

Becoming a “Messenger of Peace”: Jacob Hamblin in Tooele

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On March 13, 1852, two men, one white and armed with a rifle, the other a Goshute armed with bow and arrows, confronted each other in the Stansbury Mountains west of Tooele, a small, two-year-old settlement some twenty-five miles southwest of Salt Lake City. The first man, Jacob Vernon Hamblin, a lieutenant in Utah’s Nauvoo Legion, had been given specific instructions by his military and ecclesiastical superior to kill all Indians, as they had been raiding the whites’ cattle.¹ However, when Hamblin and the Goshute faced each other in the mountains, neither could kill the other despite multiple arrows loosed at Hamblin and multiple attempts to shoot the Indian. Finally the Indian fled after Hamblin threw a stone at him. This was a tense, dangerous, yet almost comic confrontation that would profoundly shape Hamblin’s subsequent life. He concluded that the incident was a sign given him from God that he should not kill Indians and that, if he followed this directive, he himself would never be killed by them.²

Thus, though Hamblin is known for his missions, explorations, and diplomacy in southern Utah and Arizona, Tooele was the place where he changed from a militaristic soldier sent to achieve success by killing Indians to a person who strove to avoid killing and bloodshed when dealing with Goshutes, Paiutes, Utes, Navajos, and Hopi. Through the rest of his life, in many dangerous situations on the frontier, he relied on this experience in Tooele and felt that he could travel among dangerous Indians in perfect safety if he did not seek their blood.

Hamblin’s “conversion” is especially remarkable given that

many Mormons had harsh and militaristic attitudes toward Utah Indians in the early 1850s. The story of the relationship of Mormons and Native Americans in early Utah history is complex and riddled with ambiguities. In some ways, the Book of Mormon caused Mormons to regard Indians highly, as descendants of Israel; according to this scripture, the pre-European inhabitants of North and South America were descendants of Lehi, a Hebrew prophet who had sailed to America with his family. Thus, Mormons often felt a high mission to convert and educate Indians. On the other hand, the culture gap between Mormons and Indians was vast; and when Indians did not convert quickly, as the Mormons had hoped, and in fact acted with hostility, Mormons sometimes viewed them as decadent, fallen children of Lehi, especially since they were regarded as descendants of Lehi's two wicked sons (Laman and Lemuel) rather than descendants of his righteous sons.³ The Saints in Utah in Hamblin's day often referred to Indians as Lamanites. In fact, Mormons developed many typical American attitudes toward Indians⁴—pursuing the policy of harsh punitive actions against them whenever it was deemed necessary.

Brigham Young has been regarded by historians as a generous friend to the Utah Indians, and his saying that it was cheaper to feed Indians than to fight them is often quoted.⁵ Mormons certainly were not involved in genocidal massacres of Indians, such as occurred in other parts of the West.⁶ For good and practical reasons, Young wanