dead Bannocks and one was a Bannock squaw with a baby laying on it’s

³¹⁴ Hart, *Bear River Massacre*, 227.

³¹⁵ *Ibid*, 192.

³¹⁶ *Ibid*, 227.

dead mother's arm [with] a piece of blanket over it and we was quite sure that this blanket had been put over it by some soldier after the fight." Rose judged the little girl to be only a few months old and he put her in his wagon. Rose fed her a soup he made from a rabbit that he shot and this kept her alive until he arrived in Wellsville, Utah where some settlers provided milk and some clothing for the baby. After arriving home in Ogden, Rose's wife wet nursed the little girl for a week, but the Roses had two young children of their own. Rose's companion Mr. Boyd knew Leonard Rice who lived south of Ogden in Farmington and Rose gave him the baby to take to the Rices'. Rose knew Rice's father and so followed the little girl's progress over the years.³¹⁷ The Rices named her Ida Anna and had her baptized when she turned eight years old. She attended school and "passed the highest grade the schools had at that time." An artistic child, Ida learned to draw, embroider and make patterns. She learned to "quilt...knit, tat and crochet."³¹⁸

As the Civil War drew to a close so did almost all the rest of the trade in children between the Indians and the Mormons. Most had concluded by 1860 and these youthful survivors appeared to be almost the last gasp of trading or adopting Indigenous children. The anti-slavery laws passed in the wake of the war would ensure the practice's death. In the years between 1866 and 1900, Mormons near St. George, in the southwest corner of the territory, would trade for just a few more children and some Native Americans would be more formally adopted or cared for as foster children rather than indentured servants.

With few exceptions, Mormons worked to assimilate the children into Mormon culture. The goal of teaching them so the children could teach their people appears to be

³¹⁷ William A. Rose. "Affidavit of William Arnold Rose, August 2, 1924, Salt Lake City UT., A.W. Duval, Notary Public." Accessed July 31, 2011. <http://free-web-design-promotion.com/awarose.htm>

³¹⁸ Carter, *Heart Throbs*, 445-48.

the driving force in this process, although as noted some Mormons treated the children they acquired more as indentures than adoptees. After 1865, those children who survived pathogens, war, and slave raids began to reach adulthood. The story of their adjustment to love and marriage across cultures, and Native American-Mormon relations during the polygamy and reservation upheavals, is the next chapter's tale.

Section II

Marriages, Conversions, Perception and Identity

As the children came of age to marry, some faced prejudice and others found acceptance. Individual and family personalities, rather than cultural conventions alone often determined the outcome of the marriages. During this time Native Americans and Mormons experienced conflicts with each other, but especially with the U. S. Army and federal agents, and worked to negotiate their place in new structures. The Mormons and Native Americans experienced disillusionment in this time as fervently accepted concepts collided with hard realities, resulting in a mixture of anger, accommodation, assimilation and acculturation. Adult Native American children who grew up in Mormon homes negotiated their individual identities based on cultural cues from their combined cultures. This was a complicated process, but subsequent secondary literature written years after the fact tried to simplify the complexity as dictated by preconceived, often culturally skewed, notions.

Chapter Four:

Maturity and Marriage, 1865-1900

Demographics and Implications

Prior to writing about the adult and marital experiences of the children chronicled here, a statistical explication of their experience may help to summarize the information that exists in the primary demographic sources. Of the Four hundred-fifteen Native Americans listed in this current research, seventy-one possess enough information to tell us something about their lives, more than their name and how old they were in a census. With the understanding that extrapolation from a sample of seventy-one out of four hundred-fifteen (rounded up to seventeen percent of the population under consideration) may be tenuous, one might venture a few demographic observations to round out our understanding. We do not know the gender of forty-three of these individuals of the total four hundred-fifteen, because the record simply does not list this information. Of the remaining three hundred seventy-two, one hundred eighty-nine were women and one hundred eighty-three were men (a 49 to 51 percent advantage to the women).³¹⁹ Ninety-three percent of those in this study were born between 1841 and 1870. Seventy-four percent came into Mormon homes between 1847 and 1860, and eighty-one percent died between 1851 and 1880. Twenty-seven percent lived past 1900, and the last known survivor of this group died in 1971.³²⁰ Of those Native Americans in this study for whom we have further information, almost all (49 out of 50) were brought into Mormon homes before their eleventh birthday, and in the census records or other documentation of being in a Mormon home only six percent of these Native Americans were over the age of

³¹⁹ See Table 4, Appendix I, and xls database, Appendix III.

³²⁰ See Table 8, Appendix I, and xls database, Appendix III.

twenty-five.³²¹ Children probably made the easiest captives—they ran more slowly and possessed less strength to fight their captors. In addition, children had less time to acculturate to their birth culture and could thus be more easily trained in the ways of the captive culture.

Fifty-six percent of these Native Americans, whose stories we know, came into a Mormon household by way of a trade or sale with other Native Americans. Indian parents or families gave eighteen percent of these individuals to the Mormons and the Mormons captured or took in U.S. army captives totaling fourteen percent. Several were given or sold by one Mormon to another, and at least two children voluntarily went with Mormons or ran away from their band.³²² There are thirty-three causes of death listed in the extant records for these Native American children. Forty-seven percent of those thirty-three died before their twenty-sixth birthday, but if they survived to that age, thirty-two percent of them lived past fifty-five. These figures tell the story of a young population that possessed little resistance to diseases endemic among Europeans, with some survivors developing resistance to the microbes, enabling them to live to old age. These, however represented a decided minority. Indeed, fifty-five percent of these children died of disease, while only eighteen percent later died of causes incident to age. If one factors in dying in childbirth as an additional medical problem, sixty-four percent died of disease or infection or complications associated with a previous condition.³²³ Twelve percent of the thirty-three died violently at the hand of others while the remaining six percent succumbed after suffering an accident.³²⁴ Comparison to the death rates and

³²¹ See Table 1, Appendix I, and xls database, Appendix III.

³²² See Table 2, Appendix I, and xls database, Appendix III.

³²³ See Table 3, Appendix I, and xls database, Appendix III.

³²⁴ Table 3, Appendix I, xls database, Appendix III.

causes among Mormons is difficult in this time period because statistics concerning deaths were not tabulated in an organized fashion in the United States until the early 1900s. Utah did not certify all causes of death until 1905 and coverage was not considered complete until 1910. The LDS Church began to announce birth and death rates about the same time, but their “figures were not reliable for several decades.”³²⁵ Had many of these Native American children survived to adulthood they might have changed the cultural dynamic between Mormons and Native Americans

Records of ordinances kept by the church help clarify the relative church activity and commitment of Native American Latter-day Saints in this study, as well as those families who fostered them.³²⁶ Of the 73 Native American children detailed in the research, 26 or 36% have no LDS ordinances listed as completed. Interestingly, many of these appear to have lived in households that considered them more as indentured servants than as adopted children. For example, Ezra T. Benson, who chaffed at the “dirty habits” of his Indigenous charges, does not appear to have had them baptized. At least no record can be found listing them as members. However, John Bateese Sanders, who defended Brigham Young so staunchly that he was beaten for his troubles, is not among those listed as baptized. His absence in the baptismal records may indicate that some ordinance statistics have escaped notice, and the lack of records concerning these possibly un-churched Native American children may be somewhat inaccurate as a result. Nine children had all of their ordinances performed by proxy, indicating that someone, probably a descendant of the children’s foster families researched their record and had

³²⁵ Joseph L. Lyon M.D. M.P.H. and Steven Nelson, “Mormon Health,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, 12, (November 2003): 84-96.

³²⁶ Appendix I, Table 10; Familysearch. “Search for John Bateese Sanders.” Accessed June 24, 2011. <https://new.familysearch.org>

the ordinances completed. Twenty-four of the children received baptism and confirmation while living, but the balance of their ordinance work was completed post-mortem. In the early days of settlement temples were few and the effort and expense required to travel to a temple kept some from personally participating. Perhaps some of these children were simply considered as church members, but not prepared for higher temple ordinances during their lives. Substantial numbers of contemporary church members, though baptized, neglect to follow through and attend to the higher rituals, and this was probably true in the nineteenth century as well. Fourteen of the children grew up, and completed all of their ordinances while living. Among these were those who married, including the five who participated in plural marriage.³²⁷ These also represent those children who were most completely documented by subsequent secondary sources, demonstrating Mormon eagerness to point them out as exemplary. Finding nineteenth-century LDS vital statistics for comparison has proven difficult. This may represent an opportunity for later research.

Gathering specific vital records of marriages among the more general Mormon population for comparison has also proven problematic. However, some comparisons may be made and tentative conclusions drawn: The average marriage age for Mormon women in the decade of the 1860's was just over twenty and one-half years; the available records for Native American children who lived in Mormon homes and married upon maturity listed their average marital age at twenty-two and one-half years. This may indicate that it took the Native American women a year or two longer to find their spouse and that some disadvantage may have accrued to them because of negative Mormon perceptions of their Native ancestry. The Native American men averaged

³²⁷ See Appendix I, Table 10; Appendix III, XLS database.

nearly twenty-six years before they married. The general LDS population experienced an over four-year-age difference between men and women at the time of marriage,³²⁸ so again, the Native American men took a little more than an extra year to marry than their Euro-American counterparts, when they did marry at all. Of the seventy-three Native American children for whom substantial records exist only nine of thirty –two males (eleven males’ marriages were listed but two men married twice), or twenty-eight percent married, while seventeen of thirty-eight females, or forty-four percent married. On average nationally, over sixty-seven percent of women and nearly sixty percent of men fifteen and over married in the 1890s.³²⁹ These figures suggest that Native American women and children raised in Mormon homes experienced more difficulty in finding a marriage partner than the population as a whole, because many Mormons perceived them as unfit marriage partners because of their ancestry.

Based on known data, 80 of 415 individuals on the database in appendix III married during their lifetime. Others for whom no current information exists probably also married. Of Native Americans in Mormon homes, women appeared more likely to marry than men. Sixty-nine married, of which sixty-five married a white spouse, two married other Native Americans, and two married Hispanics. The plural marriage factor may have slightly increased their chances of marriage over the Native men. Nine of the sixty-five were known to have married men who were concurrently wed to other women. Of the men who are known to have married, nine married white women and two married Native American women. Out of those who married, three divorces are known, all for

³²⁸ M. Skolnick et al., “Mormon Demographic History I. Nuptiality and Fertility of Once-Married Couples,” *Population Studies*, 32, 1, (March 1978): 14.

³²⁹ National Vital Statistics System, “100 Years of Marriage and Divorce Statistics United States, 1867-1967,” Series 21, no. 24, (Rockville, MD: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Public Health Service, 1973), 9.

Native American women from white spouses. Three Native American women bore at least four children to white partners outside of marriage. If one assumes a twenty-one percent death rate in the population before age fifteen, based on known data, eighty-seven of the four hundred fifteen died before age fifteen. This would mean that at least forty percent of the population either married or died before marriageable age, and the total of marriages may be understated based on a lack of records of the time.³³⁰

First Marriages

In 1854, before many of the first children came to Mormon homes, other Native American-Mormon marriages marked an attempt to bond the two cultures with an eye towards accelerating missionary work among the Shoshones of the Green River Mission. In what Juanita Brooks calls “perhaps as human a story as has been told about [such marriages],” Hosea Stout wrote in what Brooks refers to as “high good humor” about one such marriage—that of Moses Sanders (later the foster father of John Battese Sanders).³³¹ The mocking tone of the diary entry does not suggest much faith in the possibility of it being a lasting proposition:

Elder Hyde held a meeting in the evening. In the discourse he recommended the marrying of squaws in the most positive and strong terms and particularly the taking of Mary an old haggard mummy looking one [sic] who had been there all winter. He was very eloquent on the occasion all of which was generally understood to be squinting at [Moses] Sanders who already seemed to have some inklings that way and was well pleased with fair opportunity thus to safely commit himself so he readily bit at the bait and the courtship commenced immediately after meeting by interpreters for he could not talk with her. She wanted some time to consider he being a stranger & she dont like him much any how. The affair created an unusual amount of fun & jokes among the *disinterested*.³³²

³³⁰ See Table 10, Appendix I

³³¹ Brooks, “Indian Relations,” 28; Brooks, Juanita ed., *On the Mormon Frontier: the Diary of Hosea Stout 1844-1861*, (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1964), 516-517.

³³² Hosea Stout, “Journal,” typewritten transcription in the *Writers’ Project Collection*, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, UT v. 5, 171-173. (Italics in the original)

On May tenth, Stout continued, “About noon today the proxied courtship between Sanders and Mary the Shoshone (the flower of the desert as Elder Hyde called her) was brought to a close and they both launched into a State of matrimony by Elder Hyde who acted the Parson...and the fun loving corps enjoyed the time to the best possible advantage.” Unfortunately, the marriage does not appear to have endured more than a few weeks. On May twelfth, Stout notes: “Sanders came...to Bridger...to purchase some goods for “Flower of the Desert...” However, Stout writes, “she would not accept [them] and...refused to have anything to do with him.” Stout characterized the whole “matrimonial alliance” as “a signal failure.”³³³

Historian Juanita Brooks noted that while Jacob Hamblin probably married at least two Paiute women, many of his descendants she spoke to in the 1930s and 40s resented “even the suggestion with surprising bitterness and emphasis,” while “old timers from Harmony insist that they knew Eliza...Jacob’s Indian wife, and their marriage was never any secret until later years.” Relatives acknowledged that Eliza and Ellen, the two girls in question, lived in the Hamblin home, but contended “that the girls were adopted by Jacob Hamblin as daughters rather than sealed to him as wives.” Eliza, states Brooks, “accompanied Jacob on the third mission to the ‘Moquitches,’” (Hopis) while Ira Hatch took his Navajo wife, Sarah Maraboos, daughter of Dahnish-yant.³³⁴ Later trouble caused Eliza to leave the family after she told Jacob’s wife Rachel, “I am as much his wife as you are.” Brooks maintains: “When she later wished to return the family would not have her.”³³⁵ Hamblin himself mentioned these relationships. During a

³³³ Stout “Journal,” 173.

³³⁴ Brooks, “Indian Relations,” 42-43; Johnson, “Indian Tribes,” 405-06.

³³⁵ Brooks, *Ibid.*

visit southwest to the Hopis in 1860, he wrote, “We had taken two Indian women with us, thinking that they might be a great help.” The Navajos asked Hamblin and Hatch to leave these women with them but Hamblin “directed the interpreter to tell them that one of the women was Brother Hatch’s wife [Sarah Maraboots] and the other was mine.”³³⁶ John Lee Jones mentioned meeting Hamblin on a trip to bring Swiss settlers to Santa Clara in 1861 and noted that Hamblin “had one of the Indian Squaws as a Female Lamanite for a wife. This was quite a novel circumstance to me.” Frederick Dellenbaugh claimed that Hamblin married “one or two Pah Ute women.”³³⁷

These examples illustrate the wide range of mixed opinions and prejudices that accompanied blended Native American-Mormon marriages in the early days, as Mormon idealism about Lamanites clashed with the actuality of living together in blended families. Subsequent family amnesia concerning these early marriages falls in line with the general forgetting that accompanied most things Indian during the early 1900s, as discussed in the following chapter. Other marriages were more long-lasting and more completely documented by anecdotal evidence.

Native Americans, Mormons and Marriage

The little Navajo girl traded to Sarah Fish Smith for one of her husband’s guns, and named Janet by her foster parents, became a plural Mormon wife and mother of eleven children. Mormon polygamy affected virtually every aspect of Utah and Mormon history, including Mormon-Indian relationships. While the Mormon structure and practice of plural marriage varied considerably from the Great Basin Indian practices,

³³⁶ James A. Little, *Jacob Hamblin*, (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret News Press, 1909), 67.

³³⁷ John Lee Jones, “Journal,” 63. (Original owned in 1944, by James S. Jones, St. George, Utah); Frederick S. Dellenbaugh, *A Canyon Voyage*, (New York: G.P. Putman’s Sons, 1908), 174; both quoted in Brooks, *Indian Relations*, 43.

some Indian conversions to Mormonism may have been made easier by their previous acceptance of multiple conjugal partners. For example, Sally Young, the first girl the Utes traded to the Mormons, married Mormon convert and Pahvant Chief Kanosh, who had at one time been married to three wives simultaneously, though they were all dead before he married Sally. Wakara and a number of Ute and Paiute chiefs who subsequently accepted baptism were also husbands of two or more wives concurrently.³³⁸ Janet Smith's husband Dudley Leavitt was the husband of three wives when she married him.

Juanita Leavitt Brooks, Dudley's granddaughter, collected and published many stories of her Mormon family, providing an intimate family view of life in late nineteenth-century southern Utah. Brooks recounts the singular courtship and marriage of Dudley and Janet. In the spring of 1860, Dudley went north to sell molasses and dried fruit. On the return trip he paused as usual at the McGregor home in Parowan. Sarah Fish Smith, one of Dudley's relatives (now remarried, after the death of John Calvin, to William McGregor) welcomed Dudley and invited him to spend the night. Sarah's family warmly greeted Dudley. Sarah's Navajo daughter, Janet, now in her teen years, smiled shyly at Dudley as he recounted the trip north. Janet attended school with the

³³⁸ "George A. Smith claimed that before the Walker war 'Walker himself ... teased me for a white wife; and if any of the sisters will volunteer to marry him, I believe I can close the war forthwith. ... If any lady wishes to be Mrs. Walker, if she will report herself to me, I will agree to negotiate the match.' [Smith] had no takers. At the conclusion of the war Wakara approached Brigham Young, who advised, 'If you can find one that will give her consent you may marry her.' Rejected by two Manti women [Wakara] retreated to his winter campground, lamenting that 'Brigham did not know how to use a chief like him for when he came down [to Salt Lake City] Brigham would not allow him a squaw to sleep with like the Moquintches and Navajos.' Richard S. Van Wagoner and Steven C. Walker, *A Book of Mormons*, (Salt Lake City, UT: Signature Books, 1982), 375, Accessed July 8, 2012. Ute website, http://www.uteindian.com/ute_tribal.htm

other children, attended church and helped with the house work. She and the family listened to Dudley's stories.

The next morning Dudley left very early, anxious to get home to his family. His wives, Mary, Maria and Thirza were waiting for him. The sound of horse hooves interrupted his reverie. A boy on horseback overtook him and gave him a message from George A. Smith, church Apostle and the local authority in Parowan. Brother Smith wanted to see Dudley before he left. Dudley returned to town.

Apostle Smith was alone in his parlor when Dudley knocked. Dudley greeted him and they made some small talk, then Brother Smith got to the point. "Dudley, have you ever considered marrying an Indian girl?" Dudley's eyes widened in surprise—No, he could not say that he had. George A. Smith then counseled Dudley to marry Janet Smith. The surprises continued. Dudley had known Janet for years, but never thought of her as a marriage partner.

"Dudley, another brother asked Janet to marry him as a plural wife. She turned him down," said Brother Smith. He explained that Janet's family failed to understand why she would turn down such an advantageous offer from a white man. They all believed it wise that she not pass it up, undoubtedly subscribing to the prevailing understanding that a union with a person of their own race would proffer advantages to Janet that she could not receive if married to an Indian. Janet, they hoped, would use such an opportunity to assert her belonging to the Mormons and further distance herself from her Native ancestry. This had happened some weeks ago and Janet refused to talk anymore about it until this morning after Dudley left early. When Janet found him gone she started to weep. When Sarah asked her what was wrong, she cried,

“There is only one man that I have ever seen that I would like to marry, and that man is Dudley Leavitt.”³³⁹

Apostle Smith was very persuasive. He spoke of Janet’s good training and kind nature and stressed that she would make “an excellent wife.” He reiterated “the promise that the Lamanites should yet become a white and delightsome people; they were of the blood of Ephraim³⁴⁰ and would eventually come into their own.”³⁴¹

Dudley was thunderstruck. With three wives at home, on the Santa Clara, his most recent marriage only six months earlier and both of his other wives busy with young babies, he was already stretched to the limit of his resources. Brooks writes, “He dreaded the complications that were sure to arise by bringing another wife into the group, especially an Indian wife.”³⁴² George A. Smith played his final card; “If you will take that girl, marry her, give her a home and a family, and do your duty by her, I promise you in the name of the Lord that you will be blessed.”³⁴³

³³⁹ Juanita L. Brooks, *Dudley Leavitt, Pioneer to Southern Utah*, 1942, 45-46. Accessed February 12, 2010. <http://www.archive.org/stream/dudleyleavittpio00broo#page/44/mode/2up>

³⁴⁰ According to the Book of Mormon, Lehi’s children were of the blood of Manasseh through their father Lehi, and the Blood of Ephraim through Ishmael (the two fathers who led the exodus from Jerusalem to the new world). Thus their descendants the Lamanites would have some of the lineage of Ephraim and be heirs to the Biblical blessings of Ephraim. See *Journal of Discourses* 23:184-185; Armand L. Mauss, *All Abraham’s Children*, 33.

³⁴¹ Brooks, *Dudley Leavitt*, 46.

³⁴² *Ibid*, 47

³⁴³ *Ibid*.



Figure 8 Janet Smith Leavitt³⁴⁴

Janet refused an initial proposal of marriage into Mormon society, against the advice of her adopted family. She remained steadfast in her original decision. By making plain her own preference and arguing convincingly, Janet won the family to her side. With her true wishes known, they enlisted the aid of the top Mormon authority in the area to persuade Dudley. The initiative rested clearly with Janet. In addition, Janet's actions indicate that she both understood and accepted LDS cultural perspectives, and that she indentified as a Mormon woman. Janet and Dudley married. George A. Smith

³⁴⁴ "Janet Smith Leavitt," Utah State Historical Society Classified Photo Collection, 39222001356026 no. 12853 Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, UT.

performed the ceremony in Janet's home and she packed her things on Dudley's wagon. They spent their honeymoon on the road to Dudley's farm.³⁴⁵

Dudley's three wives, waiting at home were at least as surprised as Dudley and most likely more upset. Mary, Dudley's first wife, had already made this transition twice and understood best. The second wife, Maria, "spluttered" a little. Thirza, the pretty young bride of six months, packed her things in an understandable fit of pique and went back to her mother, telling her family that she could have accepted another wife—but an Indian was more than she could take.³⁴⁶

Thirza's reaction speaks to the dissonance involved when accepted doctrines encountered specific actual application. It was one thing to accept God-sanctioned plural marriage and quite another to practice the daily routines and accommodations involved. This is also true of nineteenth-century Mormon perceptions of Indians. The broad concept that Indians descended from a chosen bloodline, beloved of God, faced the reality of daily Indian-Pioneer interactions. Thirza was, thus, amenable to plural marriage as a doctrine when she became the third wife, but opposed when there was a fourth wife and an Indian at that.³⁴⁷ Mormons, viewing Indian behavior, foreign to Euro-American cultural norms, found dissonance between those actions and the idea of Indians as part of chosen Israel. Rather, some Mormons found in Indian customs a confirmation of the doctrinal view of Indians as "lost and fallen." This tension multiplied as racially mixed marriages and polygamous families blended. Conversely, Paiute perceptions of Mormons as potential allies often gave way to bitterness as differing

³⁴⁵ Brooks, *Dudley Leavitt*, 47.

³⁴⁶ *Ibid*, 47.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid*.

concepts of Paiute and Mormon land and resource usage clashed.³⁴⁸ However, some Mormons and Indians gritted their teeth and made the best of the situation; in Thirza's case her parents reminded her of her obligations. Juanita Brooks tells the rest of the story:

Thirza's parents, older and wiser, gave her no sympathy. "You take your things and go right back," her father told her. "You should be ashamed to make such a fuss. When you married him, he had two other wives. They were kind to you and accepted you into their home. Now you do the same ... How do you know but what this was the counsel of the authorities? Anyway, you go back, act like a lady, and hold your tongue." Chastened, Thirza returned the following week and the adjustments to the family began in earnest.³⁴⁹

Each wife had a separate cabin. Janet's was a "part dugout against the hill, but it was cool in the summer and warm in the winter." Brooks comments that the other wives believed it was as good an establishment as theirs. One wonders what Janet thought, but she left no record of her own.³⁵⁰ Time went by and Janet had child after child. In addition she cared for a five-year-old Paiute girl, Susie, whom the Paiutes traded to Dudley for food. Dudley's oldest daughter, Hannah, recounted: "I can still see [Susie] crying when the Indians went away. Father kept her five years and let Brother William Pulsipher have her for a span of oxen."³⁵¹ Such comments casually dropped into Brook's secondary account, present uncomfortable puzzles. Dudley Leavitt could love and care for a Native American wife and raise eleven of her children, but could trade away Susie as property for "a span of oxen." We do not know if the Pulsiphers wanted a daughter enough to trade for Susie or if she was simply an extra servant to lighten their load. Trading with someone like Wakara for a child is at least comprehensible in light of the

³⁴⁸ Knack, *Boundaries Between*, 88.

³⁴⁹ Brooks, *Dudley Leavitt*, 47.

³⁵⁰ *Ibid*, 48.

³⁵¹ *Ibid*, 57.

expressed purpose of Mormons to raise young Indigenes who could learn and later teach the gospel, or be kept from leaving the territory, but subsequent trade between Mormons complicates the issue.

