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RACIAL CONFLICT IN EARLY UTAH: MORMON, NATIVE AMERICAN AND FEDERAL
RELATIONS

by

Raelyn M. Embleton

A plan B paper submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree

of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

in

History

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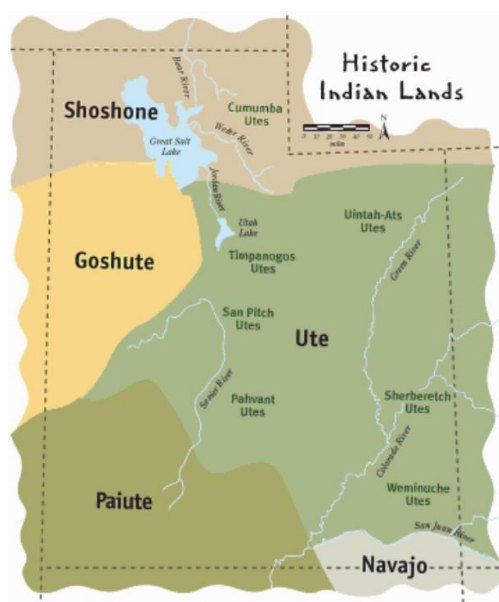
2019

Introduction

This website is for teachers to gain information and sources about Utah history during the early territorial period, specifically relating to conflicts between Mormon settlers, Native Americans, and federal officials. The content and site were designed with the C3 curriculum in mind, as such, at the bottom of this page you can find a downloadable Inquiry Design Model Blueprint. As you teach students this information, the compelling question to have students focus on is: “Does culture and the interaction of cultures shape the development of place?” Each event highlighted on this website is related to the other and demonstrates how the different cultures of Mormons, Native Americans, and non-Mormon federal officials interacted and shaped the development of Utah. From left to right, the tabs on the top of the page move through major episodes in this history chronologically. Hover on each tab to reveal more tabs with additional information on each conflict. Each conflict also has a tab for additional lesson ideas and resources specific to that event. The Inquiry Design Model Blueprint’s supporting questions and tasks are meant to build upon one another, so when students reach the end of the unit they should have an almost completed essay that demonstrates how and if cultures and their interaction shaped the development of the Utah territory. The extension activity takes the development of place further by examining how the memory of the Bear River Massacre has changed as the area has changed. To wrap up the unit by taking informed action, if possible, have students visit different memorials and monuments around Utah dedicated to this time period. At each site, students should analyze and evaluate if the monuments truly tell the multicultural history of Utah.

Native Americans in Utah

Hundreds of years ago, Utah was more than a barren desert wasteland, empty and ready to be used. For thousands of years, various Native American tribes occupied the land that is now Utah. The Utes, Paiutes, Goshutes, Shoshone, and Navajo were the five major tribes that lived in Utah. Each of these groups celebrated their own distinctive cultures and lands. The Utes, Paiutes, and Goshutes were thought to be related from thousands of years earlier but evolved into distinct tribes. Tribes were further broken into subgroups by region. (See the map of Native American tribes in Utah).¹ These tribes over the years learned to live in Utah, with its unique climate.²



Mormon Religious Beliefs about Native Americans

When the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints moved into the Great Basin region, members quickly became familiar with the Native Americans inhabiting the region.³ In many places in the West, settlers and Native American residents were at violent odds. The new

¹ Map taken from *The Utah Journey*, p. 55, one of the main textbooks used for teaching Utah history.

² For further detail, please see the Lesson Plan for Native Americans in Utah. This is a great opportunity for students to do self-guided research.

³ Mormon, Latter-day Saints, and LDS will be used to refer to members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, also referred to as the Church, the LDS church, or the Mormon church.

Mormon inhabitants of the Great Basin treated Native Americans differently than other settlers in the West. The way Latter-day Saints interacted with Native Americans was influenced by their religious beliefs. The Book of Mormon, the main religious text for the Church, prominently features two groups: the Nephites and the Lamanites. At the end of the Book of Mormon the Lamanites rebel against the teachings of Jesus Christ and are considered ‘fallen’ from the light of truth. The Lamanites are believed by Mormons to be ancient ancestors of Native Americans.⁴ In the Book of Mormon a significant part of the doctrine surrounding the Lamanites contends that the gospel will

“be restored unto the knowledge of their fathers, and also to the knowledge of Jesus Christ, which was had among their fathers. And then shall they rejoice; for they shall know that it is a blessing unto them from the hand of God...”⁵

This scripture, and others like it, impressed upon early LDS leaders the importance of teaching Native Americans the gospel. The leaders felt like the Church had a divine mission to bring the gospel to the Native American inhabitants of the Great Basin. Additionally, the Prophet Joseph Smith, the founder of the LDS religion, unveiled revelation concerning the Civil War that stated Native Americans would “marshal themselves, and shall become exceedingly angry, and shall vex the Gentiles [non-Mormons] with a sore vexation.”⁶ Brigham Young, who became Prophet after the murder of Smith, kept this revelation in the back of his mind when dealing with Native Americans. The Mormon church had been persecuted by the United States and were sorely in

⁴ The Church has begun to move away from stating that the Lamanites are the primary ancestors of Native Americans, instead stating that they are one of the many ancestors of Native Americans. See <https://www.lds.org/topics/book-of-mormon-and-dna-studies?lang=eng> for more details.

⁵ 2 Nephi 30:5-6, 2013 edition of the Book of Mormon.

⁶ The Book of Mormon, The Doctrine and Covenants, Section 87:5. 2013 ed.

need of allies. If the Church could convince Native Americans that they were different from other Americans, perhaps the two groups could ally.

Under Brigham Young, sometimes nicknamed the ‘Great Colonizer,’ LDS members spread rapidly across the Utah area. Mormon settlers moved to areas that were inhabited by different Native American groups, leading to conflicts between settlers and Native Americans. However, the Church would not stop colonizing. Because of continuous emigration to Utah, the Church was constantly on the lookout for more land for settlers. The tension between the groups led Young to develop the Church’s policy toward Native Americans as he “foresaw that the Indians must suffer, in the loss of their historic folkways and culture patterns, but he saw also that their individual good would best be subserved [sic] by changing the character of their life and providing them with a new economic base.”⁷ Young believed that Native Americans were people who must be acted upon, rather than people who will act. Indian missions set up by the Church aided the new economic base for Native Americans. The missionaries stationed at each mission aimed to teach Native Americans the Mormon Gospel, farming techniques, and in some cases, how to read and write. Especially important was farming, as it tied into Young’s policy of feeding the Native Americans, rather than fighting them. It was cheaper to feed the Native Americans than to fight them.

As governor of the territory of Utah, Brigham Young was also the superintendent of Indian Affairs of the area. President Millard Fillmore appointed Young to both of these positions in September of 1850. Along with the appointment came federally appointed Indian affairs

⁷ Dale L. Morgan, “The Administration of Indian Affairs in Utah, 1581-1858,” 389.

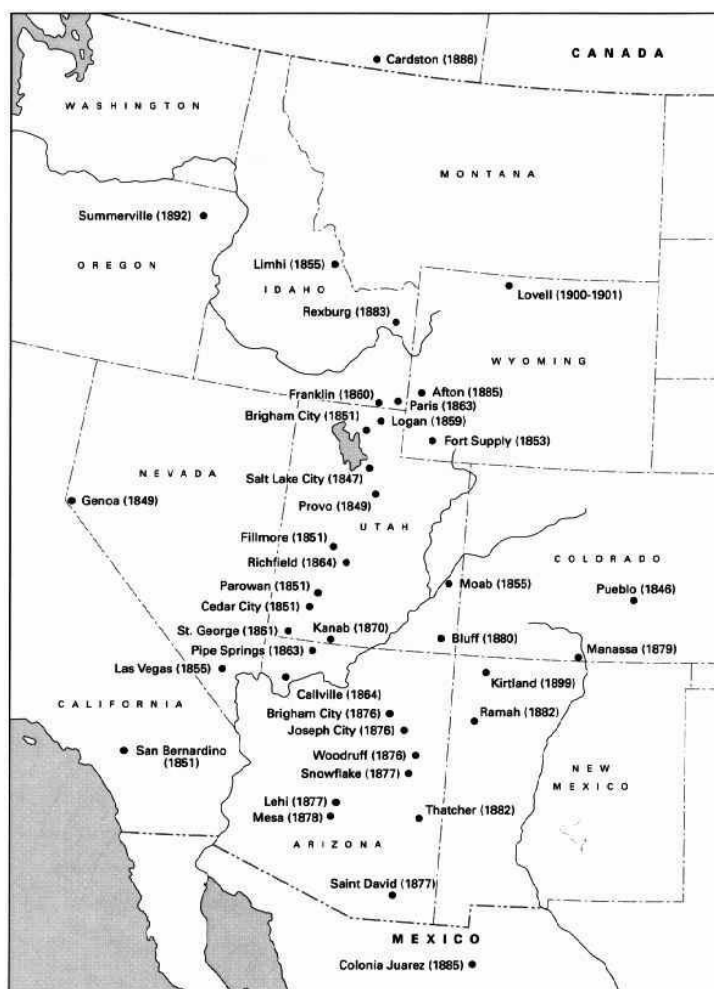
subagents, several of which ended up leaving Utah territory. One agent, Day, even said that he would start his job again if able to work independently of Brigham Young and the Mormons.⁸

Land Problems and the Lead Up to the Utah War

After members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints arrived in the Salt Lake Valley in 1847, they almost immediately took steps to colonize other areas of Utah. Weber Valley was settled in 1848; San Pete, Utah, and Tooele in 1849; Pahvant, Juab, Box Elder, and Parowan followed in 1856. Cache Valley was settled a bit after in 1856.⁹ The colonization effort was aided by the Perpetual Emigration Fund, which was set up in 1849 to help Latter-day Saint settlers travel to their kingdom in the West.

⁸ Day to Lea, January 9, 1852, *The Utah Expedition*, 132, 133.

⁹ See map below for more details. Map courtesy of http://www.lightplanet.com/mormons/daily/history/gathering/Colonization_EOM.htm.



Mormon leaders encouraged their congregations to settle and farm the land. Brigham Young, instructed the Latter-day Saints that the land was owned by God, but that it was the responsibility of the members to cultivate the land. Members must “be industrious & take care of it” since “the Lord has given it to us without price.”¹⁰ Some members viewed this as an opportunity to take as much land as they wanted. This was how Thomas Bullock (a clerk in the Church) viewed the situation: “We have found a place where the land is acknowledged to belong unto the Lord, and the Saints being his people, are entitled to as much as they can plant, take care

¹⁰ Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 3:236.

of, and will sustain their families with food.”¹¹ The seeming availability of land only encouraged more Mormon settlers to move to the Utah Territory, especially as most Native groups occupied land seasonally, rather than year round.

Federal officials and Mormons were also in contest over the land in Utah. When Mormons initially moved into the region, it was owned by Mexico. A year after Mormons had moved into Utah, 1848, the United States confiscated all of the land in the West that was owned by Mexico.¹²



Although now officially part of the United States as a territory, Mormon settlers acted as if the Church was the only government, leading to problems with federal officials. Mormon members

¹¹ Bullock to Griffith William, 4 January 1848, *Millennial Star* 8:10, LDS Archives.

¹² See map for more details. Map courtesy of nationalatlas.gov

made it clear that they would listen to their Church leaders over federal officials, especially concerning who owned the land. U.S. President Buchanan even weighed in on the land issue in Utah saying, “The land you live upon was purchased by the United States and paid for out of their treasury. The proprietary right and title to it is in them, and not in you.”¹³ Church distribution and ‘ownership’ of the land in the territory was alarming, because the Church leadership had no legal proof or right to the large amount of land they claimed. Now that the United States owned the land that would become Utah, anyone could buy the land that Church members were now living on. The 1841 Preemption Act allowed any citizen over 21 to buy 160 acres of land for \$1.25 an acre. In order for a citizen to claim land under the Preemption Act, the land needed to be surveyed by federal surveyors and Indian claims to land would need to be settled. Federal land surveyors would need to come to Utah.

The officials sent out to survey the land were Captain Howard Stansbury and his second-in-command Lt. John Gunnison. Both were instructed to gauge the loyalty of the Mormon settlers to the US Government.¹⁴ Mormon settlers were reluctant to let their land be surveyed, as they knew it could then be bought by other settlers -- settlers that were possibly not of the same faith as they. Stansbury was told that the Mormons would “never permit any survey of their country to be made... [and] my life would scarce be safe” if he tried to survey the land.¹⁵ While surveying the land, Gunnison recorded his experiences living among the Mormons, the first such account that had been recorded. In Gunnison’s book he relayed the self-governing, theocratic nature of the LDS society. A theocracy is a form of government where religious leaders rule in the name of their God and religion. Early Utah functioned as a theocracy with religious leaders

¹³ President James Buchanan, 6 April 1858.

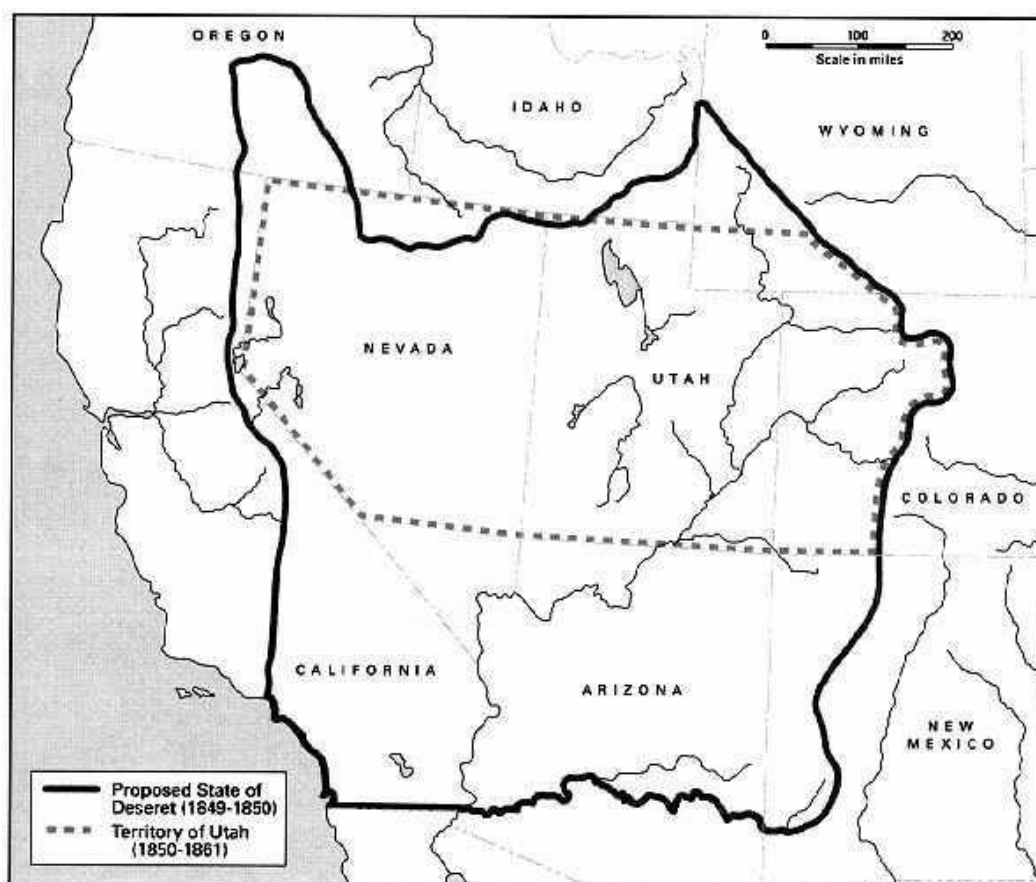
¹⁴ Madsen, *Exploring the Great Salt Lake*, xviii.

¹⁵ Stansbury, *Exploration and Survey*, 84-86.

filling many government positions like mayors, city councils, and territorial senate. This created conflicts as Church members were obligated to obey their leaders, from both a religious and governmental standpoint.

Mormon Worries about Territorial Appointments

In 1849, Mormon leaders in Utah petitioned Congress to become an official state of the United States. The small population of the huge area caused Utah to become a territory instead in 1850. The map below shows the proposed State of Deseret by Mormon leaders and the territory of Utah that was granted.¹⁶



¹⁶ Morgan, Dale L. "The State of Deseret." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 8 (1940):65-251. Reprinted as *The State of Deseret*. Logan, Utah, 1987.

The main complaint from Latter-day Saints about becoming a territory was that a territorial governor would be appointed and, in their minds, it would probably not be Brigham Young. Brigham Young was heard saying things such as, “I am the governor of the state of Deseret, I was elected for life, and no other person shall hold that office while I live... The United States may send a governor here and probably will send one [but] we will send him *duck hunting*.”¹⁷ In February 1851, the Latter-day Saints received the news that Brigham Young was appointed Governor of the Utah Territory, allowing Saints to relax. However, the anxieties LDS settlers felt about the possibility of a new non-LDS governor had already caused problems.

Emigrants passing through Utah in the winter of 1850-51 faced the worries of the Saints head on, worries that exploded outward in sometimes violent incidents. Retired Army major William Singer spent the winter of 1850-51 in Utah Territory and reported “Many emigrants beside myself heard Brigham Young from the stand declare the most treasonable hostilities against the U. States.”¹⁸ Shortly after Singer wrote these words, he was arrested on suspicion of being a spy, his property was seized, and five of his cattle were shot. Singer and several other emigrants accused the Mormons of tampering with letters leaving the Utah territory with one relating his experience after sending a letter, “A day or two after, he was passing in the rear of some out houses near to the post-office, and his attention was arrested by observing a large pile of waste paper, and actually fished from that pile, *pieces of the identical letter he had mailed*.”¹⁹ The hostility shown toward emigrants also included threats of violence, unfair taxes, and high

¹⁷ Bigler, *Winter with the Mormons*, 49-50.

¹⁸ William Singer, “about the Mormons,” *St. Louis Intelligencer*, 7 August 1851, 2.

¹⁹ Bigler, *Winter with the Mormons*, 78-79. Italics in original.

prices. Federal officials took reports of these charges very seriously, especially when they also included that Mormons were speaking ill of the government.

Along with Young's appointment as Governor, news came to Utah of non-Mormon judges and Indian agents appointed to the territory. These judges were virtually ignored as Young had already appointed an attorney general of the State of Deseret, Daniel H. Wells, a high ranking member of the Church.²⁰ One judge, Judge Perry Brocchus, publicly denounced the lack of patriotism found in Utah after he heard LDS settlers speak ill of President Zachary Taylor. When Brocchus ended his remarks, Young counterattacked Brocchus and the US government. The result, Brocchus recalls, was "the people (I mean a large portion of them) were ready to spring on me like hyenas and destroy me."²¹ Fearing for his life, Brocchus fled the territory with several other federal appointments.

Beliefs about Mormons using Native Americans

Federal officials' distrust of Mormons was made worse by the belief that the Mormons could use the Native Americans as their own personal army. Newspapers across the country published letters claiming that "one hundred thousand Mormons were poised to fight the U.S. Government, aided by two hundred thousand 'spies and emissaries' and three hundred thousand 'savage' Indian allies."²² Not only did newspapers report on bonds between the Mormons and Native Americans, but so did federal surveyors "in reports sent east, the surveyors said the settlers were meddling with Indians by cultivating a close friendship with them."²³ The fears of

²⁰ Bigler, *Winter with the Mormons*, 43.

²¹ Fillmore, "Information in reference to the condition of affairs in the Territory of Utah," 28-32.

²² Leonard, Glen M., Richard E. Turley, Jr., and Ronald W. Walker. *Massacre at Mountain Meadows: An American Tragedy*, 28.

²³ *Ibid.*, 43.

non-Mormons that Mormons would use Native Americans as a weapon were not entirely unfounded. In 1857, just before the Utah War broke out, Brigham Young reportedly said that if the United States were to send troops to Utah the Mormons “shall have the Lamanites with us & the more the United States send out the wors[e] iff they will be for they will perish with Famine.”²⁴ The most infamous statement used to show the relationship between Mormons and Native Americans was made by David Lewis, a farmer to the Paiute Indians, who said that the Indians were “the battle ax of the Lord... May we not have been sent to learn to use this ax with skill?”²⁵ Federal officials pointed to the murder of John Gunnison, a murder which made the fears of Native Americans carrying out Mormon violence seem like reality.

In 1854, three years before the Utah War, John Gunnison was killed by a band of Pahvant Utes while surveying land for a possible transcontinental railroad route West. Brigham Young was blamed for coaxing these Pahvants to kill Gunnison. Mormons had replaced the old leader of the Pahvant band with Kanosh, a Pahvant who was a baptized Mormon. Young had even rewarded Kanosh with wives and property for being an ally of the Mormons.²⁶ Although there was no proof that Mormons were involved in the murder, federal officials certainly believed they were.²⁷ A year later, Major Steptoe (and his soldiers) of the US Army were called to investigate the murder of Gunnison. Steptoe found the Pahvants that had supposedly killed Gunnison and they were found guilty in trial. However, that was not the end of these Pahvants. The newspaper the *National Era* published the following account of what happened to the murderers:

²⁴ Bigler, *Winter with the Mormons*, 157.

²⁵ As quoted in Brooks, “Indian Relations,” 21.

²⁶ Paul Padilla, “Kanosh,” in Powell, *Utah History Encyclopedia*, 297-298.

²⁷ Bigler, *Winter with the Mormons*, 64.

“The sentence of the Court was, that the Indians, for this brutal massacre of eight or ten American citizens and soldiers, should be imprisoned for *three years*. They were accordingly handed over to the authorities of Utah, (Mormons,) and committed to prison to serve out their terms. But, within less than a week, they were *permitted to escape*, and are again at large.”²⁸

Tensions were high between the soldiers and the Mormon settlers, especially when the Pahvants responsible for the murder escaped from prison, and thus avoided their sentences. Steptoe was offered the position of governor, which he turned down, left the territory, and suggested that military forces be stationed in Utah to curtail the power of the Mormons.

This episode also saw a new Indian Affairs officer appointed to Utah, Garland Hurt. Hurt arrived with Steptoe and immediately disagreed with Young’s Indian policy. He believed that the Mormons could never serve the Indians as they should because of their close ties. Additionally, Hurt came to believe that Mormons had begun to turn the local Native Americans against the United States:

Now, since my arrival in this Territory, I have become satisfied that these saints have, either accidentally or purposely, created a distinction, in the minds of the Indian tribes of this Territory, between the Mormons and the people of the United States, that cannot act otherwise than prejudicial to the interests of the latter.²⁹

Hurt faced many problems in his position, as he and Young were never able to agree. Hurt, with the seeming approval of Young, launched a project to build Indian reservations with instructions

²⁸ *National Era*, May 24, 1855. Italics in original.

²⁹ “The Utah Expedition,” 35th Cong., 1st Sess., H. Ex. Doc. 71 (1857), 176–77.

for Native Americans to farm the land. Hurt began to appropriate funds to tribes in order to get them onto these reservations, thinking he would be paid back. Hurt asked Young to request \$100,000 to finance his plans, as well as \$30,000 to pay the tribes.³⁰ Young forwarded the request to Washington without any word of support and the request was denied. As his request was denied, Hurt now was financially ruined and blamed Young.³¹ This was the end of any pretense of good relations between Hurt and Young. Hurt meanwhile continued to send reports to Washington detailing the conspiracy between Young and the Native Americans:

The rule of this office is to withhold annuities from the Indians whenever they place themselves in a hostile or antagonistic attitude towards the government, and I know of no reason why the same rule should not be applied to you at this time, but as the appropriation has been exhausted it is not necessary to consider that question now.³²

Hurt's reports of Young's manipulations of Native Americans were instrumental in the decision to install a new governor of the territory, one that could be trusted to stay loyal to the United States.

The Utah War (1857-1858)

The fears that Mormons were building an independent kingdom in the west grew with every federal official sent to Utah. President Buchanan sent troops to the Utah Territory in 1857 to install a new governor in Utah, Alfred Cummings. Senator Stephen A. Douglas, a former Mormon ally, backed President Buchanan's decision to send troops to the territory: "the Mormon

³⁰ Hurt to Young, 31 December 1855, USHS.

³¹ Hurt to Manypenny, 30 August 1856, in Buchanan, *Utah Expedition*, 179-81.

³² Denver to Young, November 11, 1857, Letters Sent, 1824-1886, M21, Records of the Office of Indian Affairs, Record Group 75, National Archives; also in *The Utah Expedition*, 35th Cong., 1st Sess., H. Ex. Doc. 71 (1857), 186-88.

Government, with Brigham Young at its head, is now forming alliance with Indian tribes in Utah.”³³ Mormon action affirmed Douglas’s statement. As the US army began their journey west, Brigham Young gave orders to one of his lieutenants to tell the Native Americans if the army crossed their path “that if they permit our enemies to kill us they will kill them also.”³⁴ In addition, Jake Arapeen, the new chief of the Utes, pledged his support of the Mormon cause in a letter to Brigham Young “but if the americans come here and want to drive the Mormons from this land I will geather all the indians from the sorounding mountains and fight them untill they will be glad for peace, why cant they go home and let us alone.”³⁵ These were mostly empty words on both sides.

The news of troops coming to Utah caused Mormons to fear that the troops were *actually* coming to force them out of the territory, as had been done to them several times before. Mormons had been forcefully removed from Illinois and Missouri in the 1830s for difficulties caused by the Mormon religion in these regions. This time though, the Mormons had no intention of leaving their new home. A few months after Buchanan sent troops to the territory with the new governor, Young issued a proclamation:

CITIZENS OF UTAH, we are invaded by a hostile force, who are evidently assailing us to accomplish our overthrow and destruction... Our duty to our country, our holy religion, our God, to freedom and liberty, requires that we not quietly stand still and see

³³ “Comments upon the Remarks of Hon. Stephen Arnold Douglas,” *Deseret News*, 2 September 1857, 204-207.

³⁴ Young to Andrew Cunningham, 4 August 1857, Brigham Young Collection, Church History Department.

³⁵ Arapeen to Young, 28 February 1858, Brigham Young Collection, Church History Department. Written through an unknown interpreter.

these fetters forged around us which are calculated to enslave, and bring us in subjection to an unlawful military despotism.³⁶

Young had essentially called the citizens of Utah to arms against the United States. Steps were immediately taken to bar anyone from entering Utah territory.³⁷ Young also gave orders to conserve food and not to give any grain “to any Gentile merchant or temporary sojourner.”³⁸ The 3,000 members of the Mormon Nauvoo Legion were mustered into full time service.

Brigham Young also gave the Latter-day Saints instructions to gather in forts built around larger towns and to move south. In a special conference, instructions were given to the Saints about the move south. The Saints were broken into three groups: those in southern Utah who would gather into larger towns and send aid to those in northern Utah who had to move; those in Northern Utah who would stay behind to guard property, take care of crops, and set fire to homes if needed; and the approximately 30,000 people living north of Utah Valley that would move south.³⁹

Daniel H. Wells, the lieutenant-general of the Nauvoo Legion, helped lead troops against the Army. The legion was mostly occupied with blocking the main passage into Utah so troops would have a harder time getting to the area. They also raided convoys of federal soldiers along their way to the territory, slowing their passage. In total, Major Lot Smith’s “Mormon Raiders” destroyed three freight trains, comprised of 74 large freight wagons. The supplies destroyed included “68,832 rations of dessicated vegetables, 4 tons of bread, 4 tons of coffee, 84 tons of flour, 46 tons of bacon, 3,000 gallons of vinegar, and 7 tons of soap -- enough to last the entire

³⁶ “Proclamation by the Governor,” Buchanan, *Utah Expedition*, 34-35.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Brooks, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre*, 13.

³⁹ Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 185-86.

expedition three months.”⁴⁰ The raiders also set the grass on fire by the wagons, which killed many of the expedition’s animals and destroyed the remaining grazing lands. Winter then came upon the army, causing the federal troops to hole up for the winter of 1857.⁴¹

The winter of 1857-58 was a difficult one for the army. Buchanan sent more troops and supplies to Utah, which met up with the rest of the army in the spring of 1858. It seemed that the Mormons were about to be driven from their land once again. Young turned to Thomas Kane, a political ally of the Mormons. Kane rushed to Utah to try and mediate a compromise between the US soldiers and the Mormons. Kane arrived in February of 1858 and began to try to make peace. Buchanan issued an ultimatum to the Mormons which read:

I offer now a free and full pardon to all who will submit themselves to the authority of the federal government. If you refuse to accept it, let the consequences fall on your own heads. But I conjure you to pause deliberately, and reflect well, before you reject this tender of peace and good will.⁴²

Brigham Young and the elders of the Mormon church eventually agreed to this pardon, and even accepted Albert Cumming as the governor. Camp Floyd was set up the same year so the federal government could keep an eye on the Mormons.

The Mountain Meadows Massacre

Introduction

⁴⁰ Ibid, 178.

⁴¹ Young to Wells, Rich and Grant, 18 November 1857, Brigham Young Collection, Church History Department.

⁴² President James Buchanan, 6 April 1858.

The Mountain Meadows Massacre was the most violent episode of the Utah War. With tensions running high between Mormons and non-Mormons, an unlucky group was caught in the crossfire and hysteria.⁴³ An emigrant group, known as the Baker-Fancher party, was passing through southern Utah in September of 1857 and suffered almost total extermination.⁴⁴ Mormon residents, dressed as and aided by some Paiutes in the region, attacked the party as they were leaving the area. The party spent several days defending themselves by circling their wagons and standing constant watch. The citizens of Iron County meanwhile, became increasingly worried about what to do, as the emigrants had almost certainly identified them. After five days, leaders of the Iron District militia (which was operated by the LDS church) came up with a plan to “save” the party and then kill all the emigrants above the age of 7. Around 120 men, women, and children were killed, with only 17 children under the age of 7 surviving the ambush. With all viable witnesses dead, Mormon leaders blamed both the initial attack and slaughter on the band of Paiutes which then was corroborated by Brigham Young, the President and Prophet of the Mormon church. The Utah War delayed any investigation by the federal government until 1859, which was delayed again by the Civil War, and by the Mormon church until finally in 1877 John D. Lee, an Indian farmer in the region, was hung. Lee, along with nine other men, was tried by a territorial grand jury for his role in the massacre. Lee was the only person ever tried, convicted and executed for the massacre. The other individuals gave evidence against Lee or ran from authorities for decades.

The events and people of the Mountain Meadows Massacre is difficult for historians to piece together and still is not fully known. For years, the Church and its leaders in southern Utah

⁴³ See the Utah War section for more background on some of the tensions surrounding the time.

⁴⁴ The Baker-Fancher party will also be referred to as the emigrants or the wagon train.

insisted that the Paiutes were responsible for the massacre. It was easier to blame Native Americans than to face the truth. Most of the members involved in the massacre would not admit to their involvement, at least not until years after. After the initial LDS investigation into the massacre, the Church kept the majority of primary sources related to the massacre closed to research. Scholars were not allowed to handle the documents for many years, making the massacre a challenge to study. More documents are being unlocked by the Church, although some documents are only accessible to Church scholars. Nevertheless, the emergence of primary sources has led to more accurate scholarship about the Mountain Meadows Massacre than ever before.

Rising Tensions in Southern Utah

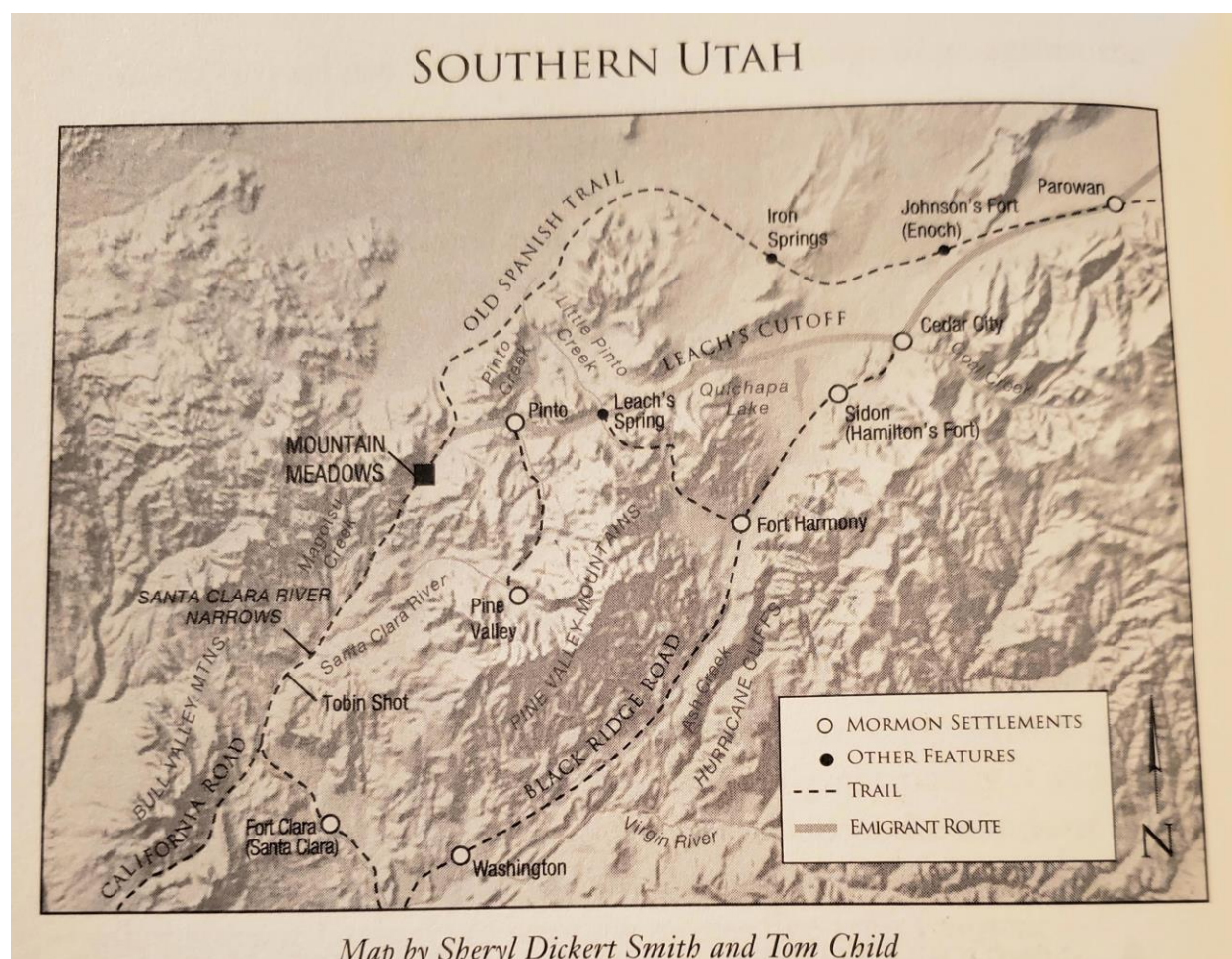
In the Spring of 1857, Mormon leader Parley P. Pratt was murdered in Arkansas. Pratt was one of the original 12 Apostles, one of the highest callings in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Pratt was also a popular missionary, preacher, and writer whose book, *A Voice of Warning*, led to many baptisms and “helped shape Mormon historical and theological thinking for many years to come.”⁴⁵ Many church members were extremely upset about Pratt’s murder, especially because it had been brutal. Pratt’s murder increased Mormon tensions and fears about outsiders. The Baker-Fancher party was from Arkansas, which made some Mormons believe they had ties to or agreed with Pratt’s murder. Years later, it was reported that Pratt’s widow had even “recognized one or more of the party as having been present at the death of Pratt.”⁴⁶ Although untrue, some Mormons may have believed the emigrant party revelled in the murder of Pratt.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Walker, Turley, and Leonard, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows: An American Tragedy*, 31.

⁴⁶ “An Open Letter to Brigham Young,” *Daily Corinne Reporter*, 15 July 1871.

⁴⁷ Bagley, *Blood of the Prophets*, 381.

In August of 1857, George A. Smith began his infamous speaking tour of southern Utah.⁴⁸



Smith, a high ranking Mormon leader, stoked Mormon residents' fears of the incoming federal troops. Smith was warmly greeted in the region as he had helped found Parowan, the first settlement in the area, and was made military commander of all southern Utah militia during an earlier Indian conflict. Smith made it very clear that troops were coming to Utah and that none were to welcome them, declaring "Damn the man who feeds them; I say damn the man who

⁴⁸ Walker, Turley, and Leonard, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows: An American Tragedy*, 102. Map by Sheryl Dickert Smith and Tom Child.

sympathizes with them: I say curse the man who pours oil and water on their heads.”⁴⁹ Smith’s message on this tour was more inflammatory than he intended, as his tour was “a mission of peace to preach to the people... in spite of all I could do I found myself preaching a military discourse.”⁵⁰ As Smith left the region he felt that even a single “word [could] set in motion every man, to set a torch to every building, where the safety of this people is jeopardized.”⁵¹ He left the region just a few short weeks before the massacre occurred.

In each location on Smith’s tour, the battalion ran through drills to impress Smith. These drills were led by Isaac Haight, William Dame, and John D. Lee. Haight was leader of the LDS wards in Cedar City, as well as the mayor and military commander. Dame was the leader of LDS wards in Parowan, militia leader of the whole Iron District (which included Cedar City), and the mayor of that city. Lee was a missionary to Indians in the area and helped settle southern Utah. All three men were prominent in the southern Utah communities and would play important roles in the massacre.

These drills, combined with the fears of federal troops marching to Utah were meant to show the might of the militia. Smith’s tour reminded settlers of their hardships and of who their enemy was: non-Mormons who would persecute them for their way of life. Mormon settlers had been pushed out of their settlements across the Midwest since the establishment of their church in 1830 and had no intention of being moved from their new Zion in the west. The Saints had headed west to find their promised land, where they would establish their church in preparation for the second coming of Jesus Christ. The idea of giving up Zion, then, had serious religious implications; it was not just another move in the mind of Church members.

⁴⁹ Smith, Aug. 9, 1857, 1st sec., 23, in Parowan Stake Historical Record, 1855-60, Church History Library.

⁵⁰ Smith, Sept. 13, 1857, in “Remarks”; Aug. 15, 1857, Historian’s Office, Journal, 1844-1997, Church History Library.

⁵¹ Ibid.

Complaints against the Emigrants

As the Baker-Fancher party arrived in Salt Lake City, reports came in that the party had some wild men from Missouri travelling with them. Missouri was one of the places the Mormons had been driven out from, so when it was learned that men travelling with the Baker-Fancher party had been speaking about how the Mormons needed to be wiped out, the whole party was judged.⁵² The party faced further difficulties in Salt Lake when Brigham Young and his advisors forbade selling grain to outsiders.⁵³ Gunpowder and lead were also in short supply in Salt Lake, something that the Baker-Fancher party was in need of. It is worth noting that the emigrant party travelled with about fifty thousand dollars worth of goods and property (1857 value), while in 2007 the value of their goods would be more than a million dollars, more than other emigrant trains and most residents in southern Utah.⁵⁴

The Baker-Fancher party ran into additional problems soon after leaving Salt Lake. The emigrant group needed a place for their cattle to feed and graze, yet there was not as much public land for passing cattle to feed on as there had been in years' past. The party instead got into a dispute with settlers in Provo about where the cattle should graze, with the groups nearly coming to violence.⁵⁵ The problem persisted as the party moved South. The following map shows the trail south through the territory that the emigrant party would have taken.⁵⁶

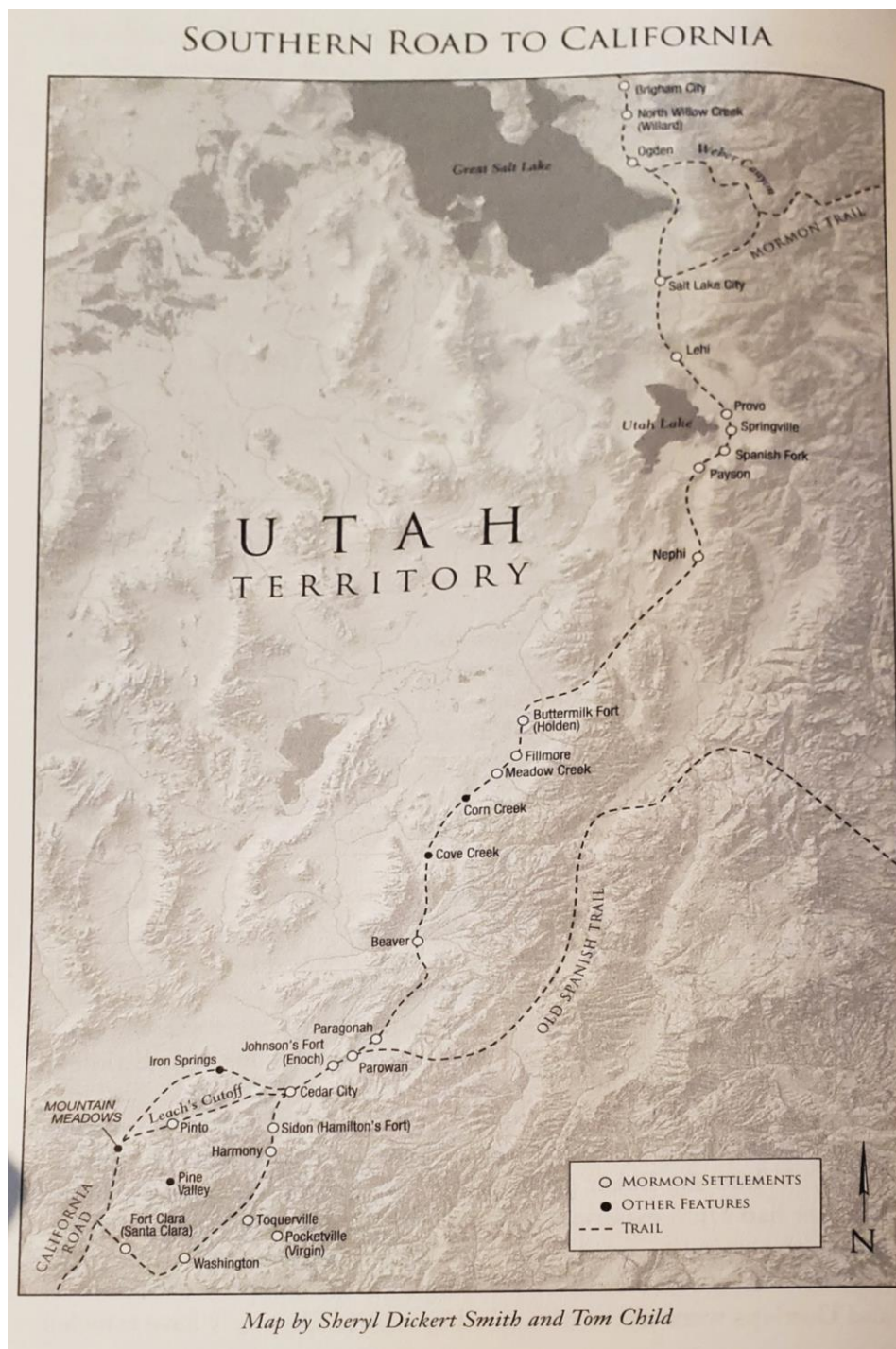
⁵² T. B. H. Stenhouse, *The Rocky Mountain Saints: A Full and Complete History of the Mormons, from the First Vision of Joseph Smith to the Last Courtship of Brigham Young* (New York: D. Appleton, 1989), 427-29.

⁵³ Daniel H. Wells, General Orders, Aug. 1, 1857, Letter Book, 93, Nauvoo Legion (Utah) Adj. Gen., Records, 1851-70, Church History Library.

⁵⁴ Walker, Turley, and Leonard, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows: An American Tragedy*, 105. See Appendix B in that work for a full breakdown of prices.

⁵⁵ McQuarrie to Lund, 6-7, Collected Material concerning the Mountain Meadows Massacre, Church History Library.

⁵⁶ Walker, Turley, and Leonard, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows: An American Tragedy*, 102. Map by Sheryl Dickert Smith and Tom Child.



The Baker-Fancher party was also accused of poisoning water and dead cattle along the road. George A. Smith, travelling northward on his way back from his tour of southern Utah, and his party testified that the emigrants offered an ox who died during the night to the local Native Americans for food. One of Smith's party said they saw the emigrants pour something over the

ox, but others later refuted his story.⁵⁷ Regardless of evidence, the belief that the emigrants had poisoned the area persisted as several died and those who handled the cattle got sick.⁵⁸ When the news reached Cedar City about the poisoning, the story brought with it increased anger against the emigrants. A few years later, in 1859, an investigation proved that the emigrants did not poison the water or the cattle.⁵⁹

When the Baker-Fancher party arrived in Cedar City, they again faced trouble trying to trade for supplies. Years later Cedar City residents recalled the emigrants loudly venting their frustration about not being able to get supplies, saying if “old Brigham, and his priests would not sell their provisions, by G-d they would take what they wanted any way they could get it.”⁶⁰ Additionally, some Cedar City residents heard Isaac Haight, mayor and religious leader of Cedar City, give a speech that outlined the supposed wrong-doings the emigrant group committed on their way South.⁶¹ Another belief that persisted about the Baker-Fancher party was that some emigrants had boasted that they possessed a gun that killed Joseph Smith, the founder of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. This belief further incensed Cedar City residents against the emigrants.⁶² No one in the emigrant party has ever been found to be linked to the murder of Joseph Smith.

⁵⁷ Silas Smith, JDL I-BT 5:221, 237-39; Hamblin Journal, 81-82, in Hamblin Papers; Smith to St. Clair, Nov. 25, 1869, Historian's Office, Letterpress Copybook 2:941-49, CHL.

⁵⁸ Joleen Ashman Robison, *Almon Robison, Utah Pioneer, Man of Mystique and Tragedy* (Lawrence, KS: Richard A. Robison, 1995), 83.

⁵⁹ J. Forney to A.B. Greenwood, Sept. 29, 1859, in *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Accompanying the Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, for the Year 1859* (Washington: George W. Bowman, 1860), 370; James Henry Carleton, *Report on the Subject of the Massacre at the Mountain Meadows, in Utah Territory, in September, 1857, of One Hundred and Twenty Men, Women and Children, Who Were from Arkansas* (Little Rock, AR: True Democrat Steam Press, 1860), 17.

⁶⁰ “Lee’s Confession,” *Sacramento Daily Record-Union*, Mar. 24, 1877.; “Lee’s Last Confession,” *San Francisco Daily Bulletin Supplement*, Mar. 24, 1877.

⁶¹ Campbell, Andrew Jenson interviews, Jan. and Feb. 1892, Mountain Meadows file, Andrew Jenson, Collection, Church History Library.

⁶² Cedar City Ward, Parowan Stake, Relief Society Minute Book, Sept. 10, 1857, CHL.

The Violence Begins

As the emigrant party left Cedar City, town leaders discussed what to do with the group since the community was left in an uproar. A letter was sent to William Dame in Parowan asking for advice “stating they could hardly keep people from collisions with them [the emigrants] on account of their violent language and threats.”⁶³ Haight also needed Dame’s permission to use the Cedar City militia against the emigrant train. Dame refused Haight, but Haight moved forward with plans to take action against the emigrants and “arm the Indians [a local Paiute band], give them provisions and ammunition, and send them after the emigrants.”⁶⁴ Haight turned to John D. Lee for help convincing the Paiutes to join their plan to attack the emigrants. Haight believed that unless the emigrants were stopped, they would carry out their threats regarding taking supplies by force.⁶⁵

Lee and Haight planned from the beginning that no blame would fall on the settlers, “no whites were to be known in the matter, it was to be all done by the Indians, so that it could be laid to them, if any questions were ever asked about it.”⁶⁶ Plans swiftly moved forward and instructions were given to the Paiutes by local residents who were acting under the authority of their religious, civil, and military leaders. Lee, some Paiutes, and some residents of Harmony were ready to attack the emigrant train.

Meanwhile, Haight was in Cedar City gathering support from prominent residents to attack the emigrant train. Residents were reminded “there was an emigrant train that had passed down along to near Mountain Meadows, and that they made their threats in regard to us as a

⁶³ Martineau to Susan, May 3, 1876, Martineau Collection.

⁶⁴ William W. Bishop, ed., *Mormonism Unveiled; or The Life and Confessions of the Late Mormon Bishop, John D. Lee; (Written by Himself)* (St. Louis: Bryan, Brand & Co., 1877), 219; Elliott Willden, Andrew Jenson interviews.

⁶⁵ Leonard, Turley, Walker, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows: An American Tragedy*, 143.

⁶⁶ William W. Bishop, ed., *Mormonism Unveiled*, 220. See also “Lee’s Confession”; “Lee’s Last Confession.”

people--signifying they would stay there and destroy every damn Mormon.” The threat was taken seriously because it was believed that “there was an army coming on the south and one on the north.”⁶⁷ When residents learned that Dame had refused Haight’s plan, a few insisted that a letter be sent to Brigham Young for advice. All present agreed to send word to Young, although it would take about a week to send and receive letters between Cedar and Salt Lake City.⁶⁸ This letter was either lost or destroyed, leaving no record of the content of the letter.

Either unaware or uncaring of the result of the Cedar City meeting, Lee decided to attack the emigrant train at Mountain Meadows. Several emigrants were killed in this first attack, before they had time to fire back and were able to establish a defensive wagon circle.⁶⁹ Here, the emigrants would try and wait out their attackers. Lee and the Paiutes took whatever cattle or goods were outside of the circle, splitting it amongst themselves. Lee realized that if he wished to continue an assault on the now-aware emigrants, he needed reinforcements. The Paiutes were getting restless and some left for home.⁷⁰

When Haight learned of Lee’s attack the next day, he sent Lee a message telling him to back down. In the meantime, the emigrants had recognized Lee “as a white man and sent two little boys” to meet with him.⁷¹ With Lee outed, the attack could no longer be blamed on the Paiutes. Haight now realized that there would be two options for the conspirators: either let the emigrants go and risk the group telling others about the attack, which would put Utah in further danger with federal troops already on their way or they could kill the emigrants with Dame’s militia, only leaving those alive who were not old enough to “tell tales.”⁷² While the settlers

⁶⁷ Laban Morrill, *United States v. John D. Lee*, Second Trial, Boreman Transcript 1:3-4, 6.

⁶⁸ Laban Morrill, *United States v. John D. Lee*, Second Trial, Patterson Shorthand Notes 2:16-18.

⁶⁹ “Lee’s Confession,” *New York Herald*, Mar. 22, 1877.

⁷⁰ “Lee’s Confession”; “Lee’s Last Confession.”

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid.

came to a decision, the situation at Mountain Meadows remained tense. It had been two days since Lee's first attack and the emigrants were still trapped in their wagon circle with dwindling supplies.

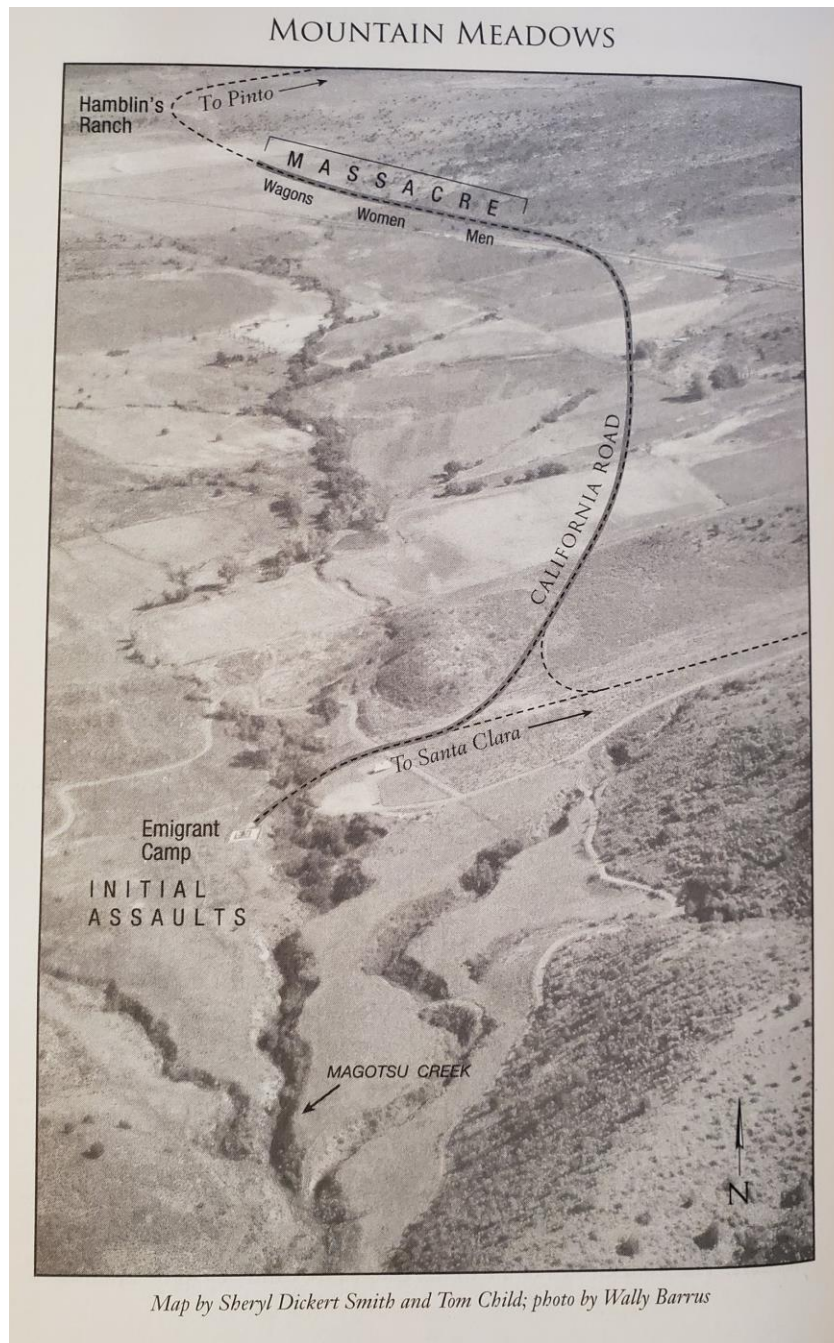
After a tense meeting with their counselors, Dame and Haight met privately. The two men afterward never offered a clear picture of what was exactly agreed upon, but Haight came away with "the final order to destroy the entire company" from Dame.⁷³ As one involved in the Massacre explained, "It seemed to become necessary to kill all to silence the rest."⁷⁴ The militia moved out later that afternoon. Once all the conspirators had met up with Lee, they decided on a plan. It was "decided to send a man with a flag of truce and request that the emigrants send out a delegation to arrange terms upon which they would leave their camp."⁷⁵ The emigrants would be informed that "the Indians were determined on their destruction" and that the settlers "dare not oppose the Indians." The emigrants would then place their faith and lives in the settlers' hands and follow the settlers out of the canyon. When John Higbee, Haight's first counselor and a military commander of the Iron district, gave the signal of "Halt," the militia was to kill the emigrant men and older boys and the remaining Paiutes were to "dispatch the women and larger

⁷³ Macfarlane, Andrew Jenson interviews, Jan. and Feb. 1892, Mountain Meadows file, Andrew Jenson, Collection, Church History Library.

⁷⁴ Willden, Andrew Jenson interviews, Jan. and Feb. 1892, Mountain Meadows file, Andrew Jenson, Collection, Church History Library.

⁷⁵ "Lee's Confession"; "Lee's Last Confession."

children.”⁷⁶ The ambush went almost exactly as planned, although Higbee gave the order later and some militia members could not fulfill their orders, but was over quickly.⁷⁷



⁷⁶ William W. Bishop, ed., *Mormonism Unveiled*, 237.

⁷⁷ See the map and picture below that shows the massacre site. Walker, Turley, and Leonard, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows: An American Tragedy*, 188. Map by Sheryl Dickert Smith and Tom Child; photo by Wally Barrus.

Around 120 men, women, and children were killed. The surviving children were taken in and adopted by local families. Militia members rifled through and distributed the remainder of the emigrants' property.

Two days after the massacre, Brigham Young's response and instructions were received in Cedar City. Young had instructed the leaders in Cedar City to "not interfere with them untill they are first notified to keep away. You must not meddle with them. The Indians we expect will do as they please but you should try and preserve good feelings with them."⁷⁸ When Isaac Haight read Young's words he broke down in sobs, only to choke out "Too late, too late."⁷⁹

The Bear River Massacre (January 29, 1863)

Building Strain in the Region

Mormon authorities in territorial Utah wafted between Brigham Young's policy of feeding the Native Americans rather than fighting them, and the more common frontier belief that "Native inhabitants occasionally needed to be chastised."⁸⁰ The differing attitudes were on display during the Bear River Massacre. The settlers grew tired of feeding the Native Americans in the area and became frustrated with the tribes. Although Cache Valley settlers did not commit the massacre, settlers certainly felt a sense of relief when Colonel Connor and his soldiers reported the violence.

⁷⁸ Brigham Young to Isaac C. Haight, Sept. 10, 1857, Letterpress Copybook 3:827–28, Brigham Young Office Files, Church Archives.

⁷⁹ James H. Haslam, interview by S. A. Kenner, reported by Josiah Rogerson, Dec. 4, 1884, typescript, 11, in Josiah Rogerson, Transcripts and Notes of John D. Lee Trials, Church Archives.

⁸⁰ Brigham D. Madsen, *The Shoshoni Frontier and the Bear River Massacre* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1985), 17.

The Shoshone felt the hardships of Mormon settlers moving into the Cache Valley area almost immediately after Mormons arrived in the Great Basin region. Even before Cache Valley was settled in 1856, Shoshone tribe members complained to Garland Hurt, an Indian agent for the area, “that they had permitted the white people to make roads through all their lands and travel upon them in safety, use the grass and drink the water, and had never received anything for it, although the tribes around them had been getting presents.”⁸¹ These grievances were further highlighted when Mormon ranchers drove about 1400 head of Church cattle into Cache Valley, which had been prized hunting and camping areas for the Northwestern Shoshone.⁸² See the map below for a map of Native American homelands in the area as of 1863.⁸³



In December of 1855, the territorial legislature of Utah granted Cache Valley to “Brigham Young, Trustee in Trust for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, and those whom he may associate with him; together with all the products and benefits arising therefrom, for a herd

⁸¹ U.S. Dept. of the Interior, *Annual Report, 1855*, Hurt to Young, Sept. 30, 1855, pp. 199-200; *Deseret News*, Sept. 12, 1855.

⁸² Madsen, *The Shoshoni Frontier and the Bear River Massacre*, 67.

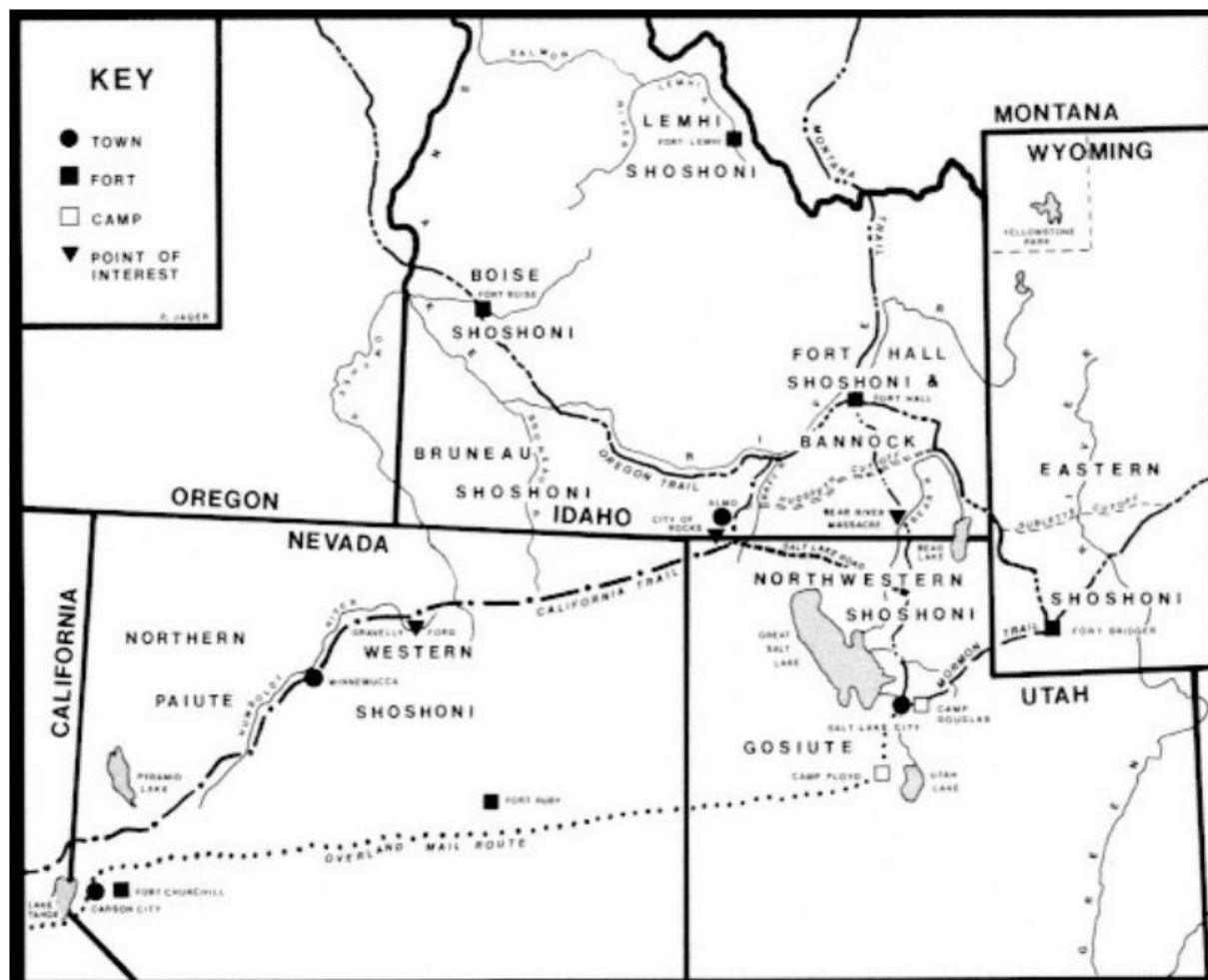
⁸³ *Map of the Homelands of Northern Shoshone, 1863*, Digitized by J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, <https://collections.lib.utah.edu/ark:/87278/s6p01433>.

ground and other purposes.”⁸⁴ There was no mention of compensation for the Shoshone band. Federal officials may not have been aware of the legislature’s practice of deeding land to the Church while Young was Governor, and if they were, they did not interfere with the practice, since the Legislature was firmly under control of the Church.

Conditions of Native Americans living along the overland mail route were deteriorating, leading some bands to steal supplies from the mail company if provisions were not given

⁸⁴ Territory of Utah, *Acts and Resolutions Passed by the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah, During the Sixth Annual Session, 1856-57*, p. 4.

freely.⁸⁵



Correspondence sent between the mail company and the Office of Indian Affairs included a telegram stating that “Indians by Hundreds at several stations, clamorous for food and threatening. They will steal or starve, will they starve?”⁸⁶ Problems of starvation and lack of supplies given to the tribes were exacerbated by the high turnover of Indian agents and superintendents in Utah territory. One superintendent had only been in Utah long enough to write about the state of the reservations in the territory, and recommend one be set up for the

⁸⁵ See map that shows locations of trails in relation to camps, towns, and forts. *Western Trails*, Madsen, *The Shoshoni Frontier and the Bear River Massacre*, 27.

⁸⁶ National Archives, Washington, D.C., “Letters, Utah,” Roll 900, Center to Latham, Dec, 19, 1861.

Shoshone.⁸⁷ One of the Indian agents in the area was so desperate for money to help Native Americans that he “sold *all* the cattle, farming utensils, grain and furniture of the homes and office, to supply starving Indians with food,” leaving virtually no public property for the Indian Department in Utah.⁸⁸ In 1862, the condition had not gotten better, with Superintendent Doty of Indian Affairs reporting the Shoshone were in “a starving and destitute condition. No provision having been made for them, either as to clothing or provisions.” Doty bought some provisions and seconded that the band be placed on a reservation where they could learn to be herdsmen.⁸⁹ The *Deseret News*, one of the major newspapers in the Territory, supported Doty’s actions and words, believing that the Cache Valley settlers would not be relieved of the “grievous tax” of feeding the Indians until they were settled on farms.⁹⁰

In 1862, Colonel Patrick Connor and a contingent of soldiers came to Utah to establish Camp Douglas and protect the Overland Mail route from the aforementioned attacks. Colonel Connor and his troops were less than thrilled about being assigned to Utah, away from the action of the ongoing Civil War. The *Enterprise*, a local newspaper, was quoted as saying, “Col. Connor’s boys have been spoiling for action... [it] would be a wise plan to let them vent a little of their pent up fighting spirit” on the Indians and “the matter should be attended to promptly” because the winter snows would limit the mobility of the Shoshone warriors.⁹¹

Throughout late 1862, tensions between the Native Americans, primarily Bannock and Shoshone, and Cache Valley settlers steadily rose. Food, cattle, and other supplies were stolen

⁸⁷ Ibid., Davies to CIA, Jan. 20, 1861.

⁸⁸ Ibid., Doty to CIA, Oct. 21, 1861.

⁸⁹ Ibid., Doty to CIA, Apr. 15, 1862.

⁹⁰ Young, Manuscript History, May 19, 1862, pp. 551-52.

⁹¹ *Deseret News*, Oct. 1, 1862; see also *Sacramento Union*, Sept. 22, 1862.

from the settlers, causing skirmishes to break out between the two groups.⁹² Connor's soldiers were also pulled into the violence, and killed several Native Americans in the region to send a message to the Shoshone.⁹³ A general order had also been issued by the Department of the Pacific in April 1862, outlining actions to take against hostile Native Americans: "Every Indian captured in this district during the present war who has been engaged in hostilities against whites, present or absent, will be hanged on the spot, women and children in all cases being spared."⁹⁴ Although Connor's actions seemed to be more personal than professional, this order surely played into the Massacre at Bear River.

In January of 1863, Connor's troops were ready to move at any time. The troops moved out on January 21, with plenty of supplies and ammunition.⁹⁵ Connor and his troops were hardly met with resistance from locals, with the *Deseret News* on January 28, 1863 commenting that "with ordinary luck the volunteers will 'wipe them out.'" The locals had also experienced more violent skirmishes than usual, as many members of different bands had gathered in the area for a celebration to welcome the return of the spring season.⁹⁶

The Massacre

The Shoshone were utterly unaware of what was coming for them. They were extremely short on supplies, with old Shoshone men and women having to mold bullets in the middle of the fight.⁹⁷ There were only Northwestern Shoshone members at this battle, no Bannock or other

⁹² See Madsen, *The Shoshoni Frontier and the Bear River Massacre*, 171-72 for a full description of the violence.

⁹³ *Deseret News*, Dec. 17, 1862.

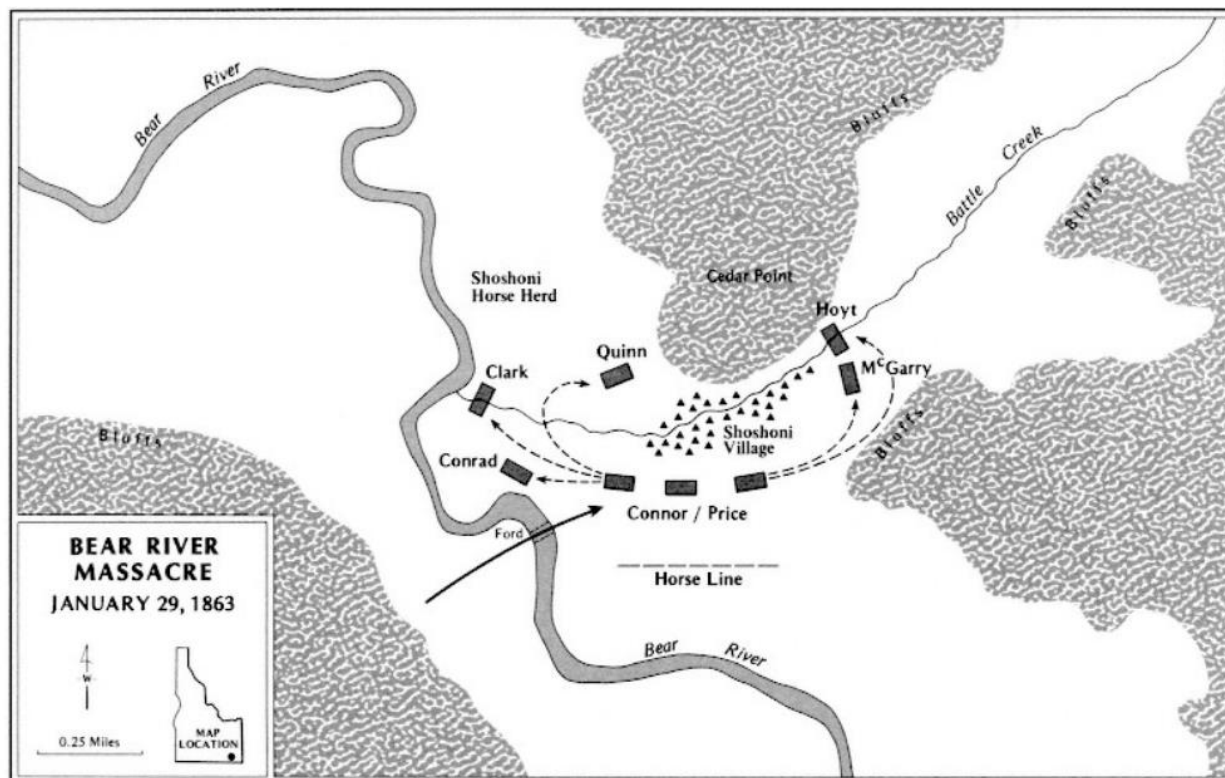
⁹⁴ *War of the Rebellion*, pt. 1, p. 992.

⁹⁵ *Deseret News*, Feb. 4, 1863.

⁹⁶ See writings by Darren Parry, under Additional Information, for more details.

⁹⁷ Lorenzo H. Handy, Interview, as qtd in Madsen, p. 181.

tribes.⁹⁸ As you will read in the account given by Northwestern Shoshone members, their tribe was not responsible for the violence and thievery that had befallen the area. What started as a fight quickly turned into a massacre. Connor and his commanders had planned the attack so that the majority of Shoshones would be penned in. See map below for a more detailed depiction of the battle plan.⁹⁹



Nearly all the Shoshone men were killed, along with many women and children. Around 250 Shoshone were killed at the Bear River Massacre and the majority of their property was taken by soldiers, while only about fourteen soldiers died.

After the massacre, the local Mormon Bishop of Franklin, Idaho sent men to the battlefield to offer assistance to the few survivors. The Mormon congregation in Cache Valley

⁹⁸ Edward J. Barta, "Battle Creek: The Battle of Bear River," p. 86, 93.

⁹⁹ *Bear River Massacre*, Madsen, *The Shoshoni Frontier and the Bear River Massacre*, 184.

however, expressed their gratitude and approval for “the movement of Col. Connor as an intervention of the Almighty...” in the official ward minutes.¹⁰⁰ The dead and wounded soldiers were returned to Camp Douglas, with the help of Porter Rockwell and other Mormon settlers.¹⁰¹ In contrast, the bodies of the fallen Shoshone remained on the field for months and even years. In the fall of 1863, a visiting Captain recorded that “Many of the skeletons of the Indians yet remained on the ground, their bones scattered by the wolves.”¹⁰² Cache Valley settlers continued to celebrate Connor’s victory, noting that the Shoshone would “never again attempt a fair stand-up fight”¹⁰³ and that it had “put a quietus on the Indians.”¹⁰⁴

As you read the different accounts of the Bear River Massacre, focus on the similarities and differences in all accounts. What is missing in some accounts but there in others? What is the same in all three accounts? Why would different recollections of the same event have different information? Darren Parry’s writings offer additional background information on the Northwestern Shoshone Band and the massacre, focusing on the human experiences during the battle rather than the military tactics. In Parry’s writing, you can feel the emotional impact the massacre has had on the Northwestern Band even 150+ years later. Mae Parry’s account is very similar to her grandson Darren’s account, demonstrating how precise oral traditions can be in passing down history. Colonel Connor’s report of the Bear River Massacre is an official military document. Connor’s focus on troop movement and Shoshone aggression is interrupted by his personal feelings, where he notes that the Mormons were nowhere to be seen and calls the

¹⁰⁰ Tullidge, “The Cities of Cache Valley and Their Founders,” *Tullidge’s Quarterly Magazine* 1, no. 4 (July 1881): 536.

¹⁰¹ *Franklin County Citizen*, Feb. 1, 1917.

¹⁰² U.S. Congress, House, *The Expedition of Captain Fisk to the Rocky Mountains*, p. 32.

¹⁰³ Tullidge, “The Battle of Bear River,” *Tullidge’s Quarterly Magazine* 1, no. 2 (Jan. 1881): 194.

¹⁰⁴ H. Ballard, *Memories*, p. 32, as qtd in Madsen, p. 197.

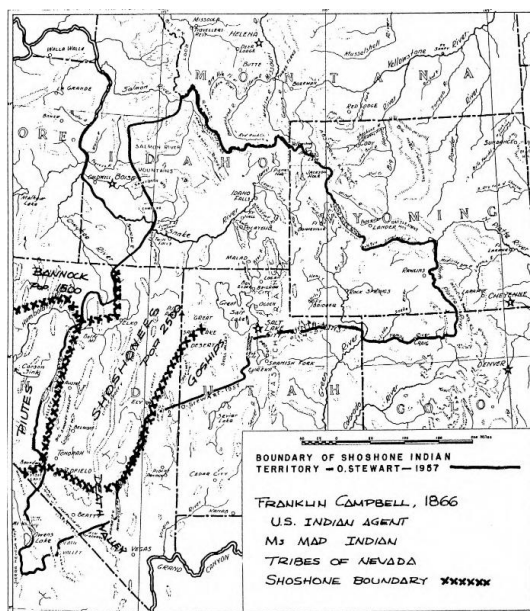
surviving Shoshone murderers. How might Connor's personal feelings influence his report of the massacre? The Mormon settler account of the massacre was from an observer of the massacre. The settler makes no mention of feeling compelled to rouse the Mormon settlers to join the massacre on either side. This account again mentions how terrible the destruction and annihilation of the Shoshone were. In the retelling, the settler relates that the Mormon community nearby hosted the soldiers after the massacre and only after they left did they go look for Shoshone survivors. What does this order of events, as well as the words chosen in the retelling, suggest about the settlers' feelings about the massacre?

Aftermath

After the massacre, Superintendent Doty of Indian Affairs brokered five treaties and distributed gifts to the tribes which resulted in peace in the area. The final treaty was ratified in March of 1864 by the various Shoshone and Bannock bands in the area and provided annual gifts and funds, outlined tribal boundaries, and ruled that tribes could claim no more land, other than any they may have owned under Mexican rule.¹⁰⁵ See the map below for the division of Shoshone bands in Nevada, as well as Northern Utah and Southern Idaho.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ U.S. Dept. of the Interior, *Annual Report, 1864*, p. 319-20.

¹⁰⁶ Franklin Campbell, U.S. Indian Agent, *Map of Shoshone Indian Territory, and the Division of Shoshone Boundaries in Nevada*, 1866, Digitized by J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, <https://collections.lib.utah.edu/ark:/87278/s6448gx2>.



When the Fort Hall reservation opened in 1869, most of the surrounding tribes were moved to the reservation.

The Bear River Massacre was virtually ignored across the nation, except in the West. The rest of the country was caught up in the Civil War and spared no further time and thought on yet another Indian massacre. Yet white westerners, and incidents like the Bear River Massacre, played an important part in racial attitudes during and after the Civil War. As Elliott West explains, “the Civil War... destroyed the illusion that whites somehow would never have to answer how they planned to live with free people of color.”¹⁰⁷ Violence against Native Americans reaffirmed white superiority and victory helped expand national land.

The Sand Creek Massacre took place about a year after the Bear River Massacre in neighboring Colorado. Spurred by similar feelings of discontent to Connor’s troops at being left out of the main Civil War action, General John Chivington led his men in an attack against a

¹⁰⁷ Elliott West, “Reconstructing Race,” *Western Historical Quarterly* 34, no. 1 (Spring 2003): 13.

village of Cheyenne and Arapahoe who were under Army protection and orders. Chivington and his men killed over 100 men, women and children. Although the two incidents were similar, the men in charge were treated very differently. Connor was not punished for his actions because the Shoshone were considered hostile. Chivington, on the other hand, attacked “friendly” Indians and was called to military trial. He was not sentenced as the Civil War ended and military trials were usurped by civil trials and Chivington’s case fell through the cracks. After the Civil War ended, “it became increasingly clear... that army officers could be held accountable for the actions against Indians in the West... by army regulations,” although few were.¹⁰⁸

Public Memory and the Bear River Massacre

When you go visit the site of the Bear River Massacre, there are several different signs. Each of these signs tell a different story, juxtaposed by their close positioning. The monument erected by the Franklin Daughters of the Utah Pioneers in 1932 tells a story of Mormon generosity, taking in the survivors of the unfortunate battle and helping them rebuild. The monument presents the incident as a battle between hostile Indians and peaceful settlers, and the soldiers who came to the defense of the settlers. See the images below for the faces of the

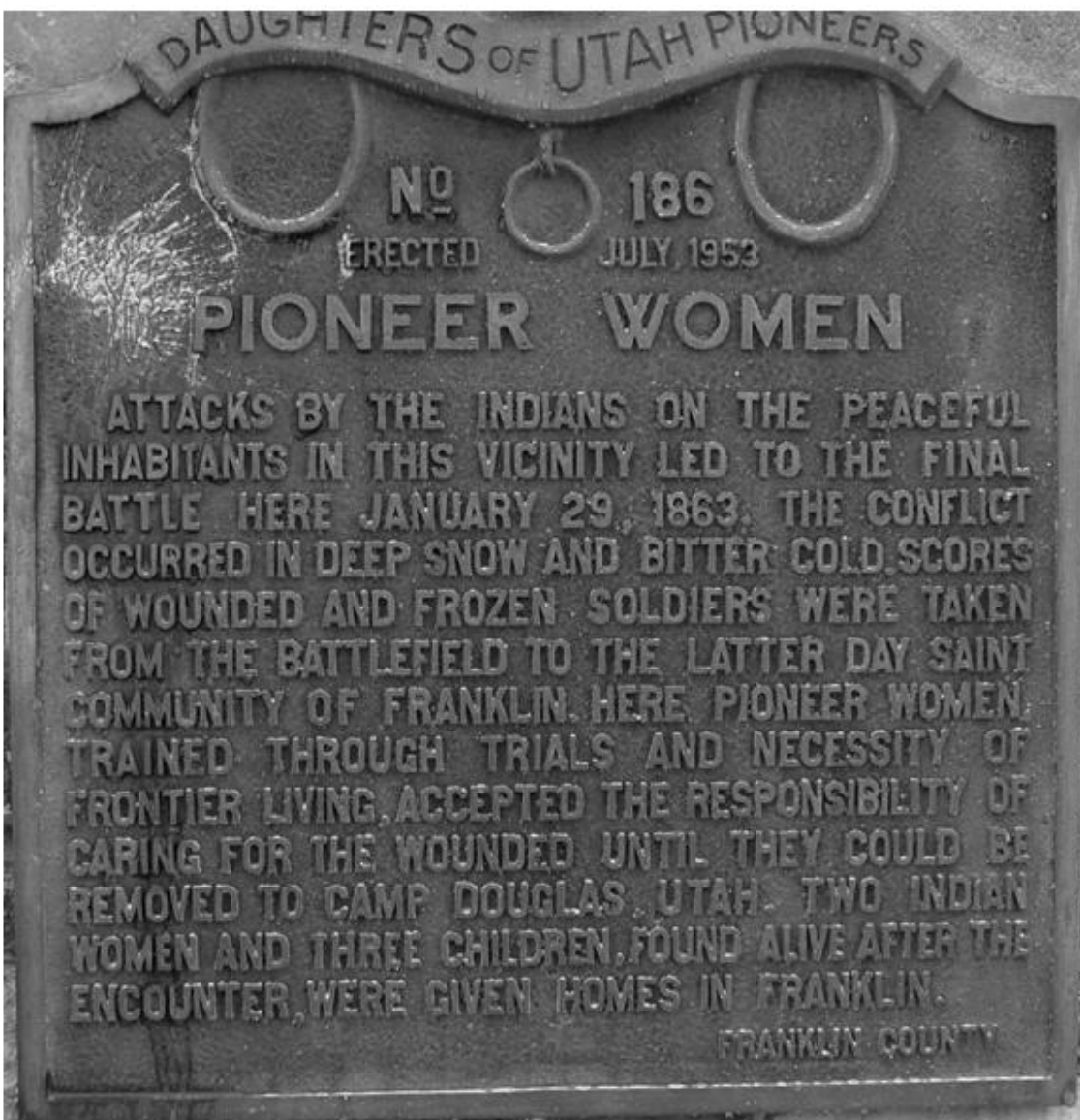
¹⁰⁸ Gary Clayton Anderson, “The Native Peoples of the American West: Genocide or Ethnic Cleansing?,” *Western Historical Quarterly* 47, no. 4 (Winter 2016): 427. See article for a more complete discussion of the changing legal nature of Indian violence before and after the Civil War.

monument.¹⁰⁹



¹⁰⁹ Pictures from John Barnes, "The Struggle to Control the Past: Commemoration, Memory, and the Bear River Massacre of 1863," *The Public Historian* 30, no. 1 (February 2008): 81-104. Taken by David Rich Lewis.

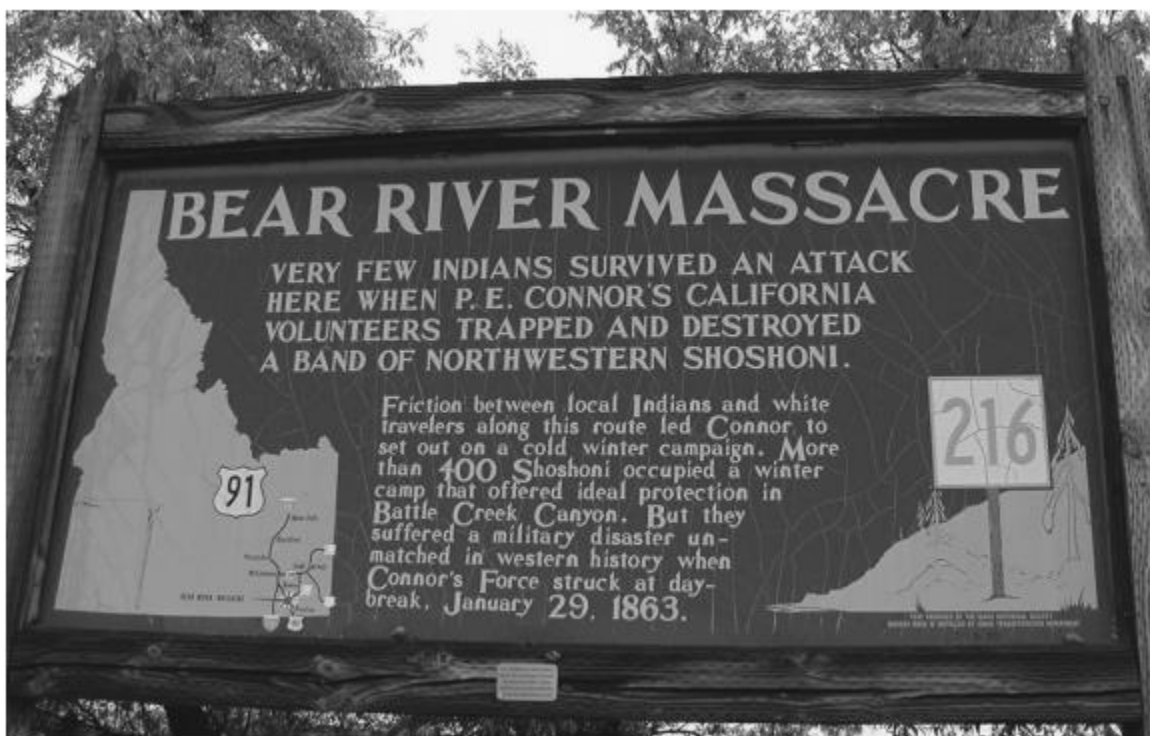




Another sign, placed by the state of Idaho in 1990, labels Bear River as a massacre and briefly summarizes the event.¹¹⁰ In 1990 the site was also officially declared a national historic

¹¹⁰ See Memory article for further discussion about those two specific monuments. Barnes, "The Struggle to Control the Past: Commemoration, Memory, and the Bear River Massacre of 1863," 81-104.

landmark under the title of the Bear River Massacre site. See the images of both signs below.¹¹¹



¹¹¹ Pictures from Barnes, "The Struggle to Control the Past: Commemoration, Memory, and the Bear River Massacre of 1863," 81-104. Taken by David Rich Lewis.



In 2003, some of the Massacre site was deeded to the Northwestern Shoshone Band. On this land, the Northwestern Band and the Idaho Transportation Department placed seven interpretive signs that tell a more complete story of the Shoshone and the Massacre.¹¹²

¹¹² See photos of the Massacre site, as well as the interpretive signs below. Photos taken by author, Raelyn Embleton, May 16, 2018.

















These monuments and signs all stand within a few minutes walk of each other. As a visitor explores the Massacre site, they can see the shift in historical memory. The incident at Bear River was always a massacre, but was not considered such at first because of the relief and shame felt by local residents after the event. The steps taken to correct and update the monuments at Bear River shows “that the act of enshrining a memory does not necessarily give it permanence.”¹¹³ The change in monuments also highlights the changing nature of a community, as the Northwestern Shoshone Band is taking back the narrative of their history.

¹¹³ Barnes, “The Struggle to Control the Past: Commemoration, Memory, and the Bear River Massacre of 1863,” 103.

In January of 2017, the Northwestern Shoshone Band purchased at least 550 acres of the Massacre site and some surrounding land. On that land, the Band plans to build a cultural interpretive site that teaches about Shoshone life and the Massacre.¹¹⁴



¹¹⁴ Trent Toone, “‘Because it’s sacred land’: Shoshone Nation chairman is ‘on a mission’ to share massacre site with world,” *Deseret News*, Sept. 9, 2018, <https://www.deseretnews.com/article/900031109/shoshone-nation-hopes-new-center-at-massacre-site-draws-sacred-feeling.html>. Shoshone Nation, *Deseret News*. Artists rendering of the Cultural Interpretive Center.



According to Darren Parry, the current Chairman of the Northwestern Shoshone Band, the funds to build the site are almost completely raised. The project has received priority from the 2019 Utah Legislature and will likely be receiving money from the Legislature.¹¹⁵ Chairman Parry also has given numerous presentations about the Massacre, bringing the Native perspective back to the event. In other links, you will read Chairman Parry's words about the Massacre, as well as watch one of his presentations. A written account of an oral history passed down through generations of the Parry family is available here, alongside Colonel Connor's account of the event. The sources below discuss the Bear River Massacre and memory. Two of the sources come from Darren Parry and discuss the Shoshone struggle to remember the Massacre. The second article analyzes the changes made to the Bear River Monuments over the years and how

¹¹⁵ Necia P. Seamons, "Utah Legislature poised to help fund interpretive center at Bear River Massacre site," *The Herald Journal*, Feb. 20, 2019, https://www.hjnews.com/news/local/utah-legislature-poised-to-help-fund-interpretive-center-at-bear/article_03f951d6-6561-567e-96b6-4926d816aa59.html.

they have changed. Special attention is also paid to how the changing public memory affected, and was affected by, a changing sense of place.

The Black Hawk War (1865-72)

The Black Hawk War was the final, large scale conflict between Native Americans and Mormons in the region since the Mormons had moved into the Great Basin region nearly 20 years prior. The conflict is traditionally dated starting in 1865 and ending in 1872, with 1865-1867 as the most violent years.

The Black Hawk War was the last, chronologically, of the incidents we have discussed. The war broke out in 1865 in Sanpete County (as shown on the map) as tensions had been

building in that region for some time.¹¹⁶



The winter of 1864-65 had been harsh, causing a food shortage and an outbreak of disease. Mormon settlers and Ute tribesmen met in Manti in the spring of 1865 to settle an argument over cattle that had been killed and eaten by some Native Americans. A Mormon settler pulled a young Ute man from his horse, which only escalated things and led to the two sides leaving the negotiations with bad feelings. Over the next few days, hundreds of cattle were stolen, and five

¹¹⁶ *Utah Counties in 1866*, John Alton Peterson, *Utah's Black Hawk War* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1998): xv.

settlers were killed.¹¹⁷ Things only escalated from there, with violence spreading throughout the region.

Violence spread quickly in part because individuals on both sides used the conflict as an excuse to retaliate for past wrongs that had been done.¹¹⁸ This elongated the war, as more and more wrongs were done. Often, the cattle that was stolen was from personal enemies or those who had wronged another.¹¹⁹ This vengeance killing started almost from the beginning and did not pay for that blood, so it had to be paid back in kind.¹²⁰

As discussed in other sections, Mormon religious beliefs affected how they viewed Native Americans. This was especially true as it pertained to how Mormons built ‘Indian farms’ for Native Americans. Indian farms were built to help Native Americans learn how to farm, and to “learn civilized habits and the gospel of Christ” from nearby Mormon settlers.¹²¹ The farms, especially in Central Utah, were mostly a failure and drew Native Americans to the farms without having enough structural support which left many hungry.

Federal Effects

It is important to note that Brigham Young was no longer Governor of the Utah Territory during the Black Hawk War. He had left office at the end of the Utah War in 1858, and never was officially appointed to the position again.¹²² Throughout the Black Hawk War, Brigham

¹¹⁷ Orson Hyde to Brigham Young, 14 April 1865, Brigham Young Collection, Church History Department; Reddick N. Allred to Brigham Young, 11 April 1865, Brigham Young Collection, Church History Department; and Hamilton Kearnes to Brigham Young, 15 April, 1865, Brigham Young Collection, Church History Department.

¹¹⁸ Peterson, *Utah's Black Hawk War*, 12.

¹¹⁹ Gottfredson, *Indian Depredations*, 312.

¹²⁰ George A. Smith to Orson Hyde, 22 October 1865, Historian's Office Letter Book, Church History Department, 2:506-9; and "Proceedings of a Council with the Utah Indians."

¹²¹ "Gunnison Ward Record," 9, as qtd in Peterson, 103.

¹²² See Utah War section for more details.

Young had no official title relating to the territory. His authority came as Prophet and President of the Mormon church and whatever authority others conceded to him.

J. Duane Doty, the governor of Utah territory from 1863-1865, complained of the difficulties governing the area writing, “There are three powers governing this [territory], the Mormon Church; the Military; and the Civil. It is difficult to prevent collisions, but they are to be avoided, if possible.”¹²³ The military, led by Col. Patrick Connor, and the Mormons had an especially negative relationship. Connor believed Utah territory to still be a theocracy, as it was before Brigham Young was removed from the office of Governor.

The uneasy relationship between Mormons and the Federal Government also had clear negative effects for Native Americans living in the territory. Congress reduced the amount of money spent on Utah’s Indian Office, by 92 percent with around \$60,000 a year becoming about \$5,000. It was speculated that the funding was reduced because federal officials believed Mormons were using Native Americans to attack settlers passing through the territory.¹²⁴ Additionally, Brigham Young’s policy of feeding, rather than fighting, Native Americans was increasingly drawing ire from Mormons and did not give enough food to tribes to make up for the lack of funding and supplies from the Federal government.

Young frequently informed other LDS leaders that “the federal installation at Camp Douglas near the heart of Salt Lake City was ‘the best place [the troops] can be in for doing the least injury.’... Young ‘should be the first’ and ‘only one’ informed of such ‘critical subjects’ lest Indian depredations become ‘the excuse or pretext for more powerful enemies to occupy the

¹²³ J. Duane Doty to Isaac Newton, 20 December 1864, SDTP.

¹²⁴ Amos Reed, Clerk Utah Superintendency, to William P. Dole, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 20 December 1862, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, National Archives, M234, 900.

country.’”¹²⁵ Young and the Mormons had lived through one attempted federal occupation of the territory and were not keen to go through another one.

Familiar Land Issues

Young initially reassured Ute leaders that Mormons and the tribes would become allies, as “Our Father the Great Spirit has plenty of land for you and for the Mormons.”¹²⁶ Only a year later, however, George A. Smith (an Apostle in the LDS church and representative of the legislature of Utah Territory) petitioned Congress and President Fillmore to extinguish Indian title to the territory and “provide measures for the removal of Indians from Utah.”¹²⁷

The federal government had been reluctant to get rid of Native American land titles in the territory, as they feared Mormons would then take possession of that land. Almost 20 years of white settlement in the region occurred before land titles were extinguished and Native Americans were removed to reservations.¹²⁸ Mormons were aware of the unusual timeframe of their situation and complained to Congress declaring, “This Territory presents the only instance of the organization of a Territorial Government by Congress [where land was] thrown open to settlement, without measures being first adopted to extinguish the Indian title” but were told that

¹²⁵ Miscellaneous Minutes, 30 October 1862, Brigham Young Collection, Church Historical Department; and George A. Smith to Orson Hyde, 5 November 1865, Historian’s Office Letter Book, Church Historical Department, 2:510-11. As qtd in Peterson, 40.

¹²⁶ “A meeting in Walkers tent in Utah Valley, between B. Young, H. C. Kimball, and the brethren, with Walker, [et al.,]” 22 May 1850, Brigham Young Collection, Church History Department, r92, b58, f14.

¹²⁷ George A. Smith and James Lewis to Hon. Milard Fillmore [sic], President of the United States, undated, received by the Indian Office 20 August 1851, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, National Archives, M234, 897.

¹²⁸ Peterson, *Utah’s Black Hawk War*, 29

since the territory had belonged to Mexico first, and Mexico had never relinquished the Native American title, neither would the United States.¹²⁹

Around the time of the Black Hawk War, the Uintah Reservation was built for Utes. The creation of this reservation was announced along with the news that the Indian title to land would be rescinded and Natives would be removed from Mormon land. This caused great “anxiety” among different bands and their neighbors.¹³⁰ At the conference between the Indian Affairs officers and Ute leaders in 1865, the Ute leaders felt like they had no choice but to agree to the reservation. In 1866 the Utes mostly withdrew from the Utah and Juab valleys, coming back for only occasional visits because the Uintah Reservation had been established.¹³¹ Black Hawk was one of the few that disagreed and he violently showed his disagreement.

Cattle Raiding and Related Violence

The majority of violent acts during the Black Hawk War were a result of raiding. Stealing stock, especially cattle and horses, was a major part of skirmishes. Most of the violence that occurred between individuals was the result of a raid gone wrong. This was fairly well-known throughout the West, even before the Black Hawk War, with a Californian newspaper printing, “the Utahs [Utes] are very expert horse-thieves.”¹³² In the Utah territory, cattle raiding played a big role in Indian and settler skirmishes. Driving cattle through Cache Valley and then it getting stolen, for example, caused issues between Shoshones and settlers which played a part in the

¹²⁹ George A. Smith and James Lewis to Hon. Milard Filmore [sic], President of the United States, undated, but received at the Indian Office 20 August 1851, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, National Archives, M234, 897; and "Petition of Gov. and Judges &c of Utah Territory in relation to the Indians" to Hon. A. B. Greenwood, 1 November 1860, Brigham Young Collection, Church History Department.

¹³⁰ *RSI*, 1865:317-20.

¹³¹ William C. McClellan to William B. Pace, 13 April 1866, TMR, #833

¹³² Los Angeles Star, 25 December 1852 as quoted in Sonne, *World of Wakara*, 150.

Bear River Massacre.¹³³ Mormons discovered soon after arriving in Utah territory that it was great land for raising stock. Furthermore, the territory was in close proximity to overland trails and therefore other markets for beef. Central and southern Utah in particular were called “cow counties” and the area was “perfectly alive” with cattle.¹³⁴

There were so many cattle in some regions that there were too many to responsibly care for, with Brigham Young noting that “the way stock dies through neglect is a sin that will lay at the door of this people.”¹³⁵ This made no sense to Native Americans, particularly when they were told by settlers that they had no supplies to give them. In many Native American cultures land, cattle and other natural resources were communally owned. If there were extra cattle, they would be distributed among people who needed them. Taking extra cattle that would have died anyway, to eat and use was not really considered theft by different tribes then. In 1865, hungry Native Americans had butchered about 15 heads of cattle that were owned by Mormons. These cattle were also taken as gifts that were always promised by Mormons to their Native American neighbors.¹³⁶ Cattle raiding in this manner had developed across the Plains and Great Basin region. Black Hawk used existing trails to trade cattle to other regions. Mormon settlers would use these trails after the war to expand into new areas.

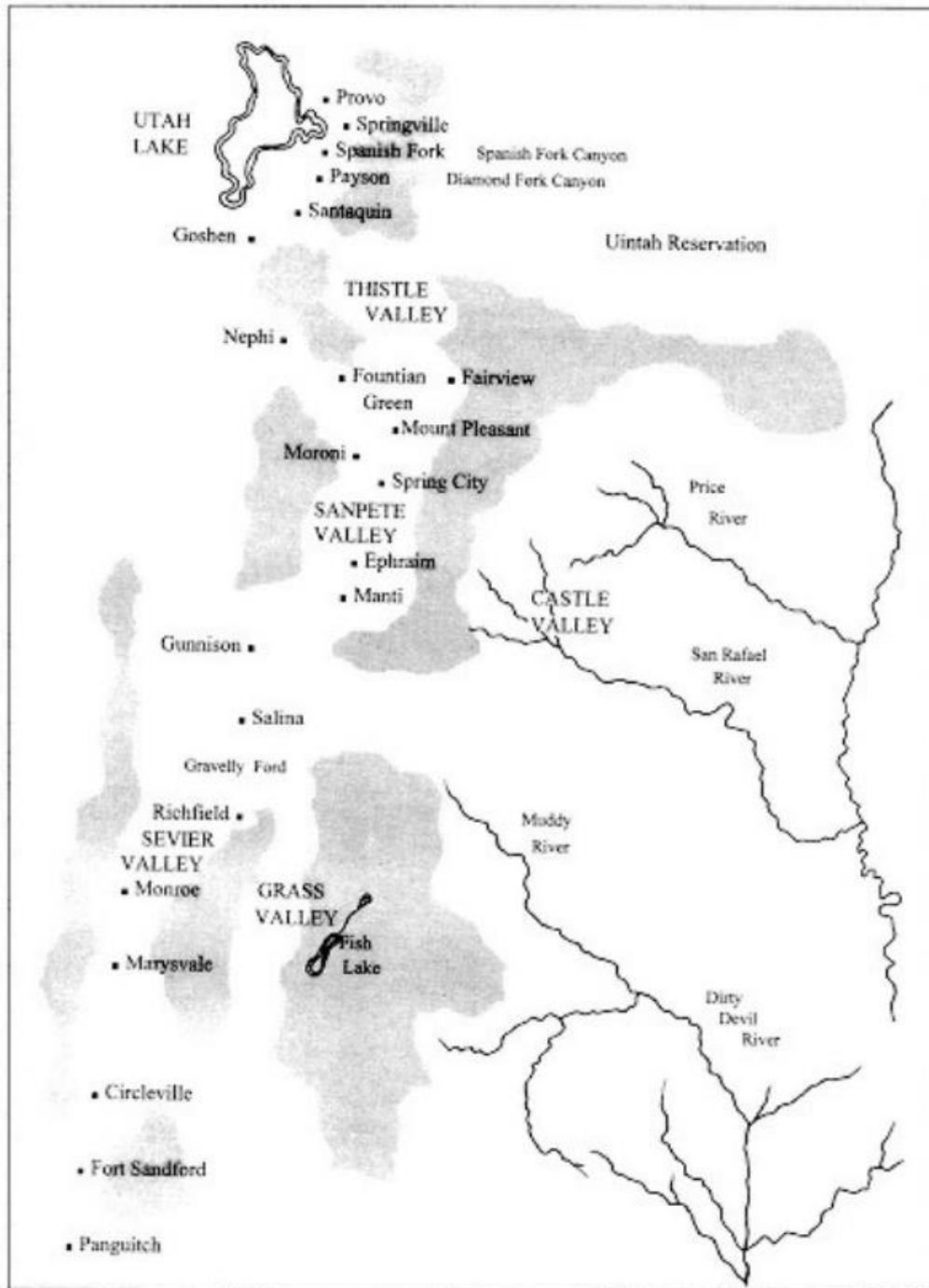
¹³³ See the Bear River Massacre section for more details.