As the years passed the family grew apart geographically. Dudley contracted to run the mail between St. George, Utah and Bunkerville, Nevada. Janet, Mary and Maria lived at the center of the run, in Leavittville, just south of Littlefield. Thirza moved to St. George, and Martha, a widow who Dudley took as his fifth wife, lived in Bunkerville.³⁵² The family rallied around Dudley during his time as a wanted man during the polygamy raids of the 1880's.³⁵³ Dudley took all of his wives to the Temple to be "sealed" to him for "time and eternity." Mary was first, then Maria and Thirza in 1868. Janet was last, in 1882. This also appears to be 14 years after the first sealing.³⁵⁴ Dudley could not take the whole family at once. Did he go strictly by marriage order, as seems to be the case, or was there hesitation because Janet was Navajo? If children are any measurement of a close and happy relationship, the answer is probably that Dudley had no hesitation. Mary had twelve children, as did Maria. Janet, with eleven was next and Thirza had ten. Janet was the first of the family to pass away, dying in 1907. There is a photo of her in Juanita Brook's biography of Dudley. She is together with Dudley and the other four wives at an Old Folks Party. It appears that she is the only one smiling.³⁵⁵ Janet lived out the life of her choosing. Dudley Leavitt was Janet's husband as completely as he was to her sister wives.

³⁵² Brooks, *Dudley Leavitt*, 89.

³⁵³ *Ibid*, 90-93.

³⁵⁴ *Ibid*, 100.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid*, 97.



Figure 9 Dudley Leavitt and his five wives, about 1905³⁵⁶

Difficulties

Some Native American adoptees adjusted to life in a Mormon community and appeared to be accepted by their neighbors. Others experienced greater difficulties. The poignant story of Lucy Meeks, a Native American of unknown tribal descent, speaks to the difficulty of one woman's struggle to acculturate. "[In 1851] The Indians brought in Indian children that they had stole to sell us. I bought one girl some [t]hree or four years old and called her name Lucy," wrote Southern Utah settler, and sometime practitioner of herbal medicine, Priddy Meeks. "I gave her about as [g]ood an education as I give my own children, and she made a nice smart [w]oman as anyone,"³⁵⁷ exclaimed Meeks, seeming almost surprised that she could become such a woman. Lucy's foster sister, Nancy, described Lucy and her talents: "She became a good Scholar and was a beautiful Singer. I never have Seen any girl that could equal her washing and Ironing," said Nancy. "She was a good Cook and also good dress maker. She earned her own living

³⁵⁶ Ibid, 97.

³⁵⁷ Priddy Meeks (1879-1882), "Journal," BYU Library 1937 typescript, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Provo, UT., 61-62.

and was known through the country for her exelent [sic] work She was a very nice dancer and took well with the young People...She was very bright good looking had a Splendid PhySic very graceful black eyes and Hair also a good Singer.”³⁵⁸

Apparently her family and the community thought well of Lucy. But in 1866 trouble found her, in the form of a shy, bashful sheepherder named John McCleves, who got Lucy “in the family way,” according to the secondary source. The two spent a fair amount of time together and both families, according to Priddy Meeks, thought that John “was going to marry her, as it was no secret that such was the intention.” John came to the Meeks house after he heard that Lucy claimed him to be the father. Priddy told John that Lucy did, indeed, name him as such and the boy “appeared much agitated as though he could hardly control himself,” and heatedly said, ““It [is] a cursed lie. Where is Lucy? I want to see her, tell her to come here.”” At this highly charged moment Meeks, looking out over his corn field saw an animal feeding on his crops. He told McCleves to wait that “there was an animal in [the] corn,” and he “would be back in a minute.” As Meeks headed back to the house he heard a gunshot. McCleves “got Mosiah’s gun and shot himself in the head.”

McCleves’ family charged Priddy with murder and “thought [his] blood ought to atone for [the boy’s death], and the plan was concocted to bring it about.” Apostle Erastus Snow travelled the thirteen miles from St. George to Harrisburg to hold a hearing about the accusations that Priddy Meeks murdered John McCleves and Lucy Meeks had been having relations with other men. Both charges proved false and the dispute went to arbitrators who gave Lucy John McCleves’ house, since she was carrying his child.

³⁵⁸ Nancy Meeks Asay, “written account and description of Lucy Meeks,” 3 pages, Digital copy and transcript, received from Thea Daniel, June, 6, 2011, Original in possession of Thea Daniel, Thea_Daniel@byu.edu

Meeks recalled, “Bro Snow councelled me to deed it to [Lucy’s baby] Sylvia and I did so.”³⁵⁹ The fact that the court decided in favor of Lucy and her father indicates that Lucy’s genetic characteristics did not prejudice her case in the eyes of Mormon jurisprudence.

Lucy and her mother raised Sylvia. At one point when her mother left town for some undisclosed reason, Lucy sent her a letter, (one of the few primary documents extant in the handwriting of a Native American child in a Mormon home). “Dear Mother,” Lucy writes, “I take my pen in hand to lett you know that we get along.” She joked that when she told her father that she would write a letter he said “that would do the grasshoppers in all gone.” Lucy mentioned that they were “putin...corne and cane in.” (planting corn and sugarcane for sorghum), Lucy apparently wove carpets to earn her way. “I have [got] Sister rubb[‘s?] carpet done and I am goin to weave annies fullers carpet I am goin to comense hern this weeke Sudann she will help me with the carpet and I will help her in thern.” She added a note from little Sylvia, “tell ganymony to come home all the children talks about you.”

On the back of the page Lucy added a postscript: “the aprceters [apricots] is gotten ripe write soon as you get this and lett us know how you get along Emily Leavitt was babtised to day she got up in meeten and acnuledeg [sic] her sing [sin] well I will write againe”³⁶⁰ Those are the only lines of Lucy’s that we have, but they demonstrate a woman deeply involved in the community and in the church; perhaps she believed it necessary to try harder than the others to compensate for her ancestry. Sadly, Lucy

³⁵⁹ Meeks, “Journal,” 67-69.

³⁶⁰ Lucy Meeks, “lucy Meeks, to Dear Mother, Harrisonburg, Washington Co. June 17th” *Priddy Meeks Correspondence, 1854-1892*, MSS SC 2171 Folder 1, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, , Provo, UT.

became ill and died when Sylvia was eight years old. “The night before she died,” remembers Nancy, “[s]he Sang, oh my Father [a Mormon hymn] She sang So Sweetly the listeners was thrilled with its Sweetness.” Lucy said that “her dead Mother...had come for her...and she wanted to go with her.” Then Lucy spoke in her native “Indian language.” She rested for a moment then gathered strength and told her family “that she was going to join her own people in their happy hunting grounds and that it had been a mistake for her ever to suppose that she could be a white girl. Indian children, she said, should be left with their own people where they could be happy; when they were raised in white homes they did not belong anywhere.” Then, according to the secondary source, “The flame leaped up in the coal-oil lamp as though it were fanned by a sudden breeze, in spite of the fact that the room was closed and there was no air stirring. The same instant Lucy’s spirit took leave, passing without a struggle.” Sylvia could be found nowhere when the time for the funeral came. Neighbors found her hiding under a large grapevine in their yard. Nancy said, “She was very much frightened of her dead mother and would not look at her.”³⁶¹

The interposition of the supernatural into Native American death narratives often frequents the Mormon secondary literature that tells their stories. Mormons recognized the spiritual nature of many Native American customs, and often attempted to appropriate them as evidence of a common Indigenous-Mormon spirituality. Mormon readers of the subsequent secondary accounts probably shed a genuine tear or two, reinforced in the conviction they held that another gathered Lamanite, buoyed by final heavenly manifestations had passed sweetly to the other side. On the other hand, Lucy’s final admonition that “Indian children should be left with their own people,” may evidence her

³⁶¹ Brooks, “Indian Relations,” 37-38; Asay, “Lucy Meeks account and description,”

own final renunciation of a way of life that had failed her, despite her efforts to belong, as well as reinforcing a degree of Mormon racialist inclinations.

Some Native American women never married and lived out their lives, apparently appreciated by their neighbors but likely lonely. Paw-wow-a-woots and Wear-ament gave their eighteen-month-old daughter, Mennorrow, to John and Mary Hamilton in Iron County “in exchange for a horse,” and the Hamiltons named her Anna. Mennorrow’s Paiute mother often visited her daughter, bringing her other children and gifts of pine nuts, and Anna kept contact with her for many years. Mormon foster families usually appear to have been very willing to receive visits from the biological parents. Later, as Anna reached maturity, she followed the Hamiltons to Heber City, near Provo, and then attended several schools and worked as a domestic and nanny in homes in Salt Lake City, San Francisco and Seattle. Her boarding house burned down in Seattle and left Anna injured and destitute but friends bought her clothes and she returned to Salt Lake City where she worked as a pastry cook and head cook at St. Mark’s Hospital and Bingham Hospital. Anna stayed active in the LDS women’s organization, the Relief Society, and (perhaps ironically) even served as an officer in the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers. She gathered her family genealogy and attended the Salt Lake Temple to perform proxy ordinances for them, indicating her faithful adherence to Mormon temple worship. She died, unmarried, in 1958. The writer of Anna’s life sketch insisted that Anna was, “a kindly humble person striving in every way to be a faithful Latter-day Saint. Hers has been a life of service to others and a credit to her Lamanite heritage.”³⁶²

³⁶² Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, v. 1, 207-208.



Figure 10 Anna Mennorrow Hamilton

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Another Indian girl who grew up to become an apparently valued member of the community but who never married was Mary Thompson. Utes threatened to kill this six-month-old Navajo baby, and then traded her to Joseph Black for “a sack of wheat, in Ephraim, Sanpete County. Black gave the child to Peter Thompson and Mary, as they named her, lived there until she grew up, caring for Thompson until he died of cancer and as ‘cloth was scarce’ [she] patiently washed all the bandages that were used in the care of [his] cruel sores.” Mary also acted as a mother to the younger Peter Thompson’s baby when his wife died in childbirth. After this boy’s death at age six and following Peter’s remarriage, Mary took her inheritance and went to live with the Canute Peterson family

³⁶³ Anna Mennorrow Hamilton, in *Palmer Collection*, Sherratt Library, Southern Utah University, Cedar City, UT., Accessed June 15, 2011.
http://contentdm.li.suu.edu/cdm4/item_viewer.php?CISOROOT=/palmer&CISOPTR=294&CISOBX=1&REC=4

and later accompanied a grandson Tony Lund to Provo to care for him. While in Provo Mary fell from a second story landing and broke her leg which she eventually lost to amputation. She made her way back to Ephraim and became a dressmaker. She hobbled from house to house on crutches and earned “fifty cents per day.” Some neighbors called her “Indian Mary,” with no thought that it might be hurtful. Upon her death, her savings paid for the burial, a thrifty virtue that the biographer made sure to point out. She never married, and the writers included an enlightening aside in concluding Mary’s biography: “Throughout her lifetime Mary was ashamed that Indians were forced to beg, and whenever they came around for this reason, she would go and hide.”³⁶⁴ One wonders if Mary expressed this feeling to someone who told the biographer, or if this is a case of the author attributing behavior subjectively. Another possibility may include Mary inheriting the attitude of her white family, who may have feared that the Indians might want her back and hid her as a child, for Mary herself would have been too young to remember her captivity or the threats of her captors, but such things may have stayed on her foster mother’s mind. In addition, a number of scholars have noted the propensity for self-loathing, as a phenomenon among marginalized people, and this may have caused Mary’s fear.³⁶⁵

As indicated, some Native Americans experienced rejection in their search for a marriage partner. One of these children, now grown, did not wish to grow old without children and responded in a novel way. Hungry Paiutes first traded a five-year-old girl to Janet Smith Leavitt’s husband Dudley, for as much wheat as would stay on a blanket “without rolling off,” and some sheep. The girl, named Susie, lived with the Leavitts and

³⁶⁴ Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, v. 8, 123-24.

³⁶⁵ George Herbert Mead, *Mind, Self, and Society from the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist*. (New York: Vintage, 1955).

Janet took care of her for five years, then Dudley “let Brother William Pulsipher have [Susie] for a span of oxen.”³⁶⁶ This secondary trading of previously acquired Indian children sounds a troubling note in the narrative and reminds the reader that the United States was a nation accustomed to treating marginal groups as chattel. Mormons evidenced the same attitude by their actions. We do not know if they considered her an adopted child or a servant. Later events in Susie’s life complicate her story. She took William Pulsipher’s surname and worked in St. George, Washington County as a sometime domestic and camp cook. “Though she never married,” writes Juanita Brooks, “she had three children, Harvey, Renie, and Nina. There is no record to indicate the identity of the father or fathers of the children or whether Susie engaged in prostitution. However, soon after the birth of her second child, Susie was called before the local Church authorities to “answer for her sins.” This would suggest that she had, at some point, been baptized a member of the Church as it is unlikely the Church authorities would have called her to meet with them otherwise. Susie made a bold defense: “I have a right to children. No white man will marry me. I cannot live with the Indians. But I can have children, and I will support the children that I have. I will ask no one else to support them. I will have them because I want them. God meant that a woman should have children.” Whether the Church leaders imposed any sanctions remains unclear, however in the aftermath the town apparently “came to accept Susie and her children.” She maintained steady employment and continued to provide for her family. A St. George

³⁶⁶ Hannah Leavitt Terry, “Journal.” (In possession of Mrs. Selena H. Leavitt, Homedale, Idaho in 1944.) in “Indian Relations,” Brooks, 44.

girl, speaking of Susie, averred, “If I were going to be an old maid, I’d be a respectable old maid, like Susie, and have children.”³⁶⁷

Brooks recounts a touching and even painful narrative about Susie that informs our understanding of the way settlers perceived their Native American neighbors. One day an employer, Lottie Carter, watched Susie gazing wistfully out the window. When Carter asked what she saw, Susie answered, “It is my people. My mother and my folks. Sister Carter, do you know what I would like? I wish I could invite them in and cook them a meal. Not just a hand-out by the back door, but a dinner at the table.” Carter encouraged Susie to do just that. Susie called out to her Paiute relatives and invited them in. Susie set the table with Mrs. Carter’s “best linen and dishes” and cooked and served a fine meal. “Mrs. Carter said that she always thought Indians were stolid and undemonstrative until she saw their delight as they examined the nice things on the table and their pleasure in eating the food.”³⁶⁸ As understanding as Mrs. Carter may have thought she was, she partook of the common stereotype of “stolid, undemonstrative Indians.” It took a demonstration of delight by Susie’s family to change her perspective.

Susie’s sister, for whom the extant records give no given name, was sold by her mother to a Panaca, Nevada Mormon family named Matthews. The records fail to list her given name. When the Matthews took her she screamed and cried and tried to get away until they locked her in a back bedroom. Her father came the next night and talked to her through the window, until her pleading wore him down and he convinced the Matthews to return her. However, when they arrived at camp the girl’s mother furiously “scolded the father and spanked the child, telling her that she must go and stay in the

³⁶⁷ Brooks, *Indian Relations*, 44-45.

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

white home where she could get good food and clothes. She took the child by the arm and marched her right back.” In this case the secondary account dwells on the grief of the girl’s father and his reluctance to let her go, in counterpoint to the mother’s insistent, even angry resolve to complete the trade. Such insights point to the depth of emotions such trades stirred.

The girl grew up in the Matthew’s home and later told Ella Leavitt that she ““kept...clean and careful and learned everything [she] could.” She said, “They treated me all right, too, only I knew I was different. When I was grown up I wanted a man. No white man would marry Me.” Like her sister, Susie, this woman found no encouragement as she sought a mate. She convinced a Moapa boy named Jim, employed by Mr. Matthews, to marry her and take her with him when he finished his work.

Having been raised by Mormons and adopting their culture, Susie’s sister experienced difficulty adjusting to life among the Moapas. Jim’s mother, Jane, despised everything about the girl; “her hair, her shoes, her clothes, the way she did things—especially the fact that she wore corsets. That Jane could not forgive. She kept up a continual string of criticism; the daughter-in-law was extravagant and she did not cook right.” The final explosion came after Jim gave his wife some grocery money and said she could spend a little on herself, so along with the groceries she brought home a new “pair of corsets and some flower material for a dress... I just couldn’t get along without corsets,” she said. “I had been trained to wear them and my back ached so if I left them off. Besides, I didn’t look nice without them.”

She hid the corsets but Jane found out and “made such a fuss!” The family spat expanded to a “general camp quarrel.” Susie’s sister had enough. She told Jim “he would have to choose between her and his mother, and he decided to stay with the tribe.” “She could have gone to work among the whites,” concludes Brooks, “but she would likely have followed Susie’s example [and] didn’t want that. She didn’t belong to the whites, and now she decided that she didn’t belong with the Indians.” Ella Leavitt told Brooks, “The last I heard of her she was living with the Santa Clara band and thought that she might get a husband.”³⁶⁹ The Matthews woman, raised by Mormons in their culture with its externally imposed conventions faced a quandary: They expected her to play by Mormon rules and she tried, yet they apparently imposed unwritten restrictions on her qualifications to marry into the culture. The Moapas resented the way she dressed and acted. She was caught in the cultural borderland seams—always at risk of offending both cultures.

Native American men experienced even more difficulty when courting white women. The known marriages in the current research indicate sixty-nine female Native Americans married to non-Hispanic whites while only nine Native American men married a non-Hispanic white spouse. The number of Native Americans that married other Native Americans or Hispanics appeared about even by gender but also seemed rare. This may be because of a lack of records among those who returned to tribal life and married there, but a substantial gap exists. David and Phoebe Foss Sessions raised Ute Jim Madower Sessions or “Jim Injun...as [he] was called.” Jim’s mid-twentieth century biographer lavishes praise on Jim’s accomplishments. Jim hunted, trapped, and

³⁶⁹ Brooks, “Indian Relations,” 46-47.

practiced carpentry and rock masonry. He danced well and pitched on a ball team. LDS President Wilford Woodruff (David Session's brother-in-law) hunted with Jim and preached his funeral sermon. He was the "first Lamanite of this dispensation to receive endowments, receiving them in the Logan Temple, October 16, 1885." But Jim never married. As is the case with Anna Mennorow Hamilton and Mary Thompson the sources give us no indication of whether remaining single represented a burden or a choice for Sessions. He died of tuberculosis in 1895 at the age of fifty.³⁷⁰

Tony Tillohash, who told the story of Coyote and the sack at the beginning of this thesis, became the last known surviving member of those Native Americans brought into Mormon homes in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, dying in 1971.

"Tillohash was born in 1886 in Mt. Carmel, Utah. His father and grandfather had been killed by Mormons near Pipe Spring in retaliation for [the murder of a Mormon named Whitmore]; his sister had been traded to a Navajo by an uncle; and he was being raised by his grandmother when he was discovered and taken into the home of Alvin and Lucy Heaton until he was old enough to attend the Indian school in Carlisle, Pennsylvania."³⁷¹

Both Tony and his Grandmother were orphaned by retaliatory attacks against the Southern Paiutes. In fact, the name Tillohash is anglicized from the Paiute Tuhduh'hets (Orphan).³⁷²

Tony nearly starved when a Shivwits band abandoned him and his aged grandmother. Alvin and Lucy Heaton fostered Tony in their home until he reached the age to attend school, at which point they sent him to the Indian Industrial School, in

³⁷⁰ Johnson, "Indian Tribes," 406;

³⁷¹ Diane Austin et al., *Yanawant: Paiute Places and Landscapes in the Arizona Strip, Volume Two of The Arizona Strip Landscapes and Place Name Study*, (St. George, UT: Bureau of Land Management, 2005), 26.

³⁷² *Ibid*, 11.

Carlisle Pennsylvania. Carlisle's masthead stated its purpose: "To civilize the Indian, get him into civilization. To keep him civilized, let him stay."³⁷³ The Heatons, as active Mormons, would have related to this philosophy of training Native Americans to be useful mirrors of their Euro-American foster families. As the first off-reservation boarding school, Carlisle became a model for others as the federal government worked to assimilate Native Americans into the majority culture. Tony despised Carlisle but stuck it out with encouragement from Lucy who sent "a little spending money" and told him that Carlisle represented "a fine opportunity." At the conclusion of his education Tony returned to St. George bearing all the marks of white culture—the right clothes, the right grooming and the correct manners—and went courting to the home of a Mormon girl he liked. The girl and her parents "discouraged his suit, advising him to marry among his own people. Rejected as a Mormon suitor, Tillohash left and went back among the Indians to live, later marrying" Bessie Saimon, "an Indian woman."³⁷⁴ Tillohash's Coyote stories remind us that life in the seams requires a trickster, someone who can negotiate both worldviews while being internally true. Tillohash may exemplify literary scholar Paul Lauter's "trickster" who "addressing multiple audiences, emerges as trickster and clown, deferential and sweet even as [he] spins away with a grotesque gesture of...is it triumph? defiance? invitation?" Lauter concludes the thought by maintaining that: "Survival is serious business that, it may be, cannot be taken all too seriously."³⁷⁵

³⁷³ Clifford E. Trafzer, et al., eds., *Boarding School Blues: Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences*, (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 14, note 38.

³⁷⁴ Brooks, "Indian Relations," 47.

³⁷⁵ Paul Lauter, "The Literature of American: A Comparative Discipline," *Redefining American Literary History*, Eds. A. LaVonne Brown Ruoff and Jerry W. Ward, Jr. (New York, NY: Modern Language Association, 1990), 31.

Other Native Americans were able to find marriage partners among the Mormons, though their lives certainly do not appear trouble free. Prejudice and stereotyping continued to show through, from time to time. The little girl recovered from the frozen fields of the Bear River Massacre was named Jannie Hull. Shortly after the massacre, her uncle came through Franklin; he told the Hulls that her name was Casoata. Jannie survived and grew up in the Hull home. Her foster parents baptized her and she participated fully in her congregation. Jannie married a white man, George Heber Riley, of Ogden, Weber County, and had eight children, listed in one record as “George Riley Jr Ogden Utah now dead, Mrs. W. M. Graham, Mrs. J. C. Clancy, Mrs. Mary Wiggins, Mrs. Eva Halliday, Elko Nevada, Miss Ida K. Riley, trained nurse, Ventura, California, Herbert Riley Carlin, Nevada and John Riley, Colorado.” The writer of this account also stated that Jannie “was a very good housekeeper and good cook.”³⁷⁶ Thomas Hull, who provided the colloquial account of William’s memory of the massacre, also provided a further narrative about Jannie’s life after her marriage that speaks of George Riley’s frequent drunkenness and the ups and downs it caused.

Hull remembered “Hebe [George] as we called him was like a real uncle to us Boys...we all liked Hebe and Janey and many good times we had together [,] but Hebe’s worst fault was that...he often got drunk... [and] would be quite mean and might hurt a person if he wasn’t watched...but when sober was extra good and verry free hearted verry jolley...he was good company all the time he was sober.” Thomas mentions “Hebe didn’t belong to any church but his Parents Brothers and Sisters was all good mormons

³⁷⁶ Jane Hull Riley. “Notes.” Microfilm, 1130 HBLL/ Mss Film 920 #93 L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Provo, UT., (Note on original record: “Taken from Mrs. Gretta H Rallison Family Remembrance Book “ She let me take it .”)

and [Jannie] was a member of the mormon church as nearly [all] of the Hooper Folks [were]...at that time.” He mentions that “a few outsiders and Postates [apostates]” provided the exception to the rule. According to Thomas, Jannie helped the Hulls with their “[m]ilk cows and chickens.” Some of these apparently strayed, because Jannie “often times...would be hunting cows verry late at night on the lonely prarie or Sand Hills.” Thomas and his friends accompanied her “many times” and complained that “[d]arkness come on before we could find them and often go home quite late at night with no cows and have to be hunted up the next morning and be glad to be milked.” Thomas notes that “Heber...as he got older he quit drinking whiskey so much as he had been doing” and that [Jannie] Died at a bout 55 years of age a bout the year 1910.”³⁷⁷ One wonders whether Riley reduced his alcoholic intake before Jannie died.

Another family member, Leo Ralliston recalls that, “about 1900 or 1901 when my family was living in a brick home in North Fairview, Grandmother Hull and Aunt Martha H. Dunkley, mother’s sister, brought an Indian woman to visit us.” When Ralliston entered the room his mother “was hugging and kissing the Indian woman... [she] told me that this...was her Indian sister [and] asked me to shake her hand and tell her I was glad to see her. So I shook the hand of one of the survivors of the battle of Bear River.” Ralliston noted that “the woman...didn’t look like the Indians who came about begging for food and clothing. She looked like a white woman dressed in Sunday meeting clothes.”³⁷⁸ Jannie lost her Shoshone heritage. Her new parents provided an alternative culture that she apparently claimed as her own. Her life as a Shoshone, raised by her biological parents would have been different in so many ways. But contingent

³⁷⁷ Spencer, “Hull 1867 Reminiscences,” 6-8.

³⁷⁸ Leo Rallison, letter to the *Cache Valley Newsletter*, *Bear River Massacre*, Hart.

alternatives hardened with the coming of the Mormons, the Oregon Trail, Patrick Connor's Third Volunteer Infantry, and Jannie Hull Riley's captivity.



Figure 11 Jannie Hull Riley³⁷⁹

Nellie Waddie Leithead, the Pahvant girl acquired by the Hinman family and given to the Leitheads, also married a Mormon. After her adoption by the Leitheads, Nellie became “well educated” for her time and place, meaning, probably, that she could read and write English, as she “would often help to teach her younger brothers and sisters to read.” One may question what constitutes an acceptable level of education, and how this varies from culture to culture. An educated Pahvant, according to Pahvant standards

³⁷⁹ Jane Hull. “Photograph.” Accessed July 15, 2011.
http://records.ancestry.com/Jane_Hull_records.ashx?pid=121343040

would be required to understand and employ a whole range of skills and cultural actions that Mormons would find unimportant.

Nellie married Daniel Justet Jr. in 1870 in Santa Clara, Washington County in her twenty-seventh year. Daniel came to Utah from St. Germaine, Pinoche, Italy where his family had joined the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The Justets were called to settle the Muddy River area of southern Nevada and met the Leitheads on the move south. Nellie and Daniel moved to Panguitch, Utah and later to Escalante, Utah where Daniel worked as a stone mason. They raised a family of nine children.³⁸⁰

According to the account of Nellie's great granddaughter Arlen Sandin Haney, the Justets found respect in the community and became well known. The townsfolk referred to Nellie as "Aunt Nellie." Haney writes, "She was very kind, thoughtful and loving by nature. Since she was well educated she helped everyone with their lessons. She was a very good nurse going to all families to serve them when needed. Her nature was one o[f] Female understanding [for] others troubles and having compassion for them. Her personality radiated out to all who knew her." Apparently the Justet home became a community gathering place, according to Haney, because of the family's musical talent; family members played the "piano, violin, guitar, accordion and [sang]" as well. "The young people gathered here to have a good clean time spent in games, music and entertainment." For Christmas, Nellie made "dolls for all the little girls in the community." Despite all these positive statements of praise by loving relatives, Nellie

³⁸⁰ Nellie Waddie Leithead Justet. (1844-1892), "Notes." , MSS SC 1103, Harold B. Lee Library, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Provo, UT., Accessed June 15, 2011. http://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/cdm4/item_viewer.php?CISOROOT=/WomenManu&CISOPTR=428&CISOBOX=1&REC=5

sounded a note of caution as she lay dying of pneumonia in 1892. "...[S]he thought her children would be mistreated by another, if Daniel should remarry, [and] he promised her he would never marry again and would raise their family himself," a daughter, Susannah remembered. Daniel kept his promise and never remarried, raising the nine children as a single parent. The specter of a second spouse who might act with prejudice towards Nellie's children seemed to be more than she could bear, and certainly reflects Nellie's concern of prejudicial treatment of her children by Mormon society, even though Nellie and Daniel appear to have possessed a warm and happy life together.³⁸¹ Daniel did not receive his temple endowment, one of the crowning ordinances that committed Mormons accept as a symbol of their full participation in the church's faith and practices, until 1923, but when he did he had Nellie "sealed" to him for "time and eternity."

Of the 78 marriages listed for the Native Americans for which records have been found, only three are recorded to have ended in divorce. It is possible that additional divorces occurred but records have not been found to confirm additional instances. Latter-day Saints generally considered marriage to be a serious and permanent rite, although a relaxation of this attitude appears to have been practiced in the case of some plural marriages. Historian Sarah Barringer Gordon notes that in such plural marriages, "the Church urged reconciliation but also acknowledged that some marriages could not be salvaged; in these circumstances, the Church permitted divorce in order to promote remarriage and continued reproduction. Implicit in this point is the conclusion that divorce was not a rejection of belief in plural marriage but should instead be recognized

³⁸¹ Nellie Waddie Leithead Justet, 1844-1892, "Biography," Arlen Sandin Haney, Box 457, Hatch Utah, 1974, MSS SC 1103, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Provo, UT;

as an indication that plural marriages endured greater stress than monogamous ones.”³⁸²

The few plural marriages between the Native American children and Mormons appear to have endured until a spouse passed away. In 1870 the divorce rate for Utah was one in 185 marriages and one in 219 in 1880.³⁸³ So three divorces in the 78 blended marriages recorded was about seven times higher than the 1880 average in Utah. However, compared with divorce rates among Canadian trappers and fur traders, who often “turned off” native wives with whom they were living à la façon du pays (after the custom of the country) upon their retirement and return to the east or England, blended Mormon marriages were much more stable.³⁸⁴



Figure 12 Nellie Waddie Leithead Justet³⁸⁵

³⁸² Kathryn M. Daynes, *More Wives Than One: Transformation of the Mormon Marriage System, 1840-1910*, (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 165-169; Sarah B. Gordon, review *More Wives Than One*, by Kathryn Daynes, *BYU Studies*, 41, 4, (2002): 145-149.

³⁸³ “Failed Marriages,” *Salt Lake Herald*, February, 27, 1889, 4.

³⁸⁴ Sylvia Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur Trade Society, 1670-1870*, (Norman OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 50-52.

³⁸⁵ Find a Grave. “Nellie Waddie Leithead Justet.” Accessed April 23, 2012. <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=118447>

One method that may be used when evaluating the relative strength of relationships in Mormon culture involves using statistics on Mormon ordinances. In order to understand Mormon identity as it relates to Native Americans who became a part of Mormon families, a summarization of Mormon religious practices and rituals here seems necessary. This is important, because many of the secondary sources specifically noted whether or not the Native American children participated in these the religious rites. Thus the ordinance provided a measuring stick by which the writers would judge faithful LDS observance.

Latter-day Saint sacraments or “ordinances” comprise ritual ceremonies that Mormons believe to be mandated by Deity, to access Christ’s atoning power. Participation in these covenants indicates the “activity” or commitment of individual church members. For Mormons, baptism by immersion for the remission of sins, followed by the imposition of hands on the head of the newly baptized member by those holding the priesthood for the receipt of the gift of the Holy Ghost, confers membership in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Practicing members then attend weekly sacrament meetings where they partake of bread and water signifying their acceptance of Christ’s sacrifice on their behalf. Members also request priesthood blessings when ill or facing difficult trials or decisions. The priesthood holders who bless them anoint the supplicants with consecrated oil and offer specific spoken comfort while laying hands on their heads. Male members of the church after sufficient demonstration of serious desires to serve God, and upon attaining specified ages, receive ordination to the priesthood, also by the laying on of hands of those previously possessing priesthood authority. Latter-day Saints believe that those who practice faithful adherence to these

first ordinances may receive “power from on high” through a higher ordinance or covenant called the “endowment.” According to LDS beliefs, endowed men and women who desired to marry and remain committed to keeping church standards of probity and morality, are married or “sealed” not for the span of mortality only, also for “time and eternity.” Children born to such eternal marriages are designated by the church as “born in the covenant” and also belong to their family forever.

Endowments and sealings are performed in edifices called temples, considered as sacred by Latter-day Saints.³⁸⁶ During the church’s early years in Utah territory, a small temporary temple, called the Endowment House was built and dedicated so the higher ordinances could be performed.³⁸⁷ Those Native Americans who participated in Temple and Endowment House ordinances would have provided secondary source authors with the desired evidence of exemplary conduct they would be so anxious to tout as an indication of successful Indigenous incorporation into the mainstream of Mormonism. As in the original acquisition of Indigenous children, the cultural adaptations and conventions required as they grew and married manifested complicated, personality driven relationships that defy easy categorization. In the next chapter we will discover that many of the secondary sources about these children attempted to categorize and simplify what never was simple.

³⁸⁶ Boyd K. Packer, *The Holy Temple*. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Bookcraft, 1980).

³⁸⁷ Lisle G Brown, "Temple Pro Tempore': The Salt Lake City Endowment House," *Journal of Mormon History*, 34 (Fall 2008): 1-68.

Chapter Five: Epilogue

Themes and Sources

Two themes are at work in this final chapter. The first explores the response of the Native American children and those connected to them to Mormon culture and beliefs, either as parents, biological or foster siblings, members of their particular band, or children. Their stories demonstrate the wide range of expressions and practices in response to the Mormon religious presence in the Great Basin, as well as to secular federal government policies that affected the practice of both Native American and Mormon religion. These actions speak to internal individual identity formation in the face of externally driven circumstances.

The second theme has to do with the use of sources in this research. As this work has demonstrated, the relationships forged between Native American children and Mormon families were fraught with complexity and depended on a wide array of factors, including the individual personalities of both the children and the Mormons who lived with them. Due to the lack of primary Native American sources, much of the information used in this work employs secondary source material. Many of these sources were written years after most of the adopted children died. By the early to mid-twentieth century, the secondary sources detailing the lives of these children and those who captured, traded, gave them away or lived with them echoed the church's own re-emphasis of work to redeem the "Lamanites." There may be a correlation between the style and tone of these articles, the historical happenings in the nation, and LDS responses to those circumstances during the time the sources were written. A third missionary effort was

being launched by the LDS church at this time, as detailed by Elise Boxer,³⁸⁸ and for the church an emphasis on taking the gospel to Native Americans appeared to be coming back into vogue. Sociologist Armand Mauss details this surge by noting:

When the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 ended individual allotments and attempted to renew Indian reservation life, the church began to look again at the feasibility of special missions to Indian territory (for its own purposes, of course, not as part of the IRA's objectives). Early and substantial backing for the renewal of missionary work among the Indians of the Southwest in the 1930s and 1940s came from George Albert Smith, a senior apostle who soon became church president. The Navajo-Zuni Mission, organized in 1943, was the product of initiatives by local Mormon missionaries and leaders in certain stakes of Arizona and New Mexico, starting in the 1930s...Once again "the day of the Lamanite" seemed to be dawning. By 1970, more than fifty branches of the church had been organized among LDS Indians in the Southwest and elsewhere...³⁸⁹

These secondary literature sources which extol the refinement and skill of Native American products of Mormon upbringing should be contextualized in light of this renewed missionary impulse. Speaking of their problematic voice, Native American LDS historian Sondra Jones states, "Amateur historians, [and] various writers of local histories including the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers county histories, began to assemble collections and snippets of pioneer history. The purpose for these collections was to chronicle and glorify the heroism of their pioneer ancestors. Not surprisingly, their collections were judiciously edited, with unpleasant incidents carefully excised or reinterpreted to properly memorialize the courage and humanitarianism of the early Mormon settlers... Within the covers of these histories Indians appeared as either part of the hostile elements to be overcome, or mere curiosities to be clucked—or chuckled—over."³⁹⁰

³⁸⁸ Boxer, "To Become White and Delightful," iii.

³⁸⁹ Mauss, *All Abraham's Children*, 80-81.

³⁹⁰ Jones, "Saints and Sinners," 25.

These narratives, written by late nineteenth to mid-twentieth-century Mormon biographers in an attempt to celebrate Mormon culture and achievement artificially simplified the complex relationships, both political and familial, in these homes. In place of the complicated reality, authors often created stereotypes that failed to take many cultural and personal factors into account. Taken at face value, these sources, as written by Mormon authors, convey the impression that most Native American children raised in Mormon families achieved particular success in their acculturation and enjoyed doing so. However, multiple layers of cultural assumptions infuse these second-hand accounts, and one walks a fine line in examining them. Though much of what we know of the subjects of this thesis necessarily derives from such sources, these narratives strongly emphasize the qualities and actions which reinforce American and Mormon culture and celebrate Mormon colonization while minimizing or demeaning Native American culture and practice. Thus, these authors treated as epitomes the Indian children who appeared to best respond to Mormon imperatives. Through these stereotypical substitutes for reality, writers praised this perceived progress.

At least two traps exist in this oversimplified, stereotyped praise: Of over 400 children known to have lived in Mormon households during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the secondary accounts narrate the lives of less than 80, and these biographies are heavily weighted towards those who “succeeded” by Mormon reckoning. Sadly, and as important, this secondary source treatment may lead the reader to discount genuine Native American contributions to the historic record, to their people or to positive Indigenous-Mormon relationships as agents. These cultural traps must be navigated while employing sources for such valid information as may be gleaned because

these records provide the visible, though often distorted, Mormon reaction to the historically invisible Native American action, and represents the “black hole” metaphor discussed at the outset of this thesis. In a few cases, some of the children left their own written accounts, but these often partook of the same perspective as the secondary sources that tend to subjectively celebrate Mormon ideals and themes. Nevertheless, Native Americans’ own words make the most powerful imprint, because the actors themselves chose to explain their actions, and thus the use of their agency. These primary sources demonstrate the intent of the individual and such of these as have been located are included in this chapter.

Conversion

The odyssey of Native American children in Mormon homes that began in 1847 when Utes traded a frightened, tortured little girl to Mormons for a gun, comes full circle to the son of Sagwitch, two-year-old Bear River Massacre survivor, Beeshop Timbimboo, or as he later came to be known, Frank W. Warner. From his Mormon foster parents and from his father, Sagwitch, Warner inherited a mixed set of beliefs and attitudes that strove within him for the rest of his life. Warner “received a common school education, showing marked ability in penmanship. He made ties, burned charcoal and when the Oregon Short Line Railroad was built from Granger to Pocatello, helped build the grade to Soda Springs Idaho.”³⁹¹ He graduated from Brigham Young College in Logan and earned a living teaching penmanship and reading to farm families, driving his horse and buggy “from farm to farm, town to town, up and down the Cache Valley.”³⁹²

³⁹¹ Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, v. 8, 88.

³⁹² Hart, *Bear River Massacre*, 157-159.

Warner became an involved and committed member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints as demonstrated by the three missions he served for the church among Assiniboines, Dakotas, Yanktons and Hunkpapas, on the Fort Peck Reservation, and among his own Shoshone people, as well as the Paiutes and Bannocks in Utah and Idaho. “While yet a young man he married Edna Davis of Paradise, Cache County, by whom he had four children. His first wife was killed in an automobile accident. He later married an educated lady from Vermont. Mr. Warner died of influenza in January of 1919.”³⁹³ To understand how Frank Warner came to be a dedicated and committed Mormon missionary one must understand what happened to his father, Sagwitch, and to many of the northwestern Shoshone people during and after the Bear River Massacre, as well as to other Great Basin Indians between 1870 and 1900.

As the Civil War drew to a close the federal government turned its sights west to consolidate control over the disparate Native American and Mormon practices regarded as threats to the nation.³⁹⁴ While the government pressured Mormons to renounce polygamy, Indian agents arrived to administer the government plan for Native Americans; they should settle and become farmers and solid citizens, Christians and assets to the burgeoning United States. Both Latter-Day Saints and Native American leaders experienced the squeeze of trying to use existing resources while attempting to negotiate change in the face of federal demands for compliance. Many Native Americans searched for answers and a way out of trouble. Many reeled in the wake of forcible exodus from their ancestral hunting and gathering lands punctuated by horrific massacres by both U.S. troops and local militias. In the late 1860’s and early 1870’s the Shoshones

³⁹³ Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, v. 8, 88.

³⁹⁴ Elliot West, *The Last Indian War: the Nez Perce Story*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), preface xvii-xxi. West calls this process “The Greater Reconstruction.

and Paiutes were starving and the federal government appeared to be unwilling or unable to meet treaty obligations and provide sufficient supplies to alleviate the crisis.³⁹⁵ Many forced unto reservations, during and shortly after the Civil War, found few supplies and little food. Some Native Americans, pressed to the brink of extermination and starvation, violently resisted colonizing forces. Utah's Black Hawk War cost the lives of at least sixty whites and perhaps twice as many Native Americans, proving that Mormons would do what they considered necessary to vacate the land for settlement.³⁹⁶

In the midst of the Black Hawk War, sometime during April 21-23, 1866, the settlers of Circleville, Utah, slaughtered sixteen Paiute men, women, and children while saving and later adopting three younger children. Circleville lay squarely in the area contested by the opposing sides, and apparently the hysteria induced by the surrounding events led the local Mormons to this despicable act. Anthropologist/Ethnohistorian Martha Knack writes that the Indian men were gunned down, while the women and children had their throats cut. Archivist Albert Winkler pieced together information from letters written by the militia leaders and subsequent accounts given by the three children who survived to give a detailed account of the event. According to Winkler, upon hearing of the massacre general church leaders expressed disgust but no charges were ever pressed against the settlers involved.³⁹⁷ In the context of these tense times, the Shoshones in northern Utah also tried to preserve their way of life in the face of growing pressure from both transient emigrants along the Oregon Trail and growing numbers of

³⁹⁵ Christensen, *Sagwitch*, 77-78.

³⁹⁶ Lyman, *Kanosh*, 173.

³⁹⁷ Knack. *Boundaries Between*, 45; Albert Winkler, "The Circleville Massacre: a Brutal Incident in Utah's Black Hawk War." *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 55, 1, (Winter 1987): 4-21; Utah Communication History Encyclopedia. Theodora Davidson. "The Circleville Massacre: A Tragic Event in Utah History, May 5, 2010." Accessed May 26, 2012. <http://utahcommhistory.wordpress.com/2010/05/05/the-circle-ville-massacre-a-tragic-event-in-utah-history/>

Mormon Settlers in northern Utah's Cache Valley. Among his people a Shoshone leader pondered the way forward.

In 1822, Woo-roats-rats-in-gwibe gave birth to her fourth child, and presented him to his father Pin-in-netse. They named the baby Sakkwippíh (Mud Puddle). Soon his father stripped him naked and placed him in the snow. The child did not cry and Pin-in-netse knew he would be a great hunter. The boy grew to a man of slight build about five feet eight inches tall with a penchant for speaking good words, and Sakkwippíh became Sagwitch (Orator).³⁹⁸ Through the early years of Mormon settlement Sagwitch had ample opportunity to speak both with his people and with the settlers. "In spite of occasional episodes of violence" on the part of both whites and Native Americans, Shoshone-Mormon relations "generally remained amicable." However by the 1860's the growing tide of Mormon settlement in Cache Valley and other areas of northern Utah and southern Idaho, and the increased travel over the Oregon Trail brought tempers to the boiling point. When Patrick Connor's volunteers arrived the inevitable explosion occurred and the Shoshone suffered the horrific massacre at Bear River.³⁹⁹ Ned Blackhawk's "violence upon which the continent was built"⁴⁰⁰ flooded out of the river and scourged the sleeping village.

Many of Sagwitch's female relations and children died in the massacre. His wife's mother Quehegup attempted to feign death, hiding herself and one of Sagwitch's sons, Yeager, among the bodies of her friends. As Connor's troopers "systematically" walked among the dead, bayoneting, shooting and hacking the bodies, Yeager heard "screams and commotion." He opened his eyes and came face-to-face with a soldier

³⁹⁸ Christensen, *Sagwitch*, 10-13.

³⁹⁹ *Ibid*, 41-47.

⁴⁰⁰ Blackhawk, *Violence on the Land*, 3.

aiming at his head. The soldier lowered the rifle, and then raised it to Yeager's head a second and third time. After what must have seemed like an eternity, the trooper dropped his eyes and moved on. Yeager lived to tell the story, but soldiers killed Sagwitch's wife Dadabaychee and two of her sons, Hinnah and Potton as well.⁴⁰¹ Sagwitch wounded twice in the hand, barely escaped by diving into the freezing river and hiding under a pile of brush until dark. Connor's men claimed to find his body with the others. As previously detailed, Sagwitch's son Beeshop Timbimboo (Red Clay) became Frank Warner, so called by the Mormon family that adopted him.⁴⁰²

Although California troops did the killing, many Mormons assented to the deed. Official notes from a nearby congregational minute book noted: "We, the people of Cache Valley, looked upon the movement of Colonel Conner as an intervention of the Almighty." The Shoshones cared for their wounded in stunned silence. But Sagwitch and others continued to conduct revenge raids by running off Mormon livestock. Eventually captured, Sagwitch survived an assassination attempt while in custody that left him with a permanent limp. Upon his release his sister carried him on her back to a sympathetic Mormon, David Rees, who cared for Sagwitch until he healed. He was not well enough to attend the meeting that resulted in the 1863 Box Elder Treaty, which granted the government the use of roads through Shoshone territory in exchange for an annual allotment, but did not extinguish Shoshone land titles.⁴⁰³

The agents sent to administer the allotment worried at the lack of food available to feed the Shoshones. "There are just so many Indians. They are just so needy," complained Reverend George W. Dodge, a newly appointed agent. But in his eyes

⁴⁰¹ Christensen, *Sagwitch*, 53-54.

⁴⁰² *Ibid.*, 54-57.

⁴⁰³ *Ibid.*, 61-65.

another problem loomed even larger. The Northwestern Shoshones appeared to be mingling with Mormon interpreter Dimick Huntington, “a very unsavory character.” Furthermore, the Indians he asked insisted that “Mormons settled upon their lands ‘by their permission’ and that the ‘most friendly relations’ existed between the two peoples.”⁴⁰⁴

By the early 1870’s, according to his record, Mormon leader and missionary George Washington Hill and interpreter Dimick Huntington found Shoshones in a state of anticipation. Hill recounted an early spring 1873 experience shared by Ech-up-wy, a Skull Valley Shoshone, who beheld in vision “Three men,” who told him that the Mormon’s God was the true God and that he and the Indian’s Father were one.” The messengers further urged Ech-up-way to take his people and “go to the Mormons...and that he must be baptized.” The Indians should “gather, and stop their Indian life, and learn to cultivate the earth and build houses, and live in them.” In response, the Shoshones arrived en masse and came to Hill’s doorstep. George Hill had long since learned to speak Shoshone fluently and visited among the bands in his area. He ate with them, talked to them and gained their trust. They named him Inkapompy (Man with Red Hair). They had observed him heal a Shoshone man injured when a fishing pole clipped his head, and a little girl with “mountain fever.” Upon anointing her head with oil and laying hands on her head, Hill and his Mormon brethren saw her face immediately “covered with large drops of sweat; the fever broke, and the child got well.”⁴⁰⁵

⁴⁰⁴ Christensen, *Sagwitch*, 82.

⁴⁰⁵ Christensen, *Sagwitch*, 84-87. The LDS healing practices include the rites of “anointing and sealing the anointing. A man who holds the higher or “Melchizedek” priesthood anoints the person who is ill with olive oil that has been blessed or “consecrated for the healing of the sick, in the name of Jesus Christ.” This is typically followed by a second man joining him in laying their hands on the head of the person to be healed. The anointing is then sealed by “authority of the priesthood,” Jesus’ name is again invoked, and a blessing is given as the speaker is prompted. See Lesson 5, “Performing Priesthood Ordinances,” *Duties*

The Shoshones observed similar actions in their own healing customs and recognized powerful bo'ha. Now they applied for baptism. Hill told them to wait. He had no authority to do what they asked. However, several days later Brigham Young called Hill to Salt Lake and ordained him to “take charge of the mission to the Indians in all the northern country.” Hill hurried home and after taking a train to Corrine, Utah on the Utah-Idaho border, he walked twelve miles to the Shoshone camp. As he approached he saw Tig-we-tick-er, an aged Shoshone who laughed and said that Ti-guich (Sagwitch) told the Shoshone that Inkapompy would come today, and that he would come on foot. They must all “clean up and stay at home, as Inkapompy would preach to them.” Hill passed two other young men who also laughed and told the same story. Soon Sagwitch himself trotted down the road leading an extra horse. He greeted Hill and said, “I was surprised to see you coming [on foot]...but when I saw [it] I thought you would be tired, so I brought you a horse to ride.” When Hill arrived in camp he spent the rest of the day teaching Sagwitch and his band. That same day Hill wrote that he “baptized one hundred and one, confirming them at the waters edge.”⁴⁰⁶ Hill, “overwhelmed by the Shoshone response,” sent a note to Dimick Huntington asking him to tell Young that “the work is extending like fire in the dry grass.” Before Hill’s letter arrived, Sagwitch and three tribesmen arrived in Salt Lake City to see Brigham Young. Dimick Huntington ordained all four Shoshones to the “higher, or Melchizedek, priesthood and set them apart to the

and Blessings of the Priesthood: Basic Manual for Priesthood holders, Part B, (Salt Lake City, UT: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Revised 2000). Accessed May 11, 2012.

<http://www.lds.org/manual/duties-and-blessings-of-the-priesthood-basic-manual-for-priesthood-holders-part-b/lesson-5-performing-priesthood-ordinances?lang=eng>

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid, 90.

office of elder.” Two years later Sagwitch and his wife received their endowments and were sealed as husband and wife for time and eternity.⁴⁰⁷

Mormons helped the Shoshones establish several church farms during the ensuing years. However, bad soil or opposition from the non-Mormon settlers in the rail-head town of Corrine forced them to move several times. The Corrine newspapers stirred up rumors of insurrection claiming that the Mormons planned to unite with the Shoshones against Corrine, and U.S. troops evicted the Shoshones from one of the farms. The Mormon efforts to help the Shoshones enabled Sagwitch and his band to stay close to their home country rather than move to the reservation at Fort Hall, in Idaho. Other tribes visited Hill and at Sagwitch’s farm, expressing a desire to “have a meeting ‘as far from the white man as they can get easily’ in order to receive instructions and baptism.”⁴⁰⁸



Figure 13 Sagwitch and third wife, Beawoachee⁴⁰⁹

⁴⁰⁷ Christensen, *Sagwitch*, 90-91.