¹³⁴ Gibbs, *Lights and Shadows*, 13; DN, 18 September 1867; and George A. Smith to John L. Smith, 22 May 1863, Historian’s Office Letter Book, Church History Department, 2:231.

¹³⁵ Miscellaneous Minutes, 23 August 1863, Edyth Romney Typescripts.

¹³⁶ Warren S. Snow to Brigham Young, 22 April 1865, Brigham Young Collection, Church History Department; Kearnes, “Statement as to Indian Difficulties.”

The Black Hawk War violence was mostly confined to settlements in central Utah.¹³⁷



¹³⁷ See map for Central Utah Settlements. *Mormon Settlements in Central Utah in 1866*, found in Peterson, *Utah's Black Hawk War*, xvi.

When cattle were stolen Mormon settlers tried to retrieve their cattle by force, leading to deaths on both sides. Brigham Young tried to remind settlers of his policy that it was cheaper to feed the Native Americans than fight them. Young sent a letter to the Saints in central Utah which stated, "We have learned the brethren of Sanpete and up the Sevier are much exasperated against the Indians... and feel like slaughtering them indiscriminately... Such a course would be most injudicious and cruel, and will never do."¹³⁸ Young also included a call for peace to Ute leaders, which was rejected.¹³⁹ Shortly after Young's proposal was rejected, at least seven Mormons from Ephraim were killed and around a hundred cattle were stolen.¹⁴⁰

The attack at Ephraim, and the practical experience Mormons had gained in other skirmishes, reiterated the importance of building forts in larger settlements for those in small, isolated communities. For years Church leaders had also counseled members to arm themselves in case of such an attack.¹⁴¹ Church members in central and southern Utah were again instructed to build forts and move to larger settlements as protection "against hostile Utes."¹⁴² Violence and raiding continued throughout 1866 and 1867.

The Circleville Massacre

In Circleville, a small community in central Utah, one of the most violent acts of the Black Hawk War occurred. Unfamiliar Native Americans had raided the town's cattle in 1866. As

¹³⁸ Brigham Young to "President Orson Hyde and the Bishops and Presidents, Elders and brethren in San Pete Co. and up the Sevier River and all others whom it may concern," 1 October 1865, Brigham Young Collection, Church History Department; and JH, 6 November 1865, 2.

¹³⁹ M.D. Hambleton to Brigham Young, 22 October 1865, Brigham Young Collection, Church History Department; Weibye, "Journal," 22-26 October 1865; and JH, 6 November 1865, 1.

¹⁴⁰ Canute Peterson, Bishop of Ephraim, to George A. Smith, 11 September 1867, GA.

¹⁴¹ George A. Smith to Orson Hyde, 22 October 1865, Historian's Office Letter Book, Church Historical Department, 2:506-9.

¹⁴² Erastus Snow "to the Saints in Long Valley, . . . Kanab, . . . and all others in that region of the country," 12 November 1865, in Bleak, "Southern Mission," 1:207

a result, the local and “friendly” Piedes, a Paiute band, were forcefully escorted into town and imprisoned on the suspect that they were in league with the raiders. When the Piedes tried to escape their imprisonment, several were killed. The surviving Piedes were again bound while the settlers decided what to about them. It was decided that every Piede old enough to tell about the incident would have to die. At least 16 Piede men, women, and older children had their throats slit and the remainder of the children were adopted into the community.¹⁴³

The Circleville Massacre is remembered in Pauite oral history as follows:

“There used to be a big old log house in Circleville, Utah, beside the road where it curves near where the potato cellars are. Years ago the white men at Circleville locked up in that house all the Indians who were living nearby and told them they were going to cut their throats. They began doing this by taking them outside one at a time and cutting their throats.”¹⁴⁴

Similar to the Mountain Meadows Massacre, the Mormons in Circleville initially tried to cover up their crime and tried to make it seem like the Piedes were all killed while trying to escape.¹⁴⁵ When Brigham Young learned of the full extent of the Circleville Massacre, years later, he was disgusted.¹⁴⁶ The Circleville Massacre showed that the Saints did not always listen to Young’s advice of peace, instead taking extreme measures against those they had known for years.

Peace with Black Hawk

¹⁴³ William J. Allred, Bishop of Circleville, to George A. Smith, 5 May 1866, George A. Smith Collection, Church History Department; Erastus Snow to General Wells, 25 April 1866, TMR, #1524.

¹⁴⁴ Martineau, Southern Paiutes, 58--59. As qtd in Peterson, *Utah’s Black Hawk War*, 246-47.

¹⁴⁵ Colonel R.N. Allred to Major William Seeley, 27 April 1866, in *Daughters of Utah Pioneers, Our Pioneer Heritage*, 9:180.

¹⁴⁶ Daniel H. Wells to Erastus Snow, 3 May 1866, in JH, 3 May 1866, 3--5.

After several years of violent interactions and raiding, Black Hawk and other Ute leaders were tired of fighting. Superintendent of Indian Affairs Franklin Head and Brigham Young succeeded in engineering peace talks with the Ute leaders. As Young explained, “The Indians are manifesting an inclination for peace... They have been foiled in several of their attacks and have lost some of their men. It is not profitable to rob and plunder under such circumstances.”¹⁴⁷ Black Hawk officially made peace in the fall of 1867.

Although Black Hawk signed a peace treaty, the raiding had spiralled out of his control. Raiding and some violence continued for several years, although on a much smaller scale than it had been under Black Hawk. In 1868, Black Hawk demonstrated his commitment to peace to LDS leaders and tried to convince other Native leaders to end hostilities.¹⁴⁸ Black Hawk then spent the rest of his life on an ‘atonement’ tour, apologising for his actions and petitioning both sides for peace. The Black Hawk War finally ended in 1872 when federal troops were called in to settle the local Native Americans.

¹⁴⁷ Brigham Young to John Brown, 19 September 1867.

¹⁴⁸ Telegram of Orson Hyde to Brigham Young, 28 June [1868], Brigham Young Collection, Church History Department, r38, b16, fl.

Utah War Lesson Plan

Essential Questions: What factors led to the outbreak of the Utah War? How did these factors play into each other to start the Utah War? What was the relationship like between Mormon and Federal officials? Why was this incident called the Utah War, although it was not really a war?

Essential Learning Outcomes: Students will be able to recall and explain the relationship between Mormons and Federal officials. Students will be able to understand the connection between their relationship and the start of the Utah War.

To understand the difference between primary and secondary sources, the attached pdf/powerpoint presentation can be used. Students will read the summary of the Utah War on the website. They will compare and contrast the summary with the information found in their textbook and on other websites.

Suggested website:

https://historyto.go.utah.gov/utah_chapters/pioneers_and_cowboys/utahwar.html

- What differences and similarities do the two accounts share?
- Why would the two accounts be different?
- What primary sources were used in both accounts?

After reading several secondary accounts of the Utah War, students should be able to answer the following questions:

- What factors led to the outbreak of the Utah War?
- How did these factors play into each other to start the Utah War?
- What was the relationship like between Mormon and Federal officials?

Students then should use <https://digitalnewspapers.org/> and <https://history.utah.gov/ushs-research-resources/> to find additional primary sources on the Utah War.

- What primary sources can't be found? Why not?

For the main primary sources students find, they should use a primary source analysis tool like the one attached.

Assessment: Students will present to a small group the events of the Utah War.

Utah Core Standards for Social Studies:

UT Standard 2.1: Students will explain the causes and lasting effects of the Mormon migration to Utah.

UT Standard 2.4: Students will research multiple perspectives to explain one or more of the political, social, cultural, religious conflicts of this period, including the U.S. Civil War and more localized conflicts such as the Utah War, the Mountain Meadows Massacre, the Bear River Massacre, the Black Hawk War, or other Federal-Mormon conflicts.

Reading for Literacy in Social Studies Grades 6-8:

Reading for Literacy Standard 1: Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources.

Reading for Literacy Standard 2: Determine the central ideas or information of a primary or secondary source; provide an accurate summary of the source distinct from prior knowledge or opinions.

Reading for Literacy Standard 6: Identify aspects of a text that reveal an author's point of view or purpose (e.g., loaded language, inclusion or avoidance of particular facts).

Reading for Literacy Standard 8: Distinguish among fact, opinion, and reasoned judgment in a text.

C3 Inquiry Arc History:

D2.His.10.6-8. Detect possible limitations in the historical record based on evidence collected from different kinds of historical sources

D2.His.12.6-8. Use questions generated about multiple historical sources to identify further areas of inquiry and additional sources.

D2.His.14.6-8. Explain multiple causes and effects of events and developments in the past

D2.His.16.6-8. Organize applicable evidence into a coherent argument about the past.

Mountain Meadows Massacre Lesson Plan

Essential Questions: How did tensions from the Utah War lead to the Mountain Meadows Massacre? How do you treat primary sources that are collected after the event? How do you deal with biases in primary sources? How do secondary accounts show bias?

Essential Learning Outcomes: Students will be able to understand the lead up of events that led to the Mountain Meadows Massacre. Students will be able to recognize biases and inaccuracies in primary and secondary accounts.

Students will read the summary of the Mountain Meadows Massacre on the website. They will compare and contrast with the account in the textbook and other websites. Students will then explore the Mountain Meadows Massacre website <https://mountainmeadowsmassacre.com/>. On this website, students will be able to find primary and secondary sources related to the Massacre. Students should fill out primary sources analysis tools on the major primary sources found.

Students should also read the following article

<https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=94509868> to understand why different secondary sources portray the Massacre differently.

For a follow-up lesson, students can explore the trial of John D. Lee. The website has the transcript from Lee's trial. The following article can also provide context for Lee's trial

<https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/the-aftermath-of-mountain-meadows-110735627/>.

Utah Core Standards for Social Studies:

UT Standard 2.1: Students will explain the causes and lasting effects of the Mormon migration to Utah.

UT Standard 2.4: Students will research multiple perspectives to explain one or more of the political, social, cultural, religious conflicts of this period, including the U.S. Civil War and more localized conflicts such as the Utah War, the Mountain Meadows Massacre, the Bear River Massacre, the Black Hawk War, or other Federal-Mormon conflicts.

Reading for Literacy in Social Studies Grades 6-8:

Reading for Literacy Standard 1: Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources.

Reading for Literacy Standard 2: Determine the central ideas or information of a primary or secondary source; provide an accurate summary of the source distinct from prior knowledge or opinions.

Reading for Literacy Standard 6: Identify aspects of a text that reveal an author's point of view or purpose (e.g., loaded language, inclusion or avoidance of particular facts).

C3 Inquiry Arc History:

D2.His.10.6-8. Detect possible limitations in the historical record based on evidence collected from different kinds of historical sources.

D2.His.12.6-8. Use questions generated about multiple historical sources to identify further areas of inquiry and additional sources.

Bear River Massacre Lesson Plan

Essential Questions: What is the Bear River Massacre and why did it happen? How does history change? Can history change or just how we perceive history? How do you treat primary sources that are collected after the event? How do you deal with biases in primary sources? How do secondary accounts show bias?

Essential Learning Outcomes: Students will be able to recall the events leading up to and during the Bear River Massacre. Students will be able to analyze the changes a historical event undergoes as time goes on. Students will be able to perceive and analyze differences in primary and secondary source accounts.

To begin, students will read the write-up of the Bear River Massacre and understand the background leading up to the Massacre. Students will then read the primary source account from Colonel Connor and the oral history as recounted by Mae Parry Timbimboo. They will fill out a primary sources analysis on each. They will then compare and contrast the two accounts, close reading both.

Students can also read a history of the monument for the Bear River Massacre. The attached article outlines many of the changes. Students should outline the changes in attitude toward the monument. Students should also study the pictures of the Massacre site to see the changes up close. Students will also research and read news articles about the Bear River Massacre monument and the upcoming changes. Students then listen to the remarks from Darren Parry, Chairman of the Northwestern Shoshone Band, on the changing nature of history.

Utah Core Standards for Social Studies:

UT Standard 2.1: Students will explain the causes and lasting effects of the Mormon migration to Utah.

UT Standard 2.4: Students will research multiple perspectives to explain one or more of the political, social, cultural, religious conflicts of this period, including the U.S. Civil War and more localized conflicts such as the Utah War, the Mountain Meadows Massacre, the Bear River Massacre, the Black Hawk War, or other Federal-Mormon conflicts.

Reading for Literacy in Social Studies Grades 6-8:

Reading for Literacy Standard 1: Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources.

Reading for Literacy Standard 2: Determine the central ideas or information of a primary or secondary source; provide an accurate summary of the source distinct from prior knowledge or opinions.

Reading for Literacy Standard 6: Identify aspects of a text that reveal an author's point of view or purpose (e.g., loaded language, inclusion or avoidance of particular facts).

C3 Inquiry Arc History:

D2.His.5.6-8. Explain how and why perspectives of people have changed over time.

D2.His.6.6-8. Analyze how people's perspectives influenced what information is available in the historical sources they created.

Black Hawk War Lesson Plan

Essential Questions: How did previous conflicts play into the Black Hawk War?

Essential Learning Outcomes:

Native Americans in Utah Lesson Plan

To learn more about Native American tribes in Utah, see the following site:

<https://utahindians.org/archives/index.html>.

Split students into at least 5 groups, one for each tribe. Combine the Goshute tribes and White Mesa tribe into the Ute group. Have each group study aspects of life of each tribe. Have them study their history and primary sources from each tribe. Have each group present their findings to the class.

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