⁴⁰⁸ *Ibid*, 151.

⁴⁰⁹ Charles R. Savage, “Se-go-witz and his bride in her rabbit-skin robes...ca. 1875,” LDS Church History Library, Salt Lake City, UT.

During the 1870s, coincident to the first wave of Ghost Dance fervor, literally hundreds of Native Americans from many locations came to locations where they could be taught the Mormon religion and join the LDS Church. This rapid influx of Native Americans to the Mormons appeared to become general throughout the Great Basin about 1873-75. LDS historian Lawrence Coates asserts “at least five different Indians claimed supernatural visitations telling them to join the Mormons,” and quotes Apostle Orson Pratt who “believed that the holy messengers were the Three Nephites⁴¹⁰ mentioned in the Book of Mormon.” Pratt continued, “We have heard of some fourteen hundred Indians who have been baptized,” and attributed the large numbers to these visions. Coates notes that the general nature of the phenomenon included Native Americans in “Nevada, Utah and Idaho.”⁴¹¹ A similar experience played out in southern Utah at St. George in 1875, and Mormons attributed this to the same miraculous outpouring, but non-Mormons seemed unimpressed or frightened. Baptist Indian agent A.J. Barnes, observing the conversion, sneered that the ritual possessed “all the pomp, ceremony, and display calculated to make an impression on the Indian,” and complained that “Every Indian who participated in this farce” believed himself clothed with “a sort of armor against any responsibility which he may incur for such trifling manners as horse

⁴¹⁰ “LDS stories of the Three Nephites comprise one of the most striking religious legend cycles in the United States. Bearing some resemblance to stories of the prophet Elijah in Jewish lore, or of the Christian saints in the Catholic tradition, Three Nephite accounts are nevertheless distinctly Mormon. Part of a much larger body of LDS traditional narratives...based on the Book of Mormon account of Christ's granting to three Nephite disciples, during his visit to the New World following his death and resurrection, the same wish he had earlier granted to John the Beloved-to "tarry in the flesh" in order to bring souls to him until his second coming (John 21:22; 3 Ne. 28:4-9). The Book of Mormon account states: "And they [the Three Nephites] are as the angels of God, and...can show themselves unto whatsoever man it seemeth them good. Therefore, great and marvelous works shall be wrought by them, before the great and coming day [of judgment]" (3 Ne. 28:30-31)." William A. Wilson, "The Three Nephites," *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 1477.

⁴¹¹ Lawrence C. Coates, "The Mormons and the Ghost Dance," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, 18, 4, (1991): 90.

stealing.”⁴¹² Fifteen years later, General Nelson Miles, commenting on the 1890 Ghost Dance, wrote, “I cannot say positively, but it is my belief the Mormons are the prime movers in all this...It will [probably not] lead to an outbreak, but when an ignorant race of people become religious fanatics it is hard to tell just what they will do.”⁴¹³ Coates argues that such accusations played into the general hysteria over Mormons during the polygamy controversy and that while some Mormon ideas may have influenced Ghost Dancers, the effect seemed peripheral rather than central.⁴¹⁴



Figure 14 Baptizing Shivwits in St. George, Utah 1875⁴¹⁵

Ethnogenesis and Shoshone Identification

Historian Gregory Smoak maintains that these impulses did not represent some temporary wave that died along with the Indians who perished at Wounded Knee. Rather, they welled up from long-standing and reverently held beliefs concerning the nature of the universe and the Indigenes place in it. Since historical events “acquire their

⁴¹² Reeve, *Making Space on the Western Frontier*, 76.

⁴¹³ *New York Times*, 8 Nov. 1890, *Deseret News*, 7 Nov. 1890, quoted in Coates, “Mormons and Ghost Dance,” 91.

⁴¹⁴ *Ibid*, 89.

⁴¹⁵ Charles R. Savage, 1875, Church History Library, Salt Lake City, UT.

significance through culture,” while “cultures and religions are products of history,” Smoak argues that the Newe transformed their religion in response to the material threat to their world by white colonization and dispossession. In the process of reevaluating and modifying long-held preconceptions “Newe beliefs in shamanism and prophecy entered into “a kind of cultural conversation with the ideas of Christianity.” This became especially true of the restorationist brand of Christian religion propounded by Mormons. Perhaps, in the minds of the Shoshone, Joseph Smith’s visions and dreams, consecrated oil from a Mormon saddlebag employed in healing, and a book that spoke of native ancestors, resembled shamanistic dreams, medicine bundles and stories of Eagle the healer and Coyote the trickster. The teachings of the Mormons’ book which spoke of Newe ancestors who once possessed, but then lost bo’ha, and promised that their ancestors could reclaim the power struck familiar chords. Even the sacred nature of the land seemed to overlap in the two cultures. A Shoshone oral tradition speaking of the site for the Logan temple stated that anciently “These hills were known as the most sacred place of worship, from which many miraculous healings were observed.”⁴¹⁶ This may help explain why Sagwitch’s Shoshones became deeply involved in building that temple. From the beginning of the construction in 1878 until the exterior was complete, the Shoshones donated \$8,000 of labor, taking ox teams to the railhead and then taking the train to Logan to work in two-week stretches mortaring, plastering and hauling stone.⁴¹⁷ On March 10, 1885, in the structure he had helped build with his own hands, Sagwitch, dressed alike in white clothing with his Mormon neighbors, participated in Mormon temple ordinances.

⁴¹⁶ Matthew E. Kreitzer, ed., *The Washakie Letters of Willie Ottogary: Northwestern Shoshone Journalist and Leader 1906-1929* (Logan UT: Utah State University Press, 2000), 4.

⁴¹⁷ Christensen, *Sagwitch*, 174-75.



Figure 15 Logan, Utah Temple⁴¹⁸

Many Shoshones and Paiutes during the last quarter of the nineteenth century identified with the sacred Mormon myths they encountered in the Book of Mormon. Ech-up-way's vision tapped into ancient Newe practices. Some Native Americans used the same impulse to launch militant resistance, while others participated in the Ghost Dance. Sagwitch's Shoshones "interpreted [the impulse] as a sign to seek power" through the Mormons who seemed to understand the world in a similar way. Thus, Smoak, echoing Richard White, maintains that "Indians like Sagwitch and Ech-up-way and white Mormons like Hill created a religious middle ground, a set of creative misunderstandings that, at least for the moment, brought them together."⁴¹⁹ Certainly wide differences also divided the two cultures, but the northwestern Shoshones found enough in common to retain Mormonism as part of their worldview into the twenty-first century.

⁴¹⁸ LDS Institute. "Presidents of the Church: Chapter 3." Accessed July 22, 2012. <http://institute.lds.org/manuals/presidents-of-the-church-student-manual/pres-ch-01-03-3.asp>

⁴¹⁹ Smoak, *Ghost Dances and Identity*, 126.

“The time when there was no Lamanites or any other –ites”

Although fostered in a Mormon home, Frank Warner also had access to his Shoshone culture and heritage and associated with his father and siblings. In Warner’s personal writings we find evidence that each culture found a place in his identity. While serving on the Fort Peck Reservation, Warner kept a journal. His written words may remind the reader of those of “Inkapompy,” George Washington Hill, who taught Frank’s father Sagwitch. In his journal Warner wrote frequently about the Book of Mormon and discussed what he described as the blessings and cursings of the Lord towards the Indians. By this time many native prophets had imported elements of Protestantism and Catholicism into their worldview, creating a syncretic religion that also asserted a native identity.⁴²⁰ The Book of Mormon captured the imagination of some Native Americans, perhaps because the book’s narratives appeared to provide a pre-constructed Indigenous identity that held out hope in the midst of crushing change. While identifying strongly with the Lamanite potential to “blossom like a rose,”⁴²¹ Warner’s writings also demonstrate his personality as well as a deep respect for his native culture. This duality reinforces both Warner’s actions as an agent and the complexity of the relationship between Warner, his biological and adopted families, and the Northwestern Shoshone and The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

⁴²⁰ Smoak, *Ghost Dances and Identity*, 10.

⁴²¹ *Doctrine and Covenants*, Section 49:24.



Figure 16 Missionaries Frank W. Warner (far right) and Peter Anderson, Fort Peck Reservation, “Xmas Party 1914”⁴²²

Warner made his first journal entry on November 24, 1914, in Salt Lake City: “I F.W. Warner was set apart to fill a mission to the North Western States under the hand of Apostal Anthon W. Ivins. He gave me a fine blessing Said I should not want and that if obedient I would do a marvelous work among my brethren the Lamanites.” By December third (a “cold and clear day”) he reached his mission but felt “very tired today on account of traveling so far on the train two nights and one day from Spokane.” However, fatigue did not deter him from his calling. He “visited the meeting house sight [sic]... [and] talked to one Lamanite and Wife about the Book of Mormon.” The next morning, Friday, December fourth, found Elder Warner (his missionary title) doing “my real work.” He visited John Adams, a “Lamnaite” [sic] and taught fifteen investigators. His preaching dealt with the Book of Mormon. He “quoted some scripture showing such conditions that would bring eternal salvation unto the Lamanites Showed them their fallen condition and how the dark skin came upon them, and [what] they must do in order they may that dark skin may fall from, and I told them the great blessing in store for

⁴²² *Keepapitchin Blog*. “Latter-day Saint Images.” Accessed April 25, 2012. <http://www.keepapitchinin.org/2011/11/02/latter-day-saint-images-1914-2/>

them.” He left the Book of Mormon and collected a commitment from his listeners “to read the same. I told them if they would read it with full purpose of heart and in simplicity and humbleness that when they had read they would be convinced that it was true and a history of the American Indians.” Warner displayed no novice’s timidity. “I talked to them for 4 hours straight. It gave me pleasure to talk to them.”⁴²³

Over the next days Frank and his companion Elder Anderson went out to visit “in a sleigh. While it was cold [he] enjoyed [the] ride.” On Sunday December 13, Warner spoke in church and “took up the subject which delt [sic] on the blessings attended the people in the days of the Book of Mormon the time when there was no Lamanites or any other –ites on the Continent, when all the people lived in perfect harmony and Love when all kind of wickedness was not in the land. They had all in common.” These Book of Mormon themes closely resemble the teachings of Wovoka the Paiute Ghost Dance prophet of the 1890s.⁴²⁴ Perhaps Warner remembered a time when he and his family faced death at the hands of soldiers who separated his race from theirs, or the day when his father, Sagwitch, dressed in white entered the Mormon Temple. By December 14 he returned to a familiar theme. “While at the Agency I got in conversation with a graduate from Corbill [Carlisle?] Pem [Penn?]. . . I talked with him on the evidence of the Book of Mormon. I showed him the reasons for the hope that I had for a resurrection. I also made clear to him in regard to Lehi and his travels and the disobedience of Laman and Lemuel and the cause of the curse that now follows us as an Indian Race.” Warner appeared to equate disobedience with the misfortunes suffered by Native Americans. Two days later, Warner and companion spoke with a Catholic who “berated [them] at

⁴²³ Warner, Frank W. (1861-1919), “Missionary Journal Nov. 1914-Jan 1915,” MS 14428, LDS Church History Library, Salt Lake City, UT.

⁴²⁴ Smoak, *Ghost Dance and Identity*, 165-75.

some length,” but Warner “headed him off on every point.” The Catholic then mocked the Mormons saying “the only converts we had was the old and ignorant.” Warner answered that “the Indian was no more full of tradition than the white man.” Then Warner told the man, “I was an Indian and had been all my life.”⁴²⁵ Frank Warner remained a self-identified Indian and apparently, to judge by his writings, found that compatible with his LDS beliefs, as he understood them, in the Book of Mormon.

Two days after Christmas, Warner basked in the glow of a conversion experience: “We had good meetings, there were only a few, but we enjoyed the Spirit of the Lord.” Warner recounted the story of “a Lamanite, who told of his vision of seeing the God Head.” Warner seemed unperturbed by this man’s vision. After all, he had probably heard his father tell the story of seeing Inkapompy in a vision, walking to teach them from the rail-head at Corrine. The man explained that “he had studied all the different teaching of the different preachers but none of them had satisfied him.” However, Warner noted with satisfaction, “as soon as he heard the Elder of the Mormon Church he said he knew they had the True Gospel with them and he got baptized and he feels alright know [sic].” The next day Warner took a few minutes to write “a letter to [his] son Wayne, explaining to him the Indian War dance and other features of this dance...”⁴²⁶ This mention of ceremonial dances and Warner’s diligence in passing knowledge of such rituals to his son seems to convey the respect Warner held for Indigenous myths and practices that undergirded such diverse syncretic enterprises as the Ghost Dance and his father Sagwitch’s participation in LDS temple ordinances.

⁴²⁵ Warner, “Journal” Dec. 1914.

⁴²⁶ Ibid.

The New Year brought what Warner considered evidence of priesthood power: On January 7, 1915, the missionaries “visited one of our members. We administer to Bro., Little Eagle’s wife who had not spoken loud for three months within four hours after the administration she came to a cottage meeting in the evening she could speak very plainly and loud.” Warner and his companion acted together, calling on God’s priesthood power to heal, and rejoicing when God responded. On the last entry in the journal January 13, 1915, Warner noted that, “We walked all day on two biscuits we had for breakfast...a 20 mile walk.” The two missionaries carried “a grip,” which they alternately carried when they grew tired. “We arrived at head quarters after dark,” he states, and “Sister Sibbetts fixed us a Supper fit for a King We did ample justice to it. This is Mission life proper,” Warner mused. “I thought of home, but I did not feel to complain as I knew I was working for the Lord in behalf of my fellow man, we left cheerful in the Spirit if we did feel tired in our body and limbs. We got several letters, one from my dear family, one from my daughter of Panguitch...”⁴²⁷

Frank W. Warner, Mormon elder, still remembered where he came from. In 1918, four years after his Fort Peck mission and just a year before his death from Spanish influenza, Warner read about a subscription for a new monument to be erected on the site of the Bear River Massacre, in the *Franklin County Citizen*, of Preston, Idaho. In reply Frank Warner, the son of Sagwitch, penned the following:

Ashton, Ida., June 9th, 1918

Editor Preston Citizen - -

Dear Sir - - I have long wanted to write you in regard to an article I saw in your paper last winter. The one thing that struck me very forcibly was the “Monument” that is to be erected in memory of the heroes that

⁴²⁷ Warner, “Journal,” Jan. 1915

took part in the fight on Battle Creek in 1863; if erected it will only stand as a monument to cruelty, we, as a people had imposed on us by civilization. I am the Indian spoken of by you last winter and the one that has filled three missions among my people, and you stated that I was the only survivor of that fight. Just think, at the tender age of two years receiving seven wounds which I carry today as a souvenir of that merciless battle, when women and sucking babes met their death at the hands of civilization.

Men, who took part in that battle, boast today of taking little infants by the heels and beating their brains out on any hard substance they could find. These men lived in Gentile Valley (some soldiers settled 25-30 miles north of Battle Creek). I understand last winter, while in there, that some were still living there. I, personally, have no feeling of enmity toward these men, as a Just God will mete out to them their just judgment in the day when all shall stand before the Judge of Right.

I just wish to make it plain as to how many escaped. I got the number from one of the survivors. I have also two brothers and a sister-in-law that were there, and who came out alive. Many used to live in Washakie, Utah. Several are still in the Wind River country and elsewhere. I will here give you the number as it came to me: Men killed 73, females 40, small children 43. By the statement, half of those present, got away. Some yet live on the Fort Hall Reservation. Eye witnesses of the horrible battle gave me this statement.

Why will men, for world's reward and honor, make such a statement that none escaped from that battle. I can't help but reflect how some men can make distinction between a battle royal and a massacre. I've heard a Mr. Dyer (Jim Dyer) who took part in this battle, make a statement that that was a royal battle, but the battle of General Custer was a horrible massacre.

In the face of all that occurred on the battle field of Bear River, I am written to subscribe to the erection of the monument. But it will always stand as a memory to me; the many little innocent children that suffered death because they could not help themselves. Should you feel disposed to go into the matter further I will only be too willing to give you all the details as far as I can.

Most respectfully,

F.W. Warner (Sagwitch).
Survivor of battle of 1863⁴²⁸

⁴²⁸ Frank W. Warner, "Little Red Clay Speaks Up" *Franklin County Citizen*, Preston, ID, July 11, 1918.



Figure 17 Frank W. Warner (Beeshop Timbimboo) circa 1915⁴²⁹

Descendants and Identity Loss

Despite Frank Warner's deep commitment to Mormon missionary work, as the twentieth century dawned on Native Americans and Mormons in the Great Basin, both entered a new world. In their relations with the Federal government the Mormons experienced the last gasp of the anti-polygamy opposition during the Reed Smoot Senate confirmation hearings, and the Native Americans were forced to adjust to life under the

⁴²⁹ Hart, *Bear River Massacre*, 226. (original in possession of Mae T. Parry)

regulation and lack of support provided by government bureaucracy and learned to adapt to life both on and off reservations. Though the 1887 Dawes Act contained provisions for “individual allotments” that were intended to assimilate all American Indians, the federal bureaucracy ground slowly enough that some reservations had not even been allotted by the 1930s. Other Indian nations “went ‘underground’ with their tribal languages, customs and kinship systems, out of sight of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) and the [Mormon] missionaries.” With the notable exception of a persistent effort among some groups like the Northwestern Shoshones, the second Mormon impulse to gather the Lamanites faded away.⁴³⁰

The Native American children who married Mormons went on with their lives and prolifically multiplied. People like David Lemmon, Janet Smith Leavitt, Zenos Hill and Jannie Hull raised large families. Of marriages where records list specific family information, fourteen Mormon couples with at least one Native American spouse produced one hundred and six children, and those children in turn raised two hundred-seventy grandchildren for their parents. The standard narrative about Native Americans fading out of the picture as the frontier receded in the distance conflicts with the daily record of Indians who lived through this time inside these marriages, on reservations and scattered by the Dawes act. However a general amnesia concerning all things Indigenous occurred during the early years of the twentieth century in the United States. This forgetting also afflicted the LDS Church in general as well as the descendants of Native American children who lived in Mormon homes and seems to constitute a genuine injustice against those who participated in such significant events. First generation children growing up in these mixed homes “no doubt...suffered disadvantages” because

⁴³⁰ Mauss, *All Abraham's Children*, 75.

of prejudice, claims Juanita Brooks, but she continues: “the grandchildren suffered less, while some of the fourth and fifth generation [as of the 1930s] seem to have forgotten that there was ever an Indian ancestor. Quite a number of them held important church and civic positions...”⁴³¹

Janet Smith Leavitt lived to see some of her fifth generation born. These, according to Brooks, “from the first...claimed they were not Indians, but whites, the sons and daughters of Dudley Leavitt.” Brooks tells of an agent for Carlisle College arriving in St. George to recruit the Leavitt children. He offered free-ride scholarships. Brooks recalls their reaction: “How insulted they were! They were white, and no inducement could have any weight with them. They preferred to pay their own way to white institutions rather than to go free to an Indian school.”⁴³² Armand Mauss explicates the overriding impulse to make Indians and Native American history go away during this time: “Once the native peoples of Utah had been ‘pacified’ and moved to reservations, as in the rest of the continent, they were rarely seen by most white Mormons, even in Utah.” A modern industrialization and the careers it entailed pulled Mormons away from Utah during and after World War I. As time passed these participants in the Mormon Diaspora found that “their grand-parents’ encounters with Indians became a distant memory.” These Mormons “increasingly embraced the images most Americans had about Indians...The nineteenth-century Mormon ambivalence about Indian identity, as between “Lamanites” and “Indians,” was thus gradually resolved in favor of the latter, although part of this shift involved extending the designation of “Lamanite” to parts of Polynesia,

⁴³¹ Brooks, “Indian Relations,” 39.

⁴³² Ibid.

Mexico and South America.⁴³³ Thus, by the beginning of the twentieth century, the Lamanites of the Book of Mormon remained significant in Mormon thought in a remote theological or spiritual sense but became irrelevant—or even nonexistent—in any operational sense. And so they remained until the middle of the twentieth century.⁴³⁴

The distancing from Native ancestry on the part of children in these mixed marriages as well as the attitudes of their white relatives finds expression in the reminiscences of a genealogically inclined descendant of adopted Native American Sally Henrie. Found as an infant abandoned in an irrigation ditch, Sally married Erastus Curtis, a white, in 1883 and died giving birth to her first child, a daughter named Eliza Jane Curtis, who later married James Fullmer and had seven children.

The genealogist wrote, “Ever since I can remember, I’ve heard stories about our family having Indian blood somewhere in our line. I asked my father, Jerry Fullmer, about this on several occasions [sic], and he always said we were English and that there were no [I]ndians in our family that he knew of. Dayle, Wanda, and Donna, though, all said there were, as did our aunt, Myrtle Fullmer and several other relatives, so we always suspected that he was wrong.”⁴³⁵ Apparently some of the family seemed uncomfortable with or dismissive of the topic, but the researcher persisted despite her perception that “It was not always well looked-upon for the whites to marry the Indians, and there was a lot of secrecy and hush-hush surrounding Eliza’s birth and the fact that she had an Indian mother.” Certainly, in later years, even though some family members seemed aware of the possibility that “Eliza was part Native American, it was not something that was

⁴³³ Mauss, *All Abrahams Children*, 69, 80; Boxer, “To Become White and Delightful,” iii, 39-41.

⁴³⁴ Mauss, *All Abraham’s Children*, 70.

⁴³⁵ The Fullmer-Young Family Website. “Eliza Jane Curtis.” Accessed July 31, 2011. <http://fullmer-young.com/eliza.html>

openly discussed, but was clothed in secrecy.”⁴³⁶ The use of the term “Indian Blood” in the account above demonstrates the family’s lack of understanding about what comprises Indian Identity or tribal affiliation and tends to objectify the Indigenes.

In fact, on the death of her mother, Sally, Erastus Curtis had another of his four plural wives raise Eliza Jane, so “Mary Caroline Barton was the only mother that Eliza ever knew.” After her marriage to James, Eliza and her family moved to Idaho, raised eleven children, and lived there until Eliza’s death at age seventy-five, in 1939. Her daughter-in-law Myrtle Fullmer remembered Eliza “baking big loaves of bread, that were ‘really good,’ with homemade butter, and how she held them close to her as she cut off slices.” I met Ruby Stull giving tours at the Patton Home Museum in Manti, Utah for the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, in July of 2011. On hearing of the current research she mentioned that she is descended from Eliza and James Fullmer. She said that she knows of no known photos of Sally Henrie and asked for any information the writer found. She evinced pride in possessing a Native American ancestor. Apparently, the stigma attached to Eliza Jane earlier, faded over time.⁴³⁷ Hansen’s law “What the son wishes to forget, the grandson wishes to remember,”⁴³⁸ appears to apply to later generations who express pleasure and pride at finding a Native American ancestor.

⁴³⁶ Fullmer-Young Website. “Eliza Jane Curtis.”

⁴³⁷ Ms. Stull’s contact information is in the writer’s possession.

⁴³⁸ Eugene I. Bender and George Kagiwada, “Hansen’s Law of ‘Third-Generation Return’ and the Study of American Religio-Ethnic Groups,” *Phylon*, 29, 4. (4th Qtr. 1968): 360.



Figure 18 Eliza Jane Curtis Fullmer⁴³⁹

“Playing Indian”

Forgetting apparently has been replaced by a fascination with the idea of all things “Indian.” Certainly American culture has borrowed freely from stereotypical images that evoke Native American characteristics seen as desirable by the culture— independence, environmental care, martial spirit, etc. Dakota historian Philip Deloria asserts that Euro-Americans have long found advantages to “playing Indian,” but especially, after World War Two, “construction of ethnic and racial Others emphasized close interior qualities that encouraged white appropriation and self-discovery.”⁴⁴⁰ Deloria maintains that by seeing “Indians [as] both civilized and indigenous,” Euro-Americans “could critique modernity and yet reap its benefits [and] revel in the creative pleasure of liberated meanings while still grasping for something fundamentally American.”⁴⁴¹

⁴³⁹ Fullmer-Young Website. “Eliza Jane Curtis.”

⁴⁴⁰ Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University, 1998), 141.

⁴⁴¹ *Ibid*, 157.

Anthropologists Pauline Strong and Barrik Van Winkle note the “the power of a drop of ‘Indian blood’—if no more than a drop...to enhance, ennoble, naturalize, and legitimate. As the 19th-century Southern novelist William Gilmore Simms put it, ‘Properly diluted, there was no better blood than that of the Cherokee and Natchez. It would have been a good infusion into the paler fountain of Quaker and Puritan.’” In the process of claiming Indian blood, Strong and Van Winkle argue that “victors naturalize themselves and legitimize their occupation of the land,” while requiring “the vanquished to naturalize and legitimize themselves in terms of ‘blood quantum’ an imposition of the victor’s essentialized reckoning of identity that becomes an integral, often taken-for-granted aspect of Native subjectivity.”⁴⁴²

Does recent Mormon interest partake of this tendency? Perhaps, in some cases. The interest in all things genealogical, connected with the binding family ordinances available in the temples, may provide an additional or alternative motivation. Mormon family members are frequently urged to seek out their ancestors who have not received the saving ordinances of the church, verify their existence, and provide proxies to perform the ordinance work in LDS temples.⁴⁴³ Many of the Native American children who lived in Mormon families were later adopted or “sealed” to their foster parents, thus the fictive kinships described in earlier days by James Brooks became formalized by ordinances meant to endure forever. In only two cases, that of Sarah Marabouts, daughter of Dah-nish-yant (or Spaneshanks) and Ungke Poetes, and Frank Warner, son of Sagwitch and Tan-dab-itche, did this writer find Native American children sealed to their

⁴⁴² Pauline Turner Strong and Barrik Van Winkle, “‘Indian Blood’: Reflections on the Reckoning and Refiguring of Native North American Identity,” *Cultural Anthropology*, 11, 4, “Resisting Identities,” (November 1996): 551.

⁴⁴³ *Members’ Guide to Temple and Family History Work*, (Salt Lake City, UT: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2009).

biological birth parents; this is because the biological parents were known, while in some cases, where the biological parents were unknown, the adopted children were sealed to their foster parents⁴⁴⁴ Ethnohistorians such as Ronald Holt, and Anthropologists such as Martha Knack would see in this practice evidence of paternalism and colonization, a valid view. Perhaps, considering the outcomes in nineteenth-century context, on the ground where and when they historically occurred, the picture seems much more complex. Allowing Native American children to persist in their birth culture required knowledge of where they belonged in that culture as well as other Native Americans able and willing to repatriate them. Mormon settlement on traditional lands caused hunger and hardship which led to hard choices for other Native Americans as they gave up some children to save them and the balance of their families. When information existed that allowed a child to know where he came from and when other Native American relatives possessed the will and ability to teach them of their culture or maintain a connection with the child, evidence suggests that at least some retention of Native American culture was not only allowed but encouraged. Frank Warner's foster parents and other Mormon settlers noted in this work received visits from Indigenous friends and relatives to the children and some settlers encouraged their foster children to retain their native language.

The evidence about the nature of blended marriages among the children and LDS spouses is similarly fraught with complexity; this case is analogous to that which spawned the often mixed or negative reviews by Native American scholars of Ramon Gutierrez's work. Certainly James Brooks and Ramon Gutierrez were correct that captive women and children provided reproductive as well as servile capital, and this

⁴⁴⁴ Familysearch.com

appears to apply to some Mormon households as well as to those in they wrote about in New Mexico. Paternalism placed a heavy hand on at least some female-male, Indigenous-Mormon marriages. How many women bore children to Mormon men out of wedlock remains an open question. Several children, according to the available records were clearly born outside of wedlock. However, the primary and secondary sources indicate that when Indigenous women co-habited with Mormon men, a Mormon approved marriage ceremony preceded many if not most of the unions.⁴⁴⁵ But evidence also supports the fact that when Native Americans married Mormons, the white spouse involved often expressed some initial doubt or discomfort in entering into such a union. This attitude apparently was somewhat mitigated by the Mormon belief that Indians were “Lamanites,” belonged to Israel and possessed the potential for redemption and progression. The tension between the two views of Native Americans as “Lamanites” and “Indians” drove the dynamics of such unions, but the individual personalities of those in each marriage also played a large role in determining the level of family functionality.

One-by-one the generation of Native Americans, in and out of Mormon homes passed away and new generations came to take their place. Each child grew up with a slightly different challenge to face. Concerning the posterity of such marriages, this current research has demonstrated that the first generation of children born to such unions experienced at least a modicum of racially motivated persecution from both Mormons and Native Americans. A desire to avoid this type of persecution and the imposition of generational distance in the second and third generations seems to have mandated “ignorance” of Native American lineage, but this attitude apparently faded, to be replaced by pride in Indigenous ancestry as the blood line diluted sufficiently, time passed, and the

⁴⁴⁵ Appendix I, Table 9, and Appendix 3, xls database.

attitudes of the nation softened to allow whites to “play Indian.” Future research to further substantiate some of these findings among current descendants of these couples may prove fruitful. In this current research the writer encountered a descendant of Janet Smith Leavitt who sings in the Mormon Tabernacle Choir, as well as a father of four in Utah County, a descendant of Sanpitch Zenos Hill.⁴⁴⁶ Such contacts may yield further studies.



Figure 19 Scott Miller, descendant of Janet Smith Leavitt⁴⁴⁷

“Epitomes”

On August 12, 1937, a reporter from the *Spanish Fork Press* interviewed eighty-five year old Zenos Hill, of Fountain Green, Sanpete County, during the 55th reunion of Blackhawk War veterans. Hill, a Sanpitch adopted son of George and Emma Hill, fought on the Mormon side of that Ute-Mormon conflict, though, as the reporter was quick to note, he was “red-skinned in the true sense that the words apply to Indians.” Nevertheless, Hill sported the “the bronze medal and red ribbon of those few surviving Indian fighters who gather each year for an encampment growing annually more

⁴⁴⁶ Writer’s e-correspondence with Megan and Scott Miller, August 29, 2011; (See also “Video clip: Scott Miller, descendant of Janet Smith Leavitt, commenting on the Tabernacle Choir.” Accessed April 26, 2012. <http://boowasourneighbor.blogspot.com/2010/07/ok-so-technically-im-not-really.html#links> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pDD9jQ8v0ok>

⁴⁴⁷ Mormon Life. “Talking With the Men of the Mormon Tabernacle Choir.” Accessed April 24, 20102. <http://mormonlife.com/story/63254-talking-with-the-men-of-the-mormon-tabernacle-choir>

important and widely attended.” The reporter seemed impressed that the other veterans referred to Zenos as “‘Mister’ Hill.”

It is important to examine why the reporter deemed the racist designation of Hill’s genetic characteristics germane and even attractive to his reportage. Dakota LDS historian Elise Boxer asserts that upon arrival in the Great Basin, “Mormon Euroamericans imposed their own beliefs as the standard to measure Indigenous peoples and thus determined it was [the Mormons’] responsibility to save [the Native Americans] from further demise.”⁴⁴⁸ During the early years of LDS colonization in Utah, as we have seen, Brigham Young dispatched missionaries to central and southern Utah “Lamanites.” As Boxer explains, “The explicit purpose of this mission to Indigenous peoples was to inform them of their ‘true heritage’ found in *The Book of Mormon*, dismissing the traditional beliefs of Indigenous peoples. Mormon Euroamericans believed Indigenous peoples to be uncivilized, living in religious and spiritual darkness that would end through their complete conversion to Mormonism.”⁴⁴⁹ Frank Warner’s teaching, as explained in his journal demonstrates how deeply Mormons, even some Native American Mormons held this view. If, as Mormons believed, this was true, then they would view Native Americans who responded to the Mormon preaching in ways that appeared to meet the “standard of beliefs” imposed by Mormons, as living evidence, in Mormon eyes, of the potential of Lamanites to fill their destiny and become united with the Saints. Following this type of thinking, if Zenos Hill was simply another white Mormon re-enactor he possessed no unique story angle for a reporter aiming to increase his readership. But as a “red-skinned” Indian who fought against other Indians, Hill

⁴⁴⁸ Boxer, “To Become White and Delightful,” 12.

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid.

represented a powerful image to be put to work on behalf of the LDS conversion narrative.

“I know nothing of my parents,” said Hill “except that I am told that I was born at Ephraim and that my father and mother were members of a tribe friendly toward the early settlers of Utah. The only parents I ever knew were Mr. and Mrs. George Hill of Ephraim.” Hill commented on the privilege of attending “14 years schooling, including three terms at Brigham Young University,” and stressed that this exceeded what “most children received” in his youth. Hill was quoted as believing that he had been “treated exceptionally well in [his] lifetime.” The reporter and those who read his article could also be warmed by the educational opportunities that Mr. Hill received as a result of his response to Mormon largess. According to their preferred narrative, such an education would have aided Hill to make the “correct” decision when conflict loomed between Indigenes and Mormons.

When troubles broke out between Ute leader Atonga Black Hawk’s band and the Mormons, Hill said, “I thought it my duty to do my part on the side of the whites.” He claimed to have fought using his enemy’s methods because of his “instinct” for such tactics. “One time I stole 30 head of Indians’ horses singlehanded,” boasted Hill. “When I was 17 I served as a scout and express rider. I rode a horse well and I had a mount that I could put under the whip for 10 miles at a stretch.” The article concludes with a possibly unintentional ironic twist. “Until the present encampment, and the one that preceded it at Cedar City, Mr. Hill always assumed the role of Chief Black Hawk and took part in parades and other exhibitions. His age, however, caused him to relinquish the role to others.” Hill, a Sanpitch, adopted, raised and living with whites, took up the

role of his vanquished opponent, the Ute. Hill married a white woman, Emila Minnie Hicken, in 1875 and they raised a family of eleven children—nine boys and two girls. Both Hill and his wife passed away in 1938, the year after the interview.⁴⁵⁰ So many ironies mark this account. Zenos Hill saw himself as a Mormon, according to the interview, but also extolled the stereotypical virtue of possessing an “instinct” for Indian tactics. If the report was accurate he owned his Mormon culture but still identified his vital Indianness as manifest by stereotypical skills attributed by whites to Indians.

Hill’s photo, inserted by the reporter, displays further irony, an old man with a large mustache and twinkling eyes gazing out from under a war bonnet posing before a painted forest scene as a backdrop. Hill, a child stolen or traded away from his culture, and raised as a Mormon, became an Indian fighter, who claimed to use Indian skills against them. Now, in this photo, he is selected to represent the enemy he fought against as the only veteran with the requisite genetics to look authentic. Hill certainly understood the existing animus between Mormon settlers and Black Hawk’s Utes. One speculates that his service against the Utes served to demonstrate his loyalty and deflect some of the racial denigration that most likely came his way.

⁴⁵⁰ Carter, *Treasures*, v. 4, 374-376.

Familysearch. “Zenos Hill.” Accessed August 4, 2011.

<http://histfam.familysearch.org/getperson.php?personID=I58190&tree=earyutah> New.familysearch.org



Figure 20 Zenos Hill as Black Hawk ⁴⁵¹

⁴⁵¹ Blogspot.com. "Boo Was Our Nieghbor Blog." Accessed July 15, 2011. http://boowasourneighbor.blogspot.com/2010_07_01_archive.html Find a Grave. "Zenos Hill." Accessed April 22, 2012. <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=51356146>

Writers, in later years, posthumously pressed a number of additional Native American children into service in their attempts to illustrate the effectiveness of the Mormon way in creating productive citizens out of the descendants of “fallen” Lamanites. Alma Shock Brown, the Navajo who ran so fast that the Utes called him “Rabbit Foot,” apparently prospered in Manti with the Brown family. Based upon the secondary sources, the Browns taught Alma their Mormon religious beliefs and he responded, actively attending church meetings. Alma, according to the record, became a proficient baby sitter as well, and treated his younger siblings “as kind...as a mother.” The biographer’s feminizing of Alma’s kindness presumably removed some of the menace that some Mormons might consider male Indians to possess.

The Browns also encouraged Alma to continue to speak his “native tongue, so he would not forget it.” Bi-lingual members of the community served a number of functions and provided a way to bridge the language gap during tense situations. Perhaps the Browns were assigned to make sure that Alma kept his language so he could be useful, or possibly they simply thought it was good for Alma to retain part of his culture. During the difficult times between the Utes and the Mormons, the settlers counted on Alma to “know the Indian ways,” according to the twentieth-century Mormon writer, so he “could lead the white men to safety.” He apparently rode into a Ute camp shouting, “No shoot!” and traded some goods to ransom his friend, Christian Anderson, from death. The two remained fast friends throughout Alma’s life, and Alma taught Christian “the Indian language.” The townspeople also credited Alma with giving the warning one night that saved “Manti from a raid.” If this indeed happened, it demonstrates Alma’s self-identification with his Mormon family rather than with his biological people, and the

wisdom of his foster parent's encouragement to retain his first language. Alma acted as one of the settlers. His friends were among them and he appears to have been accepted. Certainly the Utes and Sanpetes in the valley may not have looked so charitably on his actions.

Alma worked as a freighter and went east at least once on one of the "down and back" wagon trains. Judge Peacock's adopted Native American daughter, Betsy, caught Alma's eye and they married and had three children. They lived on Third South and First East in Manti, in a small log cabin. They eventually moved to Sterling, Utah, just north of Manti but consumption brought death to the entire family within a few months.⁴⁵² Mormon authors warmly eulogized Alma and his family in the records. Alma and Betsy were "loved by the entire community." Townspeople "liked to go to their home because of its cleanliness and...watch the wonderful woman [Betsy] take care of her family." The mental image of people lining up to watch Betsy take care of her family seems at once amusing and unsettling. This seems indicative of some Mormon writers' propensity to praise any "civilized" behavior that connoted Mormon success in assimilating Native children. A local woman recalled a charming but stilted conversation overheard on an icy street: Alma said to his wife, "My dear Betsy, please be careful and do not fall and break your bones. What would I do without you?" The Manti citizens named a hill to the west of town "Shock's Knoll" because Alma often herded sheep and watched them from the top. "It will perhaps continue to be called that name as long as time endures," opined a relative, who concluded her account with the following words: "A headstone was procured for the family of Alma "Shock" Brown, the Indian boy bought from slave

⁴⁵² Carter, *Heart Throbs*, V. 1, 155-157.

traders by James P. Brown in the 1850's." On a smaller nearby stone is stamped, 'Alma Brown, Pvt. Utah Ter. Militia, Indian Wars, August 13, 1886.'"⁴⁵³

Similar praise was heaped on Minnie Viroca Burgess, purchased from Jacob Hamblin for "\$50.00 in provisions and cash" by Margaret Burgess, who "begged her husband," Melancthon, "to buy the little girl." Minnie displayed great skill at "shooting the bow and arrow. The boys [being] much chagrined" at Minnie "outclass[ing] them." Note that a small girl possesses remarkable facility with an Indigenous weapon that she was probably too young to have learned to use while with her birth family. A foster sister added praise, claiming, "A better woman never lived and she simply worshipped my mother." The writers praised Mrs. Burgess for making "NO difference" between Minnie and her other children. The outcome seemed predictable when compared with similar biographies: Minnie became "an ideal housekeeper" Certainly, being a good housekeeper was highly valued among the Mormons. Minnie probably was all her biography claimed her to be, but the formulaic repetition of similar praise in source after source also indicates an eagerness by the authors to demonstrate what Mormonism could do to "civilize" those Indians who embraced it. Minnie "married Albert Hartman, of Leeds [Utah]" and had four children. Unfortunately Minnie's fourth child died and the complications of childbirth took Minnie's life as well.⁴⁵⁴ Mr. Hartman needed a housekeeper and nanny for his three children who remained. He found a once-divorced Paiute, Cora Keat, "a refined, educated woman" who also grew up as an adopted daughter in a Mormon home, as a "winsome little girl" with a reputation "for being one

⁴⁵³ Saga of the Sanpitch. "Vol. 27, 1995." Accessed July 12, 2011. http://sanpete.com/downloads/saga/Saga_of_the_Sanpitch_27.pdf

⁴⁵⁴ Carter, *Heart Throbs*, v. 1, 157-58.

of the neatest housekeepers in the town.”⁴⁵⁵ An active temple-going Mormon, Cora sang beautifully, and “made her own clothes...being apt with a needle.” However, her most outstanding features, according to her biographer, included Cora’s “exceptional neatness, her truthfulness, and her being able to function in the social activities of the day.” The secondary sources of the day often referred to Native Americans as slovenly, dishonest and socially inept. This praise presumably was extended as an indication of what Mormon culture could do to overcome such characteristics.

White chroniclers of Native Americans among the Mormons appear to have assumed that most Indians failed to measure up in terms of cleanliness and what many whites called “civilization.” The constant references to the comeliness, purity and neatness of these paragons become so repetitious as to become irksome, but seem to be important, among those who made them, as a means to convince whites of the great thing they are accomplishing in conveying polish and deportment to what they considered an otherwise dirty and wanting people. Cora’s divorce from a man named Williams represents the only difficulty named in the sources in an otherwise happy journey. She returned home for a time and then went to Silver Reef Mining Camp, found work that paid “a very satisfactory salary” and met Albert Hartman, who hired her, probably on the spot, based on her qualifications. Hartman soon understood that his children Daisy, Albert and Willie needed more than a housekeeper and he needed a wife. Cora married him and raised his children “as their own mother would have done. They ‘greatly loved’ her in return. Cora died during surgery to remove a tumor in 1895.”⁴⁵⁶

⁴⁵⁵ Carter, *Heart Throbs*, v. 1, 111-12.

⁴⁵⁶ Carter, *Heart Throbs*, v. 1, 158-59; Brooks, *Indian Relations*, 37.

Certainly both Minnie Burgess and Cora Keat merited good words for their work. However, the Mormon women who often wrote the records appeared unstinting in their praise. In fairness, white pioneer men and women received the same treatment in these sources, but one does sense an eagerness to accord praise to Native Americans observed to bear the marks of acculturation and civilization. Narrating the redemption of fallen Lamanites required such Indian works and written Mormon recognition, to judge by the numerous examples of such biographical sketches.

Although women seemed to garner the lion's share of such complimentary literary flourishes, an occasional man received notice. The writers apparently decided that David Lemmon satisfactorily qualified for such homage. James Lemmon gave "a large black horse" to Hyrum Stevens for this Ute child, born in Sanpete County. Again, a Native American child was traded by one Mormon to another. The boy, given the name David, grew up around the town of Rockville, just a few miles west of Mukuntuweap (now Zion) Canyon. Soon David began herding the family cattle. James Lemmon's second wife taught David Mormonism and music, but she bowed to David's intense dislike for school and he never learned to read as a boy. The ranking of religion and music over school is important in this account because it sets up a circumstance that the writer believes to be singular—the fact that David later learned to read so quickly. Learning to play the fiddle would seem to be as difficult as learning to read. However, David probably enjoyed music and found pleasure in making it.

He grew into a two hundred-pound bundle of energy and often "challeng[ed] the white boys to wrestle or race, either on foot or on horseback." Such skills as those listed here might typify those that LDS writers might expect a young Indian to possess. They

also noted that David shared the careless traits common to the settlement's young men, but his skills as a fiddler kept him in Rockville's good graces. He traveled from village to village throughout southern Utah providing dance music to entertainment starved settlers, receiving "five dollars a night for this service, which was at the time a handsome wage." Marriage to the daughter of Swedish settlers, Caroline Josephine Neilson, settled David down a bit. But he did not yet feel ready to receive his Temple endowment as his mother urged.⁴⁵⁷

Eventually eleven children swelled the Lemmon household. One of the older boys, named David W. after his father, attempted to teach his father to read from a primer, when the boy first learned to read. He tried to "point out the difference between the letters 'b,' 'd,' 'p,' and the others; his father would only laugh good-naturedly and say, 'They all look alike to me, son.'" Some time later, aware that his lack of education embarrassed his son, David told him, "You may be ashamed of your father now, but the time will come when you will be proud to own him and to claim your ancestors." After five children joined the family, Temple covenants became important to David and Caroline. Since "David had never been active in the Church," his bishop seemed hesitant to grant a recommend, but David's "character and disposition" convinced him, and the couple received permission to attend. After the temple ceremonies, heading home to Rockville from St. George, according to the secondary source account, David decided to get serious about his religion. He "stopped and purchased a Bible, a *Book of Mormon*, and a *Doctrine and Covenants*." When the Lemmon's arrived at home, David picked up the Bible, and to his shock, "found that he could read it easily, and could understand it

⁴⁵⁷ Carter, *Heart Throbs*, v. 1, 159-160.

very well.” Responding to the “miraculous ease” of learning he experienced, David became “an ardent student of the Scriptures. He taught a Sunday School class and was active in other [church] work.” According to people who knew him, David now developed a talent for healing. When neighbors called on David to use this power and anoint their sick with oil and bless them, “the patient always seemed to recover. At last,” Brooks claims, “his white neighbors came to have such faith in him that he was always sent for in trouble; in fact, he often went a whole day’s journey to bless the sick.” Historian Gregory Smoak might suggest that this aptitude for healing would also accord with the Native American traditions of shamanism. Mormon ordinances may have impressed Paiutes, Shoshones and others due to a perception that these practices resembled Indigenous concepts of *bo’ha*. By 1944 Lemmon had twenty-eight descendants, “at least two of whom,” noted Brooks, were “successful school teachers.”⁴⁵⁸

While Mormon secondary sources provided an impressive depiction of David Lemmon, Ida Anne Rice Wilcox received an even more thorough lionization in the biological sketches contained in such publications as the *Heartthrobs of the West*, published by the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers. To judge by their accounts, Ida might have represented the type of neighbor any Latter-day Saint would love to have. She apparently could do no wrong, according to the publications, and the lengthy list of her accomplishments possibly dazzled Mormon readers by the mid-twentieth century, when such secondary accounts reached their heyday. In almost compulsive detail, these sources chronicled the transition from tiny Bannock girl, found on her mother’s dead breast, to “Ida Anna Rice Wilcox Pioneer of 1863.”

⁴⁵⁸ Brooks, “Indian Relations,” 39-40.

Ida's adoptive parents ensured that she "started her first school when she was about seven years old and continued until she had passed the highest grade the schools had at that time." At the prescribed time Ida received baptism and mingled with the Latter-day Saints. The scribes noted gifts that followed in profusion: Artistic talent with pencil and charcoal, embroidery design, pattern making, knitting, tatting, and crocheting. Ida mastered them all:

She could darn so perfectly that the boys would come from three miles away to have her mend a tear, and after she was through one could hardly find the place. She used to do needle work around the boy's balls in a honeycomb stitch with net yarn and they would last for years. She often had as many as 15 balls at a time on hand. In this way she spent her spare time and when the ball was finished she would bees-wax it. She also made fish nets with a wooden shuttle and she would place the weights and pieces of cork in as she went along. These nets were used for seining the fish in the fresh water lakes.⁴⁵⁹

She could cook "Wonderfully," states the biographer, as she demonstrated when working in Ezra Clark's home. But a simple meal alone proved insufficient; Ida could "set the most beautiful table...She would spend hours polishing silver and glass goblets till they shone with a spotless brilliancy." The biographer emphasizes that Ida paid "extra particular" attention to "the cleanliness of her person. She took a bath every night of her life." Because of her skill and certainly her cleanliness Ida consistently cooked and served guests at "church and...festival outings."⁴⁶⁰ Modern sensibilities are understandably offended by the special care taken by the biographer to note Ida's cleanliness. Some Latter-day Saints of the time probably felt encouraged by the writer's assertion of progress away from what they perceived as a less sanitary Indigenous environment.

⁴⁵⁹ Carter, *Heart Throbs*, v. 2. 445-48.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid.

At eighteen years of age, Ida met a Jonathan Wilcox, a veteran of the Civil War. He enlisted rather than waiting for the draft “and was always proud that he was permitted to shake the hand of President Abraham Lincoln.” Wilcox, three times Ida Anna’s age, settled in Farmington, took up a half section of land on the foothills, fell in love and married Ida after “two years of courtship” in 1883. The half section blossomed under the intensive industry of the couple. “[M]ost every known fruit grew on the hillside. Walnut trees grew next to maples from which Ida made maple sugar. A house went up and Joseph “built fish ponds and lined them with rock...borders.” He also “planted all sorts of iris and it was a most beautiful sight in the spring when they were all in bloom...The citizens of the community held their outings and festivals” here.

The record recounts that Ida proceeded to produce children, good food, a spotless home, and unique crafts. “She...put up hundreds of quarts and dry hundreds of pounds of fruit...cut pumpkin into fancy shapes and thread[ed] it...on strings to dry.” To reconstitute the dehydrated pumpkin Ida “steam[ed] it slowly and you would not tell that it had not just been picked from the vines.” She packed produce on her cart, whenever she learned of need and continued to “give and give.” Ida “gather[ed] roots and herbs [to] make her own medicine...Her husband lived to be 95 years old and in all of his illness she had doctored him with herbs.” When visiting neighbors, Ida “polish[ed] [apples] till they shone like glass, then would catch, stuff and cook a fish from her pond,” pack the meal “together with a bottle of fruit juice made from cherries and grapes” and “carry these dainties for miles and miles to some poor soul who was ill.”⁴⁶¹

In her spare time, Ida launched into crafts to give to funeral mourners. When frost turned leaves crimson and gold, she would gather tubs full, Cover them with flat

⁴⁶¹ Carter, *Heart Throbs*, v. 2. 445-48.

rocks and canvas until the leaves dried and cured. During the summer she cut green willows and shaped them into “fancy forms—a heart, a cross, a star, a double heart, a horseshoe...” and bound each form tightly around with long narrow strips of cloth. “When she heard of a death she would take down one of these willow forms and sort out her most beautiful leaves” and sew them “tightly to the form until she had a beautiful design.” There was never a funeral but that...she would place these wreaths on the graves of those she loved.”⁴⁶²

Inevitably this mother of nine children, three of whom served in World War I, wound down. In 1922, pneumonia finally claimed Ida⁴⁶³ who characteristically exited the world with a bang:

Sunday morning came and she asked for the Elders to come to administer to her. Her family were gathered around her bed and Dr. Gardner was in the room, she bid them all goodbye, looked up and put up her arms and called “Mother,” in pure English, then her tongue was loosened and she talked to unseen personages in her native language for most of an hour, until she became exhausted. Br. Clark and Dr. Gardner with her family witnessed this strange experience and Dr. Gardner said, “What a pity there was no interpreter present, for she had been given the gift of speaking in her language to her people who were waiting on the other side to welcome her home.” She passed from this life talking with them.

The writer concluded the homage with a final note of triumph. “Her children all married into the white race.”⁴⁶⁴ In the eyes of the Mormon writers of these secondary accounts, the “Lamanites” were putting off their dark complexions by mixing their bloodlines with Euro-Americans, presumably fulfilling the Book of Mormon promises, as understood by the writers. In one last glimpse of Ida’s life, Lovell Kirkpatrick, a descendant of William

⁴⁶² Carter, *Heart Throbs*, v. 2. 445-48.

⁴⁶³ Johnson, “Indian Tribes,” 402-05.

⁴⁶⁴ Carter, *Heart Throbs*, v. 2. 445-48.

Rose, who rescued Ida from the frozen battlefield, noted in August 1994, “Although William A. Rose found and saved her life. It was *she* who in her later life taught him the Gospel, enabling him to accept and receive his temple ordinances. To Kirkpatrick, the little Indian girl had become a savior to her savior, and the circle was complete.”⁴⁶⁵



Figure 21 Ida Anne and Joseph Wilcox Family ⁴⁶⁶

⁴⁶⁵ Daughters of the Utah Pioneers. “Ida Ann Wilcox. p. 3.” Accessed July 31, 2011. http://www.docstoc.com/docs/83923890/Rice_-Ida-Ann-Wilcox-by-Maude-Allen-DUP---Freepages

⁴⁶⁶ Susan Tanner Holmes, “‘Indian Annie’ settled in Farmington,” *Davis County Clipper*, April, 30, 1996, C6.

Ida Wilcox kept no known journal. We have no way to know what she thought about her life or how Mormons accepted her. The only hint, in any of the secondary sources, that she experienced anything but total acceptance comes from an undocumented source that states, “In Ida Ann's later life, many indignities were imposed upon her and her family because of her Indian heritage. When the government voted to give restitution to the Indian nations, one of the Wilcox daughters sought William Arnold Rose, the man who found Ida as an infant, to verify the family’s relationship to the Bannock Indian Tribe through their mother.”⁴⁶⁷ This affidavit, after living among the Mormons for years and apparently participating deeply with them, appears to indicate that Ida still indentified to a degree with her the culture and ethnicity of her Bannock people. Pecuniary advantages that Ida’s family may have been able to claim by acknowledging their ancestry could also have motivated the family request for Rose’s affidavit. Certainly Ida found life difficult as all people do. Most likely she suffered varying degrees of prejudice, living in a time when such appeared ubiquitous. But despite these difficulties, Ida Wilcox chose to act within the confines of the life she received and found ways to matter. So did David Lemmon and Alma and Betsy Brown. So did Zenos Hill, Nellie Waddie Justet, and Janet Smith Leavitt. These children who grew to accomplish many things were seen by their nineteenth and twentieth-century biographers as evidence that the Lamanites could indeed blossom as a rose. However in the process of praise, the writers reduced wonderful complicated human beings to simplified, stereotypical symbols that minimized their humanity. David and Alma, Janet and Ida might not even recognize themselves in such writing. Many of the children lost their birth culture to the

⁴⁶⁷ Nancy Jolley. “Wilcox Family Reunion, Farmington, UT., August 30, 2003.” Accessed April 24, 2012. <http://home.comcast.net/~lkillpack/index7.htm>

Mormon worldview and then the secondary sources celebrated the loss. In many cases they were too young to remember biological parents and had only the stereotypical view of Native Americans as “Indians” to replace the memories. Placed in Mormon society in this way, immersed in these attitudes, they may have worked hard and long to fit into the culture because they feared that if they slackened the pace others would doubt their fitness to belong there. On the other hand they may have believed in the blossoming. Their actions could serve as evidence of sublimated servitude or as the willing work of believing participants. One wishes for more of their own thoughts on paper to complete the record. One thing seems certain: They were not the stereotypes the secondary literature created, but individuals, influenced by countless exterior acts, and interior thoughts, personalities and attitudes—agents—who also influenced others by their own thoughts and actions.

Religious scholar Catherine Breckus, speaking of Mormon women notes that “the conceptual confusion over how to imagine [Mormons] raises larger questions about the challenges of writing...history.” Perhaps this may also apply to these Native American Mormons, as well. Breckus contends that “historians outside the LDS community seem to have been influenced by...caricature[s]” of what they think Mormons are like. This stereotypical pigeon holing may seem familiar to Indigenous scholars, fatigued and angered by the constant resort to vapid portrayals by those who should look rather for humanity and individualism. Instead writers in predominant cultures often persist in portraying minorities with trite characterizations that exclude or marginalize historical characters that should be taken more seriously. “On the other hand,” Breckus asserts, “Scholars who specialize in Mormon history have been so determined to defend

[Mormons] against lingering stereotypes that they have sometimes exaggerated their agency.” The result, laments Breckus, “is that we are left with a fractured picture of Mormon women as either deluded downtrodden slaves or fiercely independent matriarchs.”⁴⁶⁸ As the analysis of secondary LDS sources has evidenced, this phenomenon mentioned by Breckus is paralleled by their treatment of Native American Mormons which reveal a Janus-like image of their subjects.

The Daughters of the Utah Pioneers made Ida Anne Rice Wilcox the archetype of the successful Native American Mormon, while ignoring any perceived weaknesses or flaws that might lend her humanity. Soldiers killed Ida’s mother and left Ida lying helpless in the wilderness. William Rose took Ida’s Bannock identity when he removed her from a battlefield and took her to other Mormons for care. This realistically left Ida no option to live the Bannock life she would have lived had her parents survived. The life thus accorded her, and denied many others in her situation, though preferable to death, could be considered to constitute slavery at worst and forced assimilation at best. Both views may contain some validity. But Ida Wilcox’s existence, and those of these others, should mean more than that. Her actions demonstrated the will to affirm her existence by belonging to the structure in which she was placed. “Historians,” writes Breckus “have implicitly defined agency against structure.” They count as agents, only those who resist social structure. As an alternative, Breckus suggests that “agency is not limited to challenging social structures; it also includes reproducing them.” Brekus suggests that one of the reasons that contemporary “scholars in search of a ‘usable past’” neglect some people as subjects for research is that these people “seem to have

⁴⁶⁸ Brekus, Catherine A. “Mormon Women and the Problem of Historical Agency,” *Journal of Mormon History*, v. 37, no. 2, spring 2011, 60-61.

accepted...subordination” to the dominant culture and as such are considered as having abdicated agency. Brekus argues that, contrary to such thinking, “ordinary believers” are certainly agents. “They helped to reproduce religious communities across generations.” Brekus concludes, “Habitual and routinized activities are not devoid of agency [and]...agency is not limited to challenging social structures; it also includes reproducing them.”⁴⁶⁹ Historian Michael Dorris’ “terribly difficult and unpredictable quest of regarding Native Americans as human beings,” rather than as “sacred, one-dimensional European myths,”⁴⁷⁰ addresses such issues.

Summary

This thesis has considered the lives of Native American children who lived in Mormon homes, and the people who made the world in which they lived during the last half of the nineteenth century and into the first decades of the twentieth century. The narratives that detail this story provide evidence of complex intercultural and familial relationships, where long-term personal and family outcomes apparently relied as much on individual personalities and family attitudes as upon larger societal impulses which, despite some singular Mormon doctrinal beliefs, often reflected the wider Euro-American racial and cultural world-view. Caught up in the cultural tension between Mormon and Indigenous beliefs, individual personal behaviors, and wider cultural prejudices these children, and those with whom they related, negotiated identities that reflected their own personal encounters with Indigenous and Mormon cultures and the wider world in which both cultures existed.

⁴⁶⁹ Brekus, “Mormon Women and the Problem of Historical Agency,” 72-73, 78-79.

⁴⁷⁰ Michael Dorris, “Indians on the Shelf,” in *The American Indian and the Problem of History*, Calvin Martin, ed., (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1987), 105.

In the nineteenth century, Native Americans and Mormons belonged to a world totally different from that inhabited even a half-century previously. New circumstances required initial temporization as these two disparate groups negotiated afresh their societal and cultural frameworks. Regrettably, many of these adopted children lost much of their Native identity, both as a result of other Indians trading them out of Indigenous ways and Mormons purchasing, trading or otherwise receiving them into Mormon homes. Many adapted to Mormon societal mores. Some Indian captives became Mormon indentured servants. Some indentures became adoptions. Other children ran away and retained their Indigenous culture. Yet others, on both sides of the Native American-Mormon cultural divide, absorbed pieces of the opposing culture. Examples include Sally Kanosh, Frank Warner, Nick Wilson and Israel Bennion. But hard and fast rules seemed difficult to identify. Utes, Paiutes, Goshutes, Pahvants, Mormons and others acted in complex, very human and sometimes kind and wonderful ways. The exceptions proved saddening but typical of the expression of human cruelty and callousness in every society.

Fremonts and Paiutes of pre-contact times understood persistence. This virtue their Indigenous descendants, who encountered the first Europeans, also practiced. The nineteenth-century children of these ancestors retained that characteristic, and whether their posterity cultivated an awareness of and an appreciation for their Native American heritage and culture, they remain heirs of that persistence. Latter-day Saints who participated, for good or ill, in the practice of indenturing, fostering or adopting Indigenous children also learned to adapt to new situations. Both Native American and Mormon responses to the opposing culture ran the gamut of human emotions over time,

from wary examination, to tentative acceptance, to anger and disdain, to cooperation and accommodation, and perhaps in some cases to appreciation and understanding.

The Indigenous children who came to Mormon homes did so as a product of complex cultural attitudes and practices, caused by macro-historical actions and reactions to migrations, settlements, diseases and wars as well as economic and religious impulses. But thousands of micro-historical individual decisions and acts also drove outcomes: small surprises such as Wakara demanding a white child as a test of friendship and then returning him, a young Mormon run-a-way becoming a Shoshone, and Paiute children speaking Danish. Such small vignettes detail the daily occurrences that allow us to see the humanity of the actors in this Great Basin drama. Mormon secondary source literature, written by later LDS biographers, provided rich clues about these circumstances, but also perpetrated stereotypes that unfairly simplified and parodied historical characters who possessed a deep humanity and performed complex and difficult tasks as they acted as agents to negotiate identity both in and outside of Mormon and Indigenous structure.

This research commenced with a search for cultural rules that could explain the relationships between Native Americans and Mormons in the nineteenth century, it ends with the unsettling conclusion that rules in this time seemed few and far between, that history drove culture and culture reciprocated in messy, unexpected and very human ways. Despite Mormon efforts to create familial connections with Native Americans, and to fit those created relationships into the pre-set narratives of their faith, the hope for simplified conversion and assimilation always proved elusive. At the same time, Indigenous customs in a majority of cases where intermarriage occurred were almost

always lost when judged by two primary indicators of filial ethnic identification and retention of the Indigenous language.⁴⁷¹ In the end, a history of Mormon-Native American familial relationships may be better told through a complex mélange of narratives about individual human choices, than by examining larger institutional or cultural imperatives. Perhaps these humble stories tell us more than the larger tales.

⁴⁷¹ Nagel, "American Indian Ethnic Renewal," 951-953.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

GLOSSARY

- Baptism for the Dead:** An LDS practice of performing baptisms by proxy for deceased relatives, as reference in the New Testament (1st Corinthians 15:29). This proxy work provides the prime motivation for LDS genealogical research.
- Belicani or Mericat:** Native American terms for non-Mormon Americans in the mid-nineteenth century.
- Bishop:** The LDS equivalent of a minister or pastor. Called from a lay-priesthood to serve for a period of time as the presiding officer over a “ward” or typical congregation of between 200-500 members.
- Book of Mormon:** A book translated from metal-plates whose location was revealed by an angel, according to its translator, Joseph Smith. The book narrates the story of an ancient American civilization transplanted from the Old World in three successive waves of migration. The people described in the book are claimed to have descended from the House of Israel. Considered scripture by the LDS Church, the Book is described by the founder, Smith as “the cornerstone of our religion.”
- Crow:** The action of a horse, when it bucks with a stiff-legged gait.
- Encomienda:** the system, instituted in 1503, under which a Spanish soldier or colonist was granted a tract of land or a village together with its Indian inhabitants.
<http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/encomienda> accessed May 2, 2012.
- Endowment:** A saving ordinance or rite performed in an LDS Temple involving a series of instructions, covenants and repetitions, believed to provide needed information to the participant preparatory to returning to the presence of Deity.
- Genízaro:** A person of mixed Indigenous and Spanish European ancestry often employed as a settler or soldier in the Southwest Borderlands. Named after the Turkish European soldiers, the Janissaries.

House of Israel:	Descendants of Biblical Jacob or Israel and his twelve sons, believed by Mormons to have made covenants with God, thereby becoming a chosen people.
Indian Placement Program:	A program of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints from 1947 to 1996, in which LDS Native American students (upon request by their parents) were voluntarily placed in Latter-day Saint foster homes during the school year, where they would attend public schools...[with the] cost of care borne by the foster parent. (See: James B. Allen, "The Rise and Decline of the LDS Indian Student Placement Program, 1947-1996," <i>Mormons, Scripture, and the Ancient World: Studies in Honor of John L. Sorenson</i> , Ed. Davis Bitton (Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1998), 85-119.
Lamanites:	One of the tribes descending from Book of Mormon migrants. The Lamanites tended to represent those rebellious against God, with notable exceptions when they became the example of righteous conduct.
LDS:	An acronym for The Church of Jesus-Christ of Latter-day Saints, also known by the nickname, "Mormons."
Lumpy-dick	A Mormon pioneer staple food. The recipe: "Heat milk scalding hot--in a large pan. In a bowl beat an egg with a fork a few moments then add some sugar, pinch of salt & grated nutmeg, flour enough to use up the egg--rub between your hands till about like rice, then stir into the hot milk cook a few moments and serve with milk or cream." http://pioneerfoodie.blogspot.com/2010/01/random-stuff.html accessed May 2, 2012.
Mormonee:	A Native American designation for Mormons, to distinguish them from other Americans, called by the Indians, "Belicani or Amerikat.
Mormon:	A nickname for members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.
Nephite:	One of the tribes described in the Book of Mormon, Nephites tended to be the most obedient of the tribes, but sometimes turned away from God. After the last time they rebelled they were destroyed by the Lamanites, according to the Book of Mormon.
Numic:	A cognate for the word "person," Numic describes the root language for the seven languages spoken by Great Basin Native

Americans. See: David B. Madsen & David Rhode, ed. *Across the West: Human Population Movement and the Expansion of the Numa*. (Salt Lake City, UT: University of Utah Press, 1994.)

- Ordinances: LDS rites of worship considered necessary to access the redemptive power of Jesus Christ. Some ordinances like Baptism are performed outside the Temple. Others like the Endowment and Sealing ordinances are performed in the Temple.
- Polygamy: In Mormon tradition, the practice of plural marriage would be more accurately termed polygyny, since multiple female partners were wedded to one man. Plural Marriage was instituted early in the history of the Church, but discontinued about the turn of the twentieth century.
- Recommend: A written permission form signed by two presiding officers of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, permitting a member of the Church in good standing to attend the Temple. Issuance of the recommend is based on an interview with the member, and is signed by the member and the two officers, typically the Bishop and the Stake President.
- Reconquista: The warfare to recapture the Iberian Peninsula by Spanish Christians from the Moors, over a several centuries long time period. The customs associated with this warfare, carried over to Spanish administration of Mexico and New Mexico.
- Sealing: A Temple ordinance of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, that joins or binds together a man and woman and their family for “time and all eternity.”
- Sipapu: The place of emergence in many Native American creation myths. The opening, through which a new world is reached and populated, sometimes represented as the “navel” of the earth.
- Stake: A Mormon ecclesiastical unit comprised of approximately eight to ten wards or congregations, and presided over by a “Stake President” and two counselors. The average population of a Stake is about 2,500-3,000 members.
- Standard Works: The canonized scriptural works of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, including: *The Old Testament*, *The New Testament*, *The Book of Mormon*, *The Doctrine and Covenants*, and *The Pearl of Great Price*.

- Temple: A building of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints set apart from everyday or Sunday worship, for the performance of saving ordinances for the living and, by proxy, for the dead.
- Ward: A Mormon parish or congregation comprising 200-500 members presided over by a Bishop.
- Winter Count: “Winter counts are histories or calendars in which events are recorded by pictures, with one picture for each year. The Lakota call them waniyetu wowapi.”
http://wintercounts.si.edu/html_version/html/index.html Accessed May 2, 2012.

APPENDIX II

TABLES

Table 1

Native Children in Mormon Homes: Ages when acquired enumerated and died.

Age Scale	Male Age when acquired	Female Age when acquired	Tot. M/F Age	Male age when enumerated	Female Age when enumerated	Tot. M/F Age	Male Age died
0-5	12	19	31	11	8	19	1
5-10	10	8	18	29	24	53	-
11-15	1	-	1	36	33	69	2
16-20	-	-		17	38	55	6
21-25	-	-		7	3	10	5
26-30	-	-		1	5	6	2
31-35	-	-		-	1	1	1
36-40	-	-		2	-	2	3
41-45	-	-		1	-	1	1
46-50	-	-		-	1	1	1
51-55	-	-		-	-	-	-
Over 55	-	-		2	-	2	6
Tot.	32	27	50	106	110	216	28

Age Scale	Female Age died	Tot. M/F age
0-5	5	6
5-10	1	1
11-15	4	6
16-20	2	8
21-25	5	10
26-30	5	7
31-35	1	3
36-40	2	7
41-45	1	3
46-50	2	4
51-55	2	2
Over 55	8	14
Tot.	38	66

Table 2
Known Ways Native Americans entered Mormon Households

Known ways	1847- 1849	1850- 1854	1855- 1859	1860- 1864	1865- 1869	1870s	1880s	1890s	Total Known
Native Americans entered Mormon Households									
Whites captured or battle survivor	1+	2+	2+	4*					9
Indians captured and traded to Mormons	1	12	11	10		3@		1@	38
Given away by Indian parents or found	2	4			3	1	1	1	12
Sold or traded by white to white								1	1
Given by one white to another			1			1			2
Married			2						2
Voluntary: or ran away from tribe			1	1					2
Total	5	18	17	15	3	5	1	2	66

+ Captured by Mormons

* Survivors of Massacres by Conner's California Volunteers

@ Southern Utah

Table 3
Known Causes of Death Among Native Americans in Mormon Households

Cause of Death	Number in this Cause	% to total listed causes (Total is rounded and does not add to 100%)
Unspecified Illness	10	30.3
Fever	1	3.0
Influenza	1	3.0
Malaria	1	3.0
Pneumonia	3	9.0
Tuberculosis	1	3.0
Tumor (Surgery)	1	3.0
Accident	2	6.0
Childbirth	3	9.0
Murder	2	6.0
Old Age	6	18.0
War (Hostile)	1	3.0
War (Friendly Fire)	1	3.0
Total Causes of Death Listed	33	100.0
Total from Disease	18	55.0
Total from Old Age	6	18.0
Violent Acts	4	12.0
Childbirth	3	9.0
Accidental	2	6.0

Table 4
Age and Gender on Native Americans in Mormon Households

Age and Gender Table	Number	% to Total
Age Unknown: Male	62	15.0
Age Unknown: Female	89	22.0
Unknown Gender or Age	43	10.0
Total Known Men on database	183	44.0
Total Known Women on Database	189	46.0
Total Individuals on Database: (Incl. Unknown Gender)	415	100.0

Table 5
Residence of Native Americans in Mormon Households

Location of Individual	Amount	% to Total
Brigham City (Box Elder Co.)	1	0.2
Canaan (Washington Co.)	1	0.2
Cedar City (Iron Co.)	3	0.6
Ephraim (Sanpete Co.)	7	1.4
Escalante (Garfield Co.)	3	0.6
Farmington (Davis Co.)	2	0.4
Fillmore (Millard Co.)	3	0.6
Fountain Green (Sanpete Co.)	1	0.2
Grafton (Washington Co.)	3	0.6
Grantsville (Tooele Co.)	1	0.2
Iron County	1	0.2
Logan (Cache Co.)	1	0.2
Manti (Sanpete Co.)	12	2.4
Monticello (San Juan Co.)	1	0.2
Mount Pleasant (Sanpete Co.)	3	0.6
Ogden (Weber Co.)	3	0.6
Parowan (Iron Co.)	8	1.6
Payson (Utah Co.)	1	0.2
Provo (Utah Co.)	2	0.4
Rockville (Washington Co.)	1	0.2
Salt Lake City (Salt Lake Co.)	44	8.8
Sandy (Salt Lake Co.)	2	0.4
Santa Clara (Washington Co.)	8	1.6
Sigurd (Sevier Co.)	1	0.2
Spanish Fork (Utah Co.)	2	0.4
St. George (Washington Co.)	12	2.4
Taylorville (Salt Lake Co.)	4	0.8
Tooele (Tooele Co.)	4	0.8
Utah County	2	0.4
Washington County	8	1.6
Willard (Box Elder Co.)	1	0.2
Unspecified Utah Census	134	26.8
Box Elder County Total	2	0.4
Cache County Total	1	0.2
Davis County Total	2	0.4
Garfield County Total	3	0.6
Iron County Total	12	2.4
Millard County Total	3	0.6
Salt Lake County Total	50	10.0
San Juan County Total	1	0.2
Sanpete County Total	23	4.6
Sevier County Total	1	0.2

Tooele County Total	5	1.0
Utah County Total	7	1.4
Washington County Total	33	6.6
Weber County Total	3	0.6
Total State of Utah	370	64.0
State of Arizona	11	2.2
State of Idaho	3	0.6
State of Nevada	17	3.2
State of Wyoming	4	0.8
Total out of Utah	35	7.0
Total individuals with an associated place	405	100.0

Table 6

Known costs of trade for Native American Children in Mormon Households

Known items traded to obtain a Native American by Mormons	Food	Guns and Ammunition	Horses or Oxen	Blankets	Combination	Cash
	8	4	3	3	3	3

Items mentioned:

Trade:

“2 Blankets and flour”

“A piece of bacon and two lbs. of flour”

“Goods of various kinds”

“Gun moulds & cleaner, a petticoat, flour, lead & caps”

“Flour and Blankets”

“A gun, a blanket and some ammunition”

“A sheep and a sack of flour”

“A span of oxen”

“\$50 in provisions and cash”

Cash:

“\$40”

“\$25”

“\$100”

Table 7
Known Birthdates, Date in Mormon Household, and Death dates of Native Americans

Date Range	Birthdates in this Range	% to Total	Date in Household	% to Total	Death Date in Range	% to Total
1830-1834	2		-		-	
1835-1840	9		-		-	
1841-1845	40		-		-	
1846-1850	61		7		-	
1851-1856	49		13		5	
1856-1860	37		9		1	
1861-1865	16		4		7	
1866-1870	13		1		12	
1871-1875	-		3		7	
1876-1880	1		1		6	
1881-1885	-		-		4	
1886-1890	1		-		4	
1891-1895	-		1		3	
1896-1900	-		-		3	
After 1900	-		-		20	
Total	189	100	39	100	72	100

Table 8

Dates Mentioned in Records by Gender (including census)

Date Range	Male	Female	Unknown Gender	Total
1845-1850	8	11	-	19
1851-1860	55	49	-	104
1861-1870	39	63	3	105
1871-1880	10	36	-	46
1881-1890	-	4	-	4
1891-1900	-	-	-	-
1900-1905	1	1	-	2
Total	113	164	3	280

Table 9

**Known Marriages from xls database: Classified by type
(out of 415 total individuals)**

Marriages	Native American Women	Native American Men	
White	65	9	74
Native American	2	2	4
Hispanic	2	-	2
Total Marriages	69	11	80
Unmarried & children with white	4	-	-
Divorced	3	-	-
Unmarried in life, but proxy posthumous marriage performed	1	1	1
Died before age 15*			87

***Assuming a 21% mortality rate of total population based on extrapolation from known deaths.**

From this data one may estimate that 40% of the database population either married or died before marriage age.

Table 10

LDS Ordinance Data for the Seventy-three Children Detailed in this Research

No LDS ordinance information	All LDS ordinances post-mortem proxy	Baptized and confirmed while living Temple ordinances post-mortem proxy	All ordinances complete While Living	Plural marriage participant	Sealed To Biological Parents	Total
26	9	24	14	5	2	73
36%	12%	33%	19%	7%	3%	100%

52% Participated in LDS ordinances while living.
19% Completed all Temple ordinances while living.
12% Proxy ordinances only, performed post-mortem.
36% No record of any LDS ordinance performed

Table 11
Children in Detailed Secondary Sources—Location and Date in Mormon Household

	1847- 52	1853- 54	1855- 57	1858- 59	1860- 62	1863- 69	1870s	1880- 90	Total
SLC	4		3	1					8
Utah		1			1		1		3
Co									
Sanpete	3	1	2	1	1				8
Co									
Central	2	4		2			1		9
UT									
North	3	1	1						5
UT									
South	6	1	2	2	2	1	3	2	19
UT									
South						4			4
ID									
Total	18	8	8	6	4	5	5	2	56

Table 12
Chronological List of detailed Secondary Record with names of children

1847-1852

Sally Young 1847 SLC
 Mary Mountain Eldredge 1847 Utah Valley (SLC)
 Rhoda Barker 1850 Ogden
 Harriet Hamilton 1850 Manti
 Sally Henrie 1850 Manti
 Sylvia Cox ? ?
 Nellie Waddie Leithead 1850 Farmington
 Alma Shock Brown 1851 Manti
 Ruth Call 1851 Fillmore
 Albert Hamblin 1851 Tooele
 Lucy Meeks 1851 Parowan
 Cora and Mosheim Rice 1851 Parowan
 Janet Smith Leavitt 1852 Parowan
 Sam and Virogue Johnson 1852 Parowan
 Merkley 1852 SLC
 Jim Sessions 1852 Logan
Total 18

1853-1854

Omer Badigee Heywood 1853 Nephi
Julie Ann Markham 1853 Spanish Fork
Pernetta and Albert Murdock 1853
Batteese Sanders 1853 Mt. Pleasant
Lemuel Hunsaker 1854 Brigham City
Lamoni Judd 1854 southern Utah
Anne Marshall 1854 Tooele
Mary Sanders 1854 Idaho

Total 9**1855-1857**

Zenos Hill 1855 Manti
Sam and Nellie Benson 1855 SLC
Eliza and Ellen Hamblin 1855 southern Utah
Sam Arthur 1856 Ogden
Martha Beal Johnson 1856 Manti
Sarakeets Woodruff 1857 SLC

Total 8**1858-1859**

Kanosh Bennion 1858 Taylorsville
Mary Tanequickeup Hancock 1858 ?
Mathilda Judd 1858 southern Utah
David Lemmon 1858 Rockville
Samuel Beal 1859 Manti
Christian and Lavina Neilson late 1850s Ephraim

Total 7**1860-1862**

Ammon Draper 1860 Spanish Fork
Mary Thompson 1860 Manti
Minnie Burgess 1861 St. George
Cora Keat 1862 St. George

Total 4

1863-1869

Jannie Hull 1863 Preston, Idaho
Shem Parkinson 1863 Preston, Idaho
Ida Anne Rice 1863 Idaho
Frank Warner 1863 Preston, Idaho
Jane Knight 1865 St. George

Total 5**1870s**

Rose Daniels 1870 Provo
Susie Pulsipher 1870s St. George
Susie's sister (Matthews) 1870s St. George
Andrus boy 1872 Canaan
Zaidee Hunter 1878 Grantsville

Total 5**1880-1890**

Hyde baby 1888 Monticello
Tony Tillohash 1890

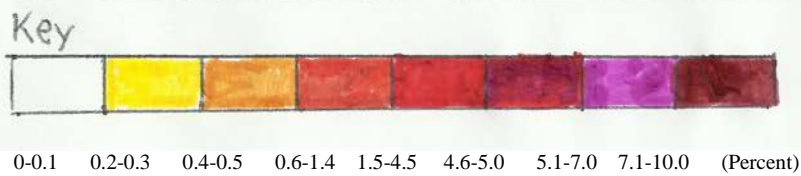
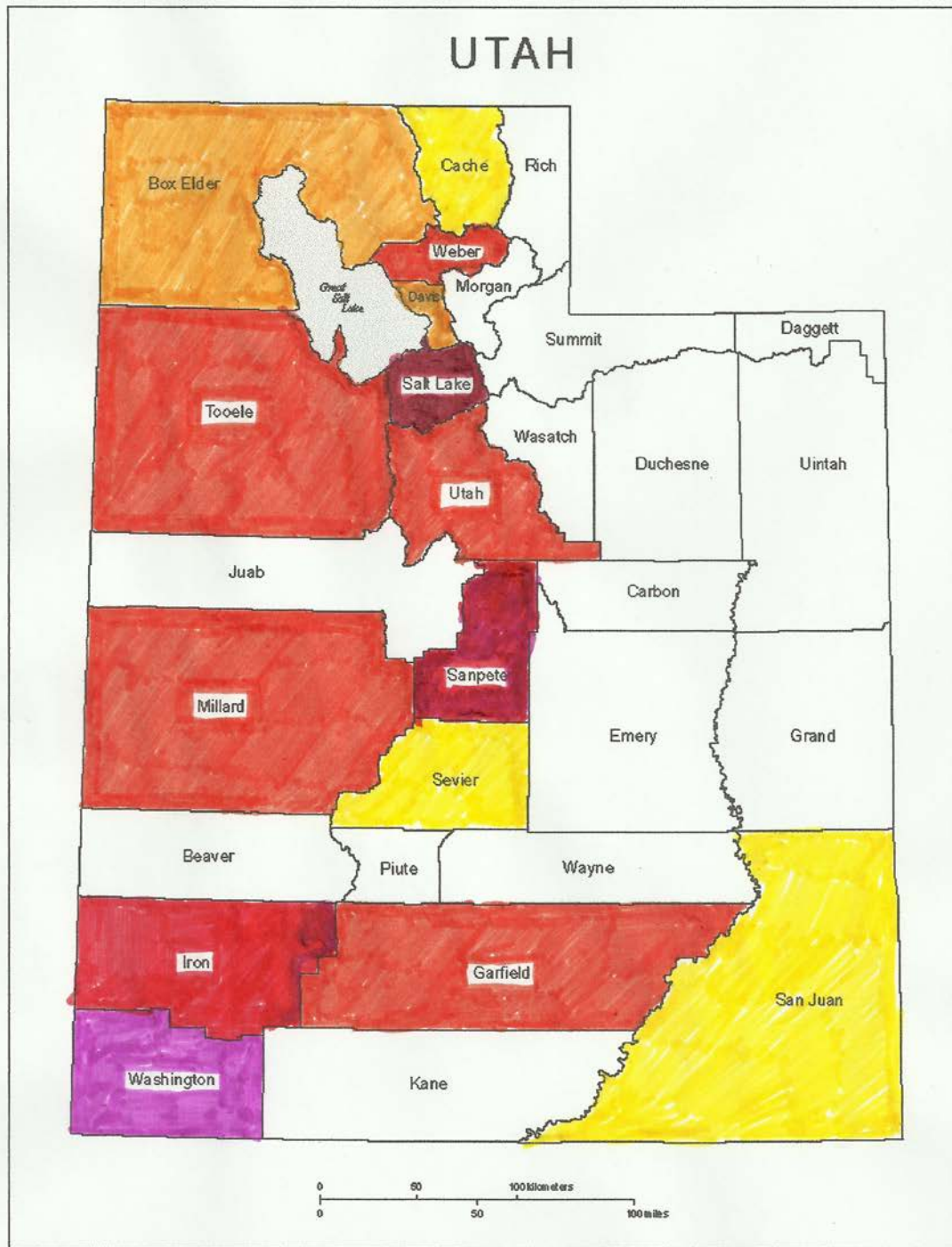
Total 2

**APPENDIX III
MAPS**

**Map 1
Utah County Map**



Map 2
Geographic Distribution of Native Americans in Mormon Households



**Appendix IV
XLS Database**

Native Americans in Mormon Homes, 1847-1900

(Source Richard Kitchen and Michael K. Bennion—see Bibliography for Kitchen)

Key:

Under Marriage Data Race Column:

W=white, Ind=Native American, Hisp=Hispanic.

Bap=LDS Baptism, Endow=LDS Temple Endowment,

Seal=LDS Temple sealing to wife and/or parents,

P=Posthumous ordinances performed after decease by proxy.

Brks=Brooks (A Juanita Brooks Source.

I p. 34=Indian Relations.

p. 34. Kit=On original Kitchen research.

Mike= added by Michael Bennion.

same/same?=duplicate entry to account for more than one spouse, etc.

Cen=Census.

**Indian Children in Mormon Households
Prepared by Michael K. Bennion 2012**

Last/First Name	Sex	Age	Born	Died	Cause	Household	Place	Date	Marr	Who	Race	Bapt	Endow	Seal	Bk/s	Kit	Mk-addl	Source
Unknown	M						Wash. Co.											Wash Co.
Unknown, Nepht	M	16	1856			Household #7												UTCent1870
Ulk, Sarah Ellen	F	14	1888			Barbur, Anna												UkCent1880
Ulk, Shem	M	90	1840															Ephraim Wvd
Adair, Fanny	F								Y	Adair, Thomas/Moroni	W							SPFG 1930
Alexander, Susan	F	9	1851			Alexander, Henry												AZCent1880
Allen, Martha	F	20	1880			Allen, Elizabeth												UTCent1860
Alfred, Unknown	M					Alfred, James												UkCent1880
Alfred, Unknown	M					Alfred, Andrew/Jacks												J.AlfredA&D
Alfred, James	M																	E.A.Taylor
Alfred, Nepht	M	12	1848			Alfred, Andrew												SLInterbk3
Alfred, Rachel	F	16	1844			Alfred, Thomas B.			Y	Murray, John	W							UTCent1860
Alfred, Rachael	F					Alfred, Rueben												UTCent1860
Alvey, Nepht	M																	SPFG
Amy, Alexander	M	8	1852			Amy, Dustin												Esc,Wards
Anderson, Rosale Gebow	F	18	1892			Anderson, Edith												UTCent1860
Ardus,	M	abt:1888				Ardus, James & Lavina												UTCent1860
Arnham, Samuel	M	16	1854			Arnham												Interview
Arthur, Samuel	M	1854	1891	Illness		Arthur, Christopher J	Ogden	1896	Y	Randall, Alice J.	W	P	P	P	I	p.34	Y	Arthur, Aubrie
Bailey, Jane	F					Bailey, George			Y	Bailey, George	W							UTCent1880
Baker, 1st						Baker, Simon												G.A.SmithJour
Baker, 2nd						Baker, Simon												UTCent1860
Baker, Peter	M	11	1849			Baker, Albert												Grafton
Ballard, 1																		Grafton
Ballard, 2																		Grafton
Ballard, 3																		Grafton
Barber, Lamoni	M	9	1851			Barber, George												UTCent1860
Barker, Rhoda	F	1850	1866	Tuberculosis		Barker, Ann Elythe	Ogden	1860	N			P	P	P	Y	Y		Htagev&p122
Barnard, Almonds	F	26	1844			Barnard, John P.												UTCent1870
Barnard, Elva	F	16	1844			Barnard,												UTCent1860
Barnard, Jno	M	6	1854			Barnard, Ezra												UTCent1860
Barnard,																		Brooks
Barney, Rose Ann	F	9	1847			Barney, Henry												Rachell, eedJary
Bayless, Edna	F																	UTCent1880
Beal, Samuel	M	27	1853			Beal, William & Nancy	Manti	1859										UTCent1880
Beal, Samuel	M					Beal, John Senior												Ephraim Wvd

Last/First Name	Sex	Age	Born	Died	Cause	Household	Place	Date	Marr	Who	Race	Bap	Endow	Seal	Bkrs	Kit	Mike	Source
Beatty						Beatty, H.S.												SL Rec DB Reg.
Beink, Nina	F					Beink, Melton	Taylor, S.	1858	Y	Beink, Melton	W							AZCent1880
Bennion, Kanosh	M	4	1856	1873	Pneumonia	Bennion, John	Parowan				Y	P	P					UTCent1860
Bennion, Moroni	M					Bennion, John & Esther	Taylorville				Y							SL Rec DB Reg.
Bennion, Nephi	M	10	1850			Bennion, Samuel	SLC				Y							UTCent1860
Benson, Sam	M					Benson, Ezra Tart	SLC				Y							Benson Bio
Benson,	M					Benson, Ezra Tart	SLC				Y							Y same?
Benson, Nelle	F					Benson, Ezra Tart	SLC				Y							Heart v1 p.148
Benson, Sarah Harrop	F	20	1850	1880		Benson, Richard & Phoebe	Parowan		Y	Henry Harrop	W	Y	Y					UTCent1870
Billings, Rosa	F	15	1845			Billings, Titus					Y							UTCent1860
Bills, Lemuel W.	M	42	1863			Bills, Worthington					Y							Sigurd Cemetery
Bishop, Jim	M	18	1852			Bishop, William					Y							UTCent1870
Bishop, Mary	F					Anderson, James	St Thomas		Y	Anderson, James	W							St Thomas Vwd
Black, Percilla or Percilla	F	20	1850			Black, William					Y							UTCent1870
Blackburn, Ismael	M	15	1850			Blackburn, Mary A.					Y							same?
Blackburn, Ismael	M					Blackburn, Jehne					Y							Rachel Lee Dairy
Blackburn	M					Blackburn, Jehu					Y							H. Blackburn Rem
Blackburn, Persia	F	14	1856			Blackburn, John & Judy					Y							UTCent1870
Blair, Phoebe	F	14	1846			Blair, Seth M.			N	child with white	W							UTCent1860
Box, Isaac	M					Box, Thomas					Y							SLCDB Reg 1869
Bradley	F					Bradley, Betsy					Y							Heritage? (no)
Brooks, Bessie	F	14	1866			Brooks, Hezekiah					Y							AZCent1880
Brough, John	M										Y							Tooele Cemetery
Brown, Abadia	F	11	1849			Brown, Thomas D.			Y	Brown, James M	W							UTCent1860
Brown, Adelaide	F					Brown, James M.					W							UTCent1860
Brown, Alma Shook	M	18	1842			Brown, Jas. P.	Manti	1851	Y	Betsy Pascock	Ind	Y	Y					UTCent1860
Brown, Alma Shook	M					Moffitt, Andrew					Y							same?
Brown, Ellen	F	7	1853			Fords (Ford) Thomas					Y							UTCent1860
Brown, George	M	10	1850			Fords (Ford) Thomas					Y							UTCent1860
Brown, James	M								Y	Brown Jane	W							UTCent1860
Brown, Laman	M					Brown, J.D.					Y							UTCent1860
Brown, Laman	M	1									Y							UTCent1860
Brown, Lusette	F	12	1838			Brown, Hannah					Y							UTCent1860
Brown,						Brown, Thomas D.					Y							SLCDB Reg 1355
Brown,						Brown, Thomas D.					Y							SLC Cem. Reg.
Brown,						Brown, Thomas D.					Y							same?
Brown,						Brown, Thomas D.					Y							UTCent1850

Last/First Name	Sex	Age	Born	Died	Cause	Household	Place	Date	Marr	Who	Race	Bap	Endow	Seal	Bks	KR	Mike	Source
Brown,						Brown, Thomas D.									1 p.33	Y		WYCent1880
Brown,						Brown, Thomas D.									1 p.33	Y		WYCent1880
Buckman, Mary	F								Y	Buckman, Charles	W				Y	Y		WYCent1880
Burgess, MinnieVrocca	F	1856	1888	Childbirth		Burgess, Melancthon	St George	1861	Y	Hartman, Albert	W	Y	P	P		Y		Heartv/p159-60
"	"	"	"	"					Y	Carpenter, Joseph	W						same	
Burnham, Mana	F	18	1852			McArthur, W.P.									Y			UTCent1870
Burnham, Lehi	M	16	1844			Burnham, Andrew									Y			UTCent1860
Calhoun, Lucy	F								Y	Calhoun, James	W				Y			WYCent1880
Call, Daniel	M	22	1848			Summes, Edward									Y			UTCent1870
Call,	M					Call, Anson									Y			Heartv/p183-64
Call,	F					Call, Anson									Y			Heartv/p163-64
Call, Ruth	F	1847	1919	Age		Call, Anson	Fillmore	1851	Y	Davis, James	W	Y	Y	Y		Y		Heartv/p345-56
Cannon, Alma	M					Cannon, Angus M.									1 p.34	Y	Y	Heartv/p112-15
Carpenter, Rhoda	F	1887	1968			Carpenter, William	St George	1891	Y	Shamp, Thomas	W	Y	Y	Y		Y		WYCent1870
Carter, Patsie	F	14	1856			Carter, William			Y	Chambers, Peter	W				Y			UTCent1880
Chambers, Mary	F								Y	Chambers, Thomas	W				Y			UTCent1880
Chambers, Sarah	F														Y			UTCent1870
Cheney, "Marg" or Mary	F	15	1855			Cheney, Joseph									Y			UTCent1870
Cherry, Alice	F	15	1855			Cherry, Margaret									Y			UTCent1870
Child, Sarah	F	18	1868			Child, John J.&Elizab									Y			UTCent1880
Chrismon, Kate	F					Chrisman,									Y			SLC IB RecBK2
Chrismon, Kate Lammante	F														Y		same?	SLC RecDBReg
Christensen, Joseph	M	14	1866			Christensen, L.G.									Y			UTCent1880
Clark, Jeanette	F								Y	Clark, James	W				Y			UTCent1870
Clark, Phebe	F								Y	Clark, James	W				Y			CedarCityCemet
Cluff	M	12	1845			Cluff, Benjamin									Y			L Brown 1857
Cojoe, Joe	M	45	1859												Y			UT DI Exd SLC Co
Coleman, Janet	F					Clark, James									Y			UTCent1870
McCannell, Jeanette	F					Coleman, Prine									Y		same	
Collins						Coleman, Prine									Y			MaryCollins1859
Corelas, Benito	M	20	1830			Collins, Mary									Y		Y	UTCent1850
Cox, Sylvia	F					Hiram, James P.									Y			Heartv/p159-60
Crapo, Isonia	F	20	1850			Cox Elvira									Y			UTCent1870
Crook, Jane	F	14	1856			Crapo, Joseph									Y			UTCent1870
Crosby, Fanny	F	14	1856			Crook, D.P.									Y			NWCent1870
Croshaw, Darlene	F	13	1867			Crosby, Taylor&Marth									Y			NWCent1870
Cush, John	M	11				Croshaw, John&Jane									Y			UTCent1880
															Y			Payson Ward

Last/First Name	Sex	Age	Born	Died	Cause	Household	Place	Date	Marr	Who	Race	Bap	Endow	Seal	Bris	Kit	Milk	Source
Daniels, Rebecca	F	15	1855													Y	Y	UTCent1870
Daniels, Rose	F		1854	1943		Daniels, Harriet										Y	Y	Endur7p41-46
Davies, Jeff	M	11	1859			McBride, Reuben	Provo	1870	Y	Daniels, Aaron	W	P	P	P		Y	Y	UTCent1870
Dokton(Dalton), George	M	9	1847			Dokton(Dalton),										Y		RachelL.eeDiary
Draper, Ammon	M		1854	1881	Accident	Draper, Zemira	Spanish Fort	1880	N		Y	P	P	P		Y	Y	Heritag3p451
Dritson, Joseph	M	1	1869			Dritson, Philip										Y		UTCent1870
Duff, Maggie	F								Y	Duff, Alex	W					Y		AZCent1880
Durcanson, ElizabethAnn	F					Durcanson, David M.										Y		SLC DBReg1871
Ecarts, Sarah	F	23	1847			Ecarts, John & Emma										Y		UTCent1870
Elder, Sarah	F	6	1854			Elder, Claborn										Y		UTCent1860
Eldridge, Lamoni	M															Y		SLC DBReg1851
Eldridge, Mary	F	16	1844			Fox, Jesse W.										Y		UTCent1860
Eldridge, MaryMountain	F	13	1847	1870	Illness	Eldridge, Elnathan	Provo	1849	N		Y	P	P	P		Y	Y	UTCent1860
Elsworth, Jack	M	15	1845			Elsworth, Mary Ann										Y		UTCent1860
Empoy,						Empoy, William										Y		
Ewing, Fransina	F	0.2	1855			Ewing, Susannah										Y		Ewing, S. 1855
Fairfield, Malissa	F								Y	Rice, Joseph						Y		IDCent1870
Ferguson, Lemuel	M					Ferguson, James										Y		SLC DBReg1850
Ferguson, Pricio	M	12	1846			Ferguson, James										Y		UTCent1860
Fetter, Julia	F	16	1864			Fetter, John										Y		WVCent1880
Fjelstad, Sarah	F	18	1852			Fjelstad, L.P.										Y		UTCent1870
Foraythe, MoroniRoan	M					Foraythe, Thomas										Y		
Funk, Flora	F	8	1842			Funk, Daniel										Y		UTCent1850
Gardner, Fanny/Fannie	F	28	1844			Gardner, Alathia										Y		UTCent1870
"	"					Gardner, A.										Y		SLC Interbk 3
"	"					Gardner, A.										Y		same
Garfield, Anna M.	F	11	1859			Garfield,										Y		UTCent1870
Garr, Jno	M	5	1855			Garr, Jno										Y		UTCent1860
Gilbert, Moroni	M	13	1847			Gilbert, Timothy										Y		UTCent1860
Grace, Alma	M	18	1852			Grace, Isaac										Y		UTCent1860
Grant, Mary	F	26	1845													Y		SLC Interbk 3
Groesbeck, Jack	M	10	1860			Groesbeck, Stephen										Y		UTCent1870
Groesbeck, John	M	38	1866													Y		UT DI Excl SLC.
Groves, Ira	M	1.1	1855			Groves, Elisha H.										Y		RachelL.eeDiary
Groves, Kitty	F					Groves, Elisha H.										Y		Racl.eeDiary 1859
Groves, Mahonri	M					Groves, Elisha H.										Y	Y	Racl.eeDiary 1858
Groves, Mary	F	17	1863			Dougall(Dingall)H&C										Y		UTCent1880

Last/First Name	Sex	Age	Born	Died	Cause	Household	Place	Date	Marr	Wife	Race	Bap	Endow	Seal	Bris	Kit	Milk	Source
Haight, Sherman	M	12	1848			Haight, Horton N.												UTCent1860
Hamblin, Albert	M		1841	1863	Illness	Hamblin, Jacob	Toelle	1851	Y	Hamblin, Jacob	W							I p.40 Y
Hamblin, Eliza	F					Hamblin, Jacob			Y	Hamblin, Jacob	W							I p41-4 Y
Hamblin, Ellen	F				Accident	Hamblin, Jacob			?	Hamblin, Jacob	W							I p42-4 Y Y
Hamblin, Fanny	F	18	1852			Hamblin, Orson												UTCent1870
Hamblin, Susan	F																	I p.41 Y
Hamilton, Anne/Ann	F	13	1867			Hamilton, John/Mary												I p.40-1 Y
Hamilton/Ann/Annarrow	F	"	"	1958	Old age	" " "	Iron Co.	abt. 1874	Y	Bernus, William	W	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	I p.35 Y
Hamilton, Harriet	F	22	1848	1898	Illness	Hamilton, Chelnicia	Manti	1848	Y									UTCent1870
Hamilton, Harret	F					" "												UTCent1870
Hammond, Anna	F	15	1855			Hammond, Elizabeth												UTCent1880
Hammond, Sorin	M	5	1865			Hammond, Elizabeth												Heritage v1 p207
Hancock, Mary Terequiqueup	F		1848			Hancock, George W.			Y	"a Spaniard"	Hisp							UTCent1870
Hanks, Albert	M					Hanks, Ebenezer												UTCent1870
Hanks, Della	F	16	1844			Hanks, Ephraim												Chronicles v1
Hanks, Yodas	M	14	1838			Hanks, Ephraim												UTCent1860
Hanson, Sarah E.	F								Y	Hanson, Peter	W							UTCent1850
Harding, Laban	M																	UTCent1850
Harris, (16 different kids)	M					Harris, Frank												UTCent1850
Harris, Frank	M					Harris, John												Carter
Harris, Thomas	M	10	1840			Harris, Robert												UTCent1870
Harrison, John	M					Harrison, Geo&Mary												Manti Ward
Harcop/Harp/Sarah	F																	NVCent1870
Henrie, Sally	F	1848	1863	Childbirth		Henrie/Daniel&Amanda	Manti	1848	Y	Harrq, Henry	W							UTCent1860
Henry, Sylvester	M	22	1848			Henry, James				Curtis, Rastas	W							UTCent1860
Heywood, Omer/Badgee	M	12	1848	1868		Heywood, Joseph L.	Parovan	1853										UTCent1860
Higgins, Ann	F	18	1842			Higgins, Nelson												UTCent1860
Hill, Ann	F	6	1864			Hill, Sterling & Sarah												IDCent1870
Hill, Zenas William	M	5	1855	1938	Old age	Hill, George & Emma	Manti	1855	Y	Hicken, Emil/Minne	W							UTCent1860, 80
Hoehrens, Laman	M	6	1844			Hoehrens, Jacob												UTCent1850
Howell, Louisa	F	18	1852			Howell, William												NVCent1870
Howell, Mary J.	F	18	1852			Howell, William												NVCent1870
Howell, Sally	F								Y	Howell, William	W							NVCent1870
Hull, Jannite	F		1859	1910	Illness	Hull, Thomas & Mary		1863	Y	Riley, Heber	W							T Hull
Hunsaker, Lemuel	M		1847	1859	Fire	Hunsaker, Abraham & Harrie Brigham	City	1854										Heritage v8 p87

Last/First Name	Sex	Age	Born	Died	Cause	Household	Place	Date	Marr	Who	Race	Bap	Endow	Seal	Bkts	Kit	Milke	Source
Hunter, Zedee Modivwak	F		1876	1902	Illness	Hunter, Edward & Mary Ann Grantsville	Grantsville	1878										Hitage/6 194-5
Huntington, John P.	M					Hueston, L.A.												SLCDBReg1863
Hustson, Moroni	M	7	1853			Hutchingson, Jacob F												UTCent1860
Hutchingson, Sarah E.	F	7	1843			Hyde, Edward & Emma Toir Monticello		1888										UTCent1850
Hyde,	F	1	1888	1899	Murdered													Hearty's 424-25
Ingram, Moroni	M	3	1853			James, Richard M.												Recl.esDial1856
James, Ben	M					Jarainville B, HH#201												UTCent1880
Jarainville, Maria	F	10	1870			Jarainville B, HH#201												AZCent1880
Jarainville, Salome	F	5	1875			Jarainville B, HH#201												AZCent1880
Jarvis, Salma	F					Jenkins, Ralph Jr			Y	Jarvis, Maximilian	W							AZCent1880
Jenkins						Jenkins, George W.												Sandy City
Jenkins						Sandy												Sandy City
Jenkins						Sandy												Sandy City
John, Harry	M			1916														Cd/City/Cent1916
Johnson, (1)	M					Johnson, Joel Hills												Journal
Johnson, Sam	M		1847			Johnson, Joel Hills		1852										Journal
Johnson, Chuck	M					Johnson, Joel Hills												J.L. Ott
Johnson, Elva	F					Johnson,												J.L. Ott
Johnson, Sam	M	26	1844			Johnson, Eliza												UTCent1870
Johnson, Virgule	F	10	1840	1855		Johnson, Joel Hills												JouUTCent1850
Johnson, Martha Deal	F		1847	1928	Old age	Johnson, Don Carlos		1956	Y	Brown, Jim	W							Heritage/3 455
Jorgenson, Mary	F					Thompson, P.P.												Ephraim Ward
Jorgenson, Mary Christine	F					Thoms, Kristin												Ephraim Ward
Judd, Lamoni	M		1848	1855	Illness	Judd, Zaddock & Mary		1854	Y	Matilda Posthum	Ind	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Mary Judd Diary
Judd, Matilda	F		1845	1861	Illness	Judd, Zaddock & Mary		1858	Y	Lamoni Posthum	Ind	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Mary Judd Diary
Judd, Nellie	F					Judd, Zaddock & Mary			Y	"Indian man"	Ind			Y	Y	Y	Y	Mary Judd Diary
Kannarah, Joseph B.	M																	SLC Cem. Rec.
Keate, Cora	F		1858	1895	Tumor	Keate, Susannah R.		1862	Y	Williams, Mr. (div)	W					Y	Y	Hearty1 159-60
Keate, Cora	F		"	"	"			"	Y	Hartman, Albert	W						same	Hearty1 159-61
Kimball,						Kimball, William												MormonPatriarch
Kimball,						Kimball, William												MormonPatriarch
Kimball,	F	19	1850			Kimball, William												SLC DB Reg.
Kimball,						Kimball, William												MormonPatriarch
Kimball,	F					Kimball, William												MormonPatriarch
Kimball,	F					Kimball, Chas. & Alvira												AAW Kimball
Kimball, Dave	M					Kimball, Heber C.												Malouf p.386
Kimball, Kate	F	16	1844			Kimball, Hiram												UTCent1860

Last/First Name	Sex	Age	Born	Died	Cause	Household	Place	Date	Marr	Who	Race	Exp	Endow	Seal	Bk's	Kik	Milk	Source
Kimball, Viroque	F	14	1846			Kimball, David P.			Y	"White Man"	W					Y		UTCent1860
Kimo, Johnson	M	19	1851			Park, William										Y		UTCent1870
Knight, Jane	F				Illness	Knight, Samuel		1870								Y	Y	Heart v1 p.114
Knight, John	M																	
Knowlton, Chauncy	M	4	1876			Knowlton,JohnMaret												UTCent1880
Knowlton, James	M	11	1849			Knowlton, S.A.												UTCent1860
Lamb, Annie	F								Y	Lamb, Fred	W							NWCent1870
Lane, Catherine	F	12	1858			Lane, John												UTCent1870
Lawson, Samuel	M	11	1859			Lawson, John												UTCent1870
Leavitt, Catherine	F								Y	Leavitt,David B.	W					Y		NWCent1880
Lee, Alice	F					Lee, John D.	St. George										Y	RacLeadDiary
Lee, Annette	F					Lee, John D.	St. George											1858
Lee, Bruno	M	3	1857			Lee, John D.	St. George											UTCent1860
Lee, Clem	M						St. George											
Lee, Ellen	F						St. George											
Lee, Elizabeth	F								Y	Lee, Steven	W							Am: 17C50-14
Lee, Elzora/Alnora	F	13	1847			Lee, John D.	St. George											AZCent1880
Lee, Euelira	F	16	1854			Lee, Mary Graves												UTCent1870
Lee, Eunice	F					Lee, John D.	St. George											
Lee, Lemuel	M					Lee, John D.	Parowan											RacLeadDiary1858
Lee, Mahala	F					Lee, John D.	Parowan											
Lee, Mary	F	10	1860			Lee, Mary Graves												UTCent1870
Lee, Sally	F	14	1856			Lee, Jane (wife)												UTCent1870
" "						Lee, Frances (Husb)												
Leithead, Nellie Waddie	F	14	1844	1892	pneumoni	Leithead, James & Deborah	Farmington	1850	Y	Justet, Daniel	W							UTCent1870
Lemmon, David	M	14	1856	1930	old age	Lemmon, James	Rockville	1858	Y	Caroline Nielson	W	Y	Y	Y	139-40	Y	Y	UTCent1860
Lemmon, Frank	M					Lemmon, James												UTCent1870
Lewitt, Penita	F								Y	Lewitt, David	W							Ezra Stevens
Lewellyn, Vereta	F	15	1855	1919		Lewellyn, Reese R	Fountain Gr	1856		Jackson, Silas L.	W							UTCent1870
Lewis, Lemuel	M					Lewis, David												SLCDBRec1855
Litchford, Rose	F								Y	Sumner, Abraham	W							UTCent1880
Little, Edith	F	16	1844			Little, James A.												UTCent1860
Little, Nellie Bligh	F	10	1850			Little, Feramorz												UTCent1860
" " (Nelly)	F					Little, Fer.												UTCent1860
Littenfield, Sarah	F	10	1846			Littenfield,												SLCDBReg1852
Lowry, Julia	F	14	1846			Lowry, John&Mary	Parowan	1856		Demarco, John	W							RacLeadDiary1856
																		UTCent1860

Last/First Name	Sex	Age	Born	Died	Cause	Household	Place	Date	Marr	Who	Race	Bap	Endow	Seal	Bk's	KH	Milk	Source
Lurt, Ammon	M					Lurt, Mary										Y		Cedar/City Ward
Mangson, Mary	F	16	1854			Mangson, Josh										Y		UTCent/870
Maraboods, Sarah	F		1843	1873			Arizona	1856	Y	Hatch, Ira	W					Y		IRA HATCH pp. 405-06
Markham, Juline Ann	F	20	1850	abt 18i	Malaria	Markham, Stephan	Spanish Fort	1853	Y	Parat/Perry/Frank	Hisp					Y		UTCent/870
Markam, Julie	F					Markham, Stephan										Y		Hiage/2 615-16
Marshall, Anna	F	7	1853			Marshall, George	Tooele	1854								Y		UTCent/860
Martineau, Cora Colorado	F	4	1856	abt 1874		Martineau, James H.	Parowan									Y		UTCent/860
Matheny, Marasah	M	14	1856	1913		Matheny, Sims	Fillmore									Y		UTCent/870
Mathews, Sarah Ann	F			1870		Mathews, John & Jane										Y		SLCIB2 1870
Mathews (Susie's Sister)	F						Panaca									Y		
Maxfield, William	M	13	1857			Maxfield, Warren										Y		UTCent/870
Maxwell, Imogene	F		1861	1868		Maxwell, Wm/Lucetta	Utah Co.									Y		C.M. Webb
Maxwell, Jack	M	11	1859			Maxwell, William B.	Utah Co.									Y		UTCent/870
Maxwell, John	M		1859	1899		Maxwell, Wm/Lucetta	Utah Co.									Y		C.M. Webb
McClemm, _____	F				pneumoni											Y		
McCormell, Janet	F															Y		
McKee, Laman	M	10	1840			McKee/Mackey Thom										Y		UTCent/850
Meddows, Nora	F			1878		Meadows/Chris&Sara										Y		SLCIBK3 1878
Meekes, Nelly	F	20	1850			Meekes, Priddy	Parowan	1851	N	child by White	W					Y		UTCent/870
Meekes, Lucy	F		1847	1874		Meekes, Priddy	SLC?	1852			W					Y		Priddy Meekes
Merkey, _____	M		1840													Y		Hearl/1 p148
Milkile, John	M	20	1850													Y		UTCent/870
Moesser, Samuel	M	9	1851			Moesser, Magdalena										Y		UTCent/860
Mogo, Susan	F	10	1850			Mogo, Charles										Y		UTCent/860
Moody, James	M	7	1853			Moody, William C.										Y		UTCent/860
Moody, John	M					Moody, William	Eagle Valley NV									Y		Moody Family
Moore, William Henry	M			1872		Moore, William & Sarah										Y		SLCIBK2 1872
Morgan, Fannet/Faune	F	30	1850			Dwelling #35			Y	?	W					Y		UTCent/880
Moorts, Altra	M	19	1851			Weekes, Allen										Y		UTCent/870
Moses, Isaac	M	14	1845			Moses, Julian										Y		UTCent/860
Mosey, Annie	F	17	1853			Mosey, George										Y		UTCent/870
Mountain, Mary	F															Y		Treasw 365-69
Mullier, Lucy	F								Y	Mullier, David	W					Y		UTCent/870
Munford, Charles	M	6	1854			Munford, Edward T.										Y		UTCent/860
Murdock, Benet/Burnette	F	25	1845			Murdock, Joseph			Y	Murdock, Joseph	W					Y		UTCent/870
Murdock, Betsy E.	F			1864		Murdock, Nymphus & S										Y		SLC/Cem 1864
Murdock, Mary Ann	F			1870		Murdock, Daniel			Y	Murdock, Joseph	W					Y		Ogd/Cem 1870
Murdock, Parista	F								Y	Murdock, Joseph	W					Y		same
																Y		same

Last/First Name	Sex	Age	Born	Died	Cause	Household	Place	Date	Marr	Who	Race	Bap	Endow	Seal	Bks	Kit	Mike	Source
Murdock, Perretta	F		1842	1884		Murdock, Joseph		1853	Y	Murdock, John W.	W				Y	same		Endurv3p66-69
Murdock, Pickett	M	12	1848			Murdock, Elizabeth		1853							Y	Y		UTCent1860
Murdock, Pickett Albert	M		1848	1928				1853							Y	same		Endurv3 p66
Murray, Rachel	F								Y	Murray, John					Y	Y		UTCent1870
Nabecker, Richard	M		1856	1906	Murdered		SLC								Y	Y		Hrtagev8 100
Neff Jackson	M	16	1846			Neff, Amos									Y	Y		UTCent1860
Neff, Leah	F	11	1849			Neff, John									Y	Y		UTCent1860
Neff, Peter	M	13	1847			Neff, John									Y	Y		UTCent1860
Nelson, Larnea	F	10	1860			Nance, John									Y	Y		UTCent1870
Nicaagat or Captain Jack	M		1850	1879	War with Wh Norton Family								Y					Robert Emmitt
Nepht, Joel	M					Borreson, Phil	Ephraim								Y	Y		Ephraim Ward
Nichols, James Laman	M	20	1850			Nichols, Virginia									Y	Y		akt
Nielsen, Christian	M	11	1859	abt 1890		Nielsen, Christian	Manti		Y	"Annie a white"	W				Y	Y		UTCent1870
Nielsen, Lavina	F	16	1856			Nielsen, Christian	Manti		Y	"A White Man"	W				Y	Y		Hearty1162-53
Noble, Jim	M														Y	Y		SLC Cem Rec
Oldfield, Jim	M	9	1861			Oldfield, John									Y	Y		UTCent1870
P, Joseph	M								Y	A white female	W							
Parker, Fanny	F	5	1845			Parker, William K									Y	Y		UTCent1850
Parkinson, Shem	M	12	1858	abt 1883		Parkinson, Samuel	Franklin, ID	1863							Y	Y		UTCent1870
Patrick, Ephraim	M	11	1859			Patrick, John									Y	Y		UTCent1870
Pearcock, Betsy	F					Pearcock, Geo, & Hanna	Manti		Y	Alma S. Brown	Ind	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y		Hearty1 p155
Pearcock, Betty	F	20	1850			Pearcock, George	"		"	"	"	"	"	"	Y	Y	same	UTCent1870
Pearcock, Julia	F	20	1850			Pearcock, Mary									Y	Y		UTCent1870
Pearcock, Julia L.	F						Manti								Y	Y	same	Manti Ward
Pendleton, Susannah	F								Y	Pendleton, Mr.	W				Y	Y		UTCent1870
Peterson, Sarah	F	7	1863			Peterson, Terry									Y	Y		UTCent1870
Petty, 1st girl	F					Petty, old father									Y	Y		Ezra Stevens
Petty, 2nd girl	F					Petty, old father									Y	Y		Ezra Stevens
Piede, Jared	M			1855		Calkins,									Y	Y		SLCDBRReg1855
Pitchforth, Lehi	M	21	1849			Pitchforth, Samuel									Y	Y		UTCent1870
Poulson, Ana Elise	F					Poulson, L.	Ephraim								Y	Y		Ephraim Ward
Pulsipher,																		
Pulsipher, Susie	F	48	1861	1909		Pulsipher, William	St. George		N	Children by whites	W				Y	Y	same	SPIG 1909
Quance, John	M	10	1850			Sabin-Asa W.									Y	Y		UTCent1860
Quance, Joseph	M	14	1846			Sabin-Asa W.									Y	Y		UTCent1860
Raleigh, Cora	F	13	1857	1870		Raleigh, Alonzo H.									Y	Y		SLCIntk2 1870
Rasmussen, Paul	M			1912			Tooele								Y	Y		TooeleCem 1912

Last/First Name	Sex	Age	Born	Died	Cause	Household	Place	Date	Marr	Who	Race	Bap	Endow	Seal	Bikes	Kit	Mike	Source
Reese, Ann	F	14	1846			Reese, Enoch	S.L.C											UTCent1860
Reese, James	M	14	1846			Reese, Enoch	S.L.C											UTCent1861
Reese, Jane	F	23	1845	1868		Reese, Enoch	S.L.C											SLCDBReg1988
Reynolds,	F	8	1862			Reynolds, John/Maude												NVCent1870
Reynolds, Eliza	F	16	1854			Reynolds, John/Maude												NVCent1870
Reynolds, Louisa	F																	MPrasamMyard
Rhodes, Jack	M	11	1849			Hanks, Ephraim												UTCent1860
Rhodes, Samuel	M	22	1838			Hanks, Ephraim												UTCent1860
Rhodes, Samuel	M	40	1830			Underwood, Edward												UTCent1860
Rice, Anna	F					Rice, Lucy	Farmington	1853	Y	Wilcox, Jonathan	W	Y						UTCent1870
Rice, Ida Anna	F								"	"	"	Y						UTCent1870
Rice, Cora	F	20	1842			Rice, William R.	Washington	1851	Y	Martineau, James	W	Y						Endure v2 p367
Rice, Moshiane	M	15	1845			Rice, William R.	Washington	1852										UTCent1860
Rice, Moshera/Mosheim	M	25	"			Rice, William R.												UTCent1860
Richardson, Baby boy	M		1861			Richardson, Edmund												UTCent1870
Richardson, Kate Aldura	F	1.5	1860			Richardson, Edmund												RichHist1861
Richy/Ritchie, Charles	M	9	1849			Richy/Ritchie, Robert	Santa Clara											RichHist1862
Richy/Ritchie, Jane	F	12	1846			Richy/Ritchie, Robert	Santa Clara											RacL.eeDia.1858
Richy/Ritchie, Zera	M	6	1852			Richy/Ritchie, Robert	Santa Clara											RacL.eeDia.1858
Robinson/Robson Jos	M						Plain City											PlainCity 1863
Robson, Moroni	M	16	1856	1872					Y	Robertson, John	W							SLCIntk3 1872
Robertson, Sally	F																	UTCent1880
Rockwell, Tabitha	F	21	1848	1869		Rockwell, O.P.	S.L.C											UTCent1880
Rockwell, William	M					Rockwell, Orrin/Porter												SLCIntk2 1869
Rockwood, La Co	M			1869		Rockwood, A.P.												SLCIntRec 1869
Roe,	F																	SLC Cem Rec
Romney, Nettie	F	8	1862			Romney, Miles P.												UTCent1870
Roundy, Edwin	M	9	1851			Roundy, Stradack												UTCent1860
Sanders, Berry	M																	Chronicles
Sanders, Ida	F					Sanders,												Carter
Sanders, John Bateese	M		1844	1884		Sanders, Moses	Mount Pleas	1853	Y	Sanders, Moses	W							Chronicles
Mary	F																	HosesaStouDiary
Seasons, Jim Madower	M	16	1844			Seasons, Perrigrie	Logan	1852	Y	Palmer, Alice (Post?)	W							UTCent1860
Severe, Alma	M	5	1855			Severe, Harrison												UTCent1860
Sharrtaquint, Fanny	F		1842	1866	Childbirth		Ephraim		Y	Alfred, James T.S.	W							JTSAlfred
Simmons, Lovina	F								Y	Simmons, Alfred	W							UTCent1880

Last/First Name	Sex	Age	Born	Died	Cause	Household	Place	Date	Marr	Who	Race	Exp	Endow	Seal	Bkts	Kt	Mkks	Source
Simonds, Atzop	M			1855		Simonds,												SLCDBReg1855
Smith, Annie	F	6	1864			Stevenson, William												UTCent1870
Smith, Jeanette/Lanet	F	13	1847	1907		Smith, JohnCavInLaz	Parowan	1852	Y	Leavitt, Dudley	W				Bkts	Y	Y	IronCollision
Smith,															I p5	Y		
Smith,															I p5	Y	same?	
Smith, Ruth	F					Smith George A.												Journal
Snyder, Moroni	M	25	1843	1888		Snyder, Samuel	SLC											SLCDBReg1868
Snow,	M	10	1845			Snow, Mary												PhoebePratt1855
Snow, Amnon	M	17	1853			Snow, Zerubabel												UTCent1870
Snow, Deseret	F	5	1865			Snow, Eliza												UTCent1870
Snow, Micea	F	13	1857			Snow, Artemesin												UTCent1870
Snow, Macky	F				Fever													Heart v1 p112
Snow, Zoram	M			1884		Snow, Erastus	St. George											SLGeoCem1864
Spaenstank, Sara Marabods	F								Y	Hatch, Ira	W						same	C.L.Christensen
Spilsburg, SaramZoram	M	12	1868			Spilsburg, Geo&Fanny									I p.34	Y	same?	UTCent1880
Spilsbury, Lotin																		Munlestein
Stampley, Nancy	F	16	1854			Stampley, Charles												UTCent1870
Stapely,	F					Stapely,												C.L.Stack
Stevens, Francesca	F								Y	Stevens, H.	W							AZCen1880
Stevenson, Anna	F	14	1866			Stevenson, Wm&Lucy												UTCent1880
Stevenson, George	M	13	1867			Stevenson, Wm&Lucy												UTCent1880
Taylor, Ann	F	20	1850			Taylor, Henry			Y	Taylor, Henry	W							UTCent1870
Taylor, George B.	M	17	1843			Taylor, Elmer&Elizabeth												UTCent1880
Terry, Ann	F								Y	Terry, Joshua	W							DibbleShoshMiss
Thomas, Ellen	F	17	1843			Thomas, Elijah												UTCent1860
Thompson, Mary	F	10	1860	1930		Thompson, Peter&Mar	Ephraim	1860		Cook, Mr.							Y	UTCent1870
Thompson, Mary	F			1854			SLC											SLCIntRec:1854
Thorton, Alma	M					Thorton, Amos G.									I p.34	Y		UTCent1870
Thorp/Thorpe, LunetaLu	F	18	1852			Thorp/Thorpe, Thomas	Ephraim											Brooks
Tilleshah, Tony	M	6	1884	1971			Washington	1890	Y	Salmon, Beessie	Ind				I p.47	Y		SLCIntR2:1872
Townsend, Madon, Willia	M			1872		Townsend, Thos&Mary	SLC											
Turner,	M	12	1845					1857										
Turner, J.																		
Vance, Abish	F	7	1853			Vance, John												L Brown 1857
Vance, Susan	F	16	1844			Vance, John												UTCent1860
VanOken, Peter	M	8	1852			VanOken C,W												UTCent1860
Wadley, Alma	M	12	1858			Wadley, William												UTCent1870

Last/First Name	Sex	Age	Born	Died	Cause	Household	Place	Date	Marr	Who	Race	Bap	Endow	Seal	Bkrs	Ktr	Milke	Source
Walker, John	M			1854			SLC		Y	Wardell, C.W.	W					Y		SLCIntRec1854
Wardell, Sally	F	29	1841			Wardell, C.W.			Y	Wardell, C.W.	W					Y		NVCent1870
Ward, Sally	F					Ward, Barney/Elijah			Y	Ward, Barney/Elijah	W					Y		UTCent1850
Warner, Sagwick/Frank	M	12	1861	1919	Influenza	Warner, Amos	Willard	1863	Y	Edna Davis	W					Y		UTCent1870
Warner, Sagwick/Frank	M					Warner, John	Manti		Y	"Lady from VT"	W					Y	same	MultiStein
Warner, Gideon	M					Watson, Andrus/Jun										Y		Manti Ward
Watson, June	F	20				Weaver, Franklin										Y		UTCent1880
Weaver, Tecumsey	M	15	1845			Weaver, Tub										Y		UTCent1860
Weiler, Sarah	F	5	1863	1868		Weiler, Tub	SLC		Y	Wells, H.	W					Y		SLCDBReg1868
Wells, Malissa	F					West, Samuel Walker										Y		UTCent1880
West, Lehi	M					West, John A.										Y		LDS Request
West, Marret	F					Brown, John/Elizabeth			Y	John W. Brown	W					Y		UTCent1880
West, Minette	F	20	1860			West, Samuel Walker										Y		LDS Request
West, Nephi	M					West, Samuel Walker	St. George									Y		LDS Request
West, Rosie	F					George, Herbert										Y		SLGeoCent1878
Westrover,	M			1878		Whitesides, Margaret										Y		UTCent1880
White, Ellen	F	20	1860			Whitesides, Margaret			Y	Wilson, Jason	W					Y		UTCent1850
Whitesides, Sally	F	12	1838			Wimmer, Thomas										Y		NVCent1880
Wilson, Annie	F					Winkler, David	SLC									Y		UTCent1870
Wimmer, Henry	M	13	1857			Winn, Thomas&Elizab	SLC									Y		SLC Cem Rec
Wimmer, Ruth	F					Wood, Elizabeth										Y		UTCent1870
Winkler, Henry	M		1871			Wood, Lyman										Y		UTCent1870
Winn, Annie	F	8	1862			Wood, David										Y		UTCent1870
Wood						Wood, Lyman										Y		Shoshliss1855
Wood, Charly	M	22	1848			Wood, Elizabeth										Y		UTCent1860
Wood, Frank	M	18	1858			Wood, Lyman			Y	Wood, Warren	W					Y		SLCIntRec1899
Wood, Kahgan	F					Wood, David										Y		SLCDBRec1851
Wood, Leo	M					Wood, David										Y		UTCent1860
Wood, Lucy	F	23	1837			Wood, David										Y		UTCent1860
Woodmansee, Joseph	M	56	1843	1899		Wood, David	SLC									Y		UTCent1860
Woodruff, Jane L.	F					Woodruff, Wilford	SLC									Y		UTCent1860
Woodruff, Maroni	M	11	1849			Woodruff, Wilford	Taylorville	1857								Y		WillfordWoodruff
Woodruff, Sarakeets	M		1849			Worthington, James										Y		UTCent1860
Worthington, Nephi	M	17	1843			Worthington, James										Y		TooleCem 1898
Worthington, Sarah	F			1888		Yorhansen, Niels		1861								Y		MFLaasanWard
Yorhansen, Aaron	M					Yorhansen, Niels										Y		

Last/First Name	Sex	Age	Born	Died	Cause	Household	Place	Date	Marr	Wife	Race	Bap	Endow	Seal	BKs	Kit	Mike	Source
Young, Lemuel	M															Y		
Young, Lilla/Lulu	F	18	1844			Young, Joseph										Y		UTCen1860
Young, Lucy	F	13	1847			Young, John										Y		UTCen1860
Young,																Y		HeartV1 149
Young, Susan	F	0.8	1856			Young, William										Y		HeartV1 150
Young, Sally	F	20	1840	1878	Illness	Young, Brigham	SLC	1847	Y	Chief Kanosh	Ind	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y		RadLeDJa1856 UTCen1860

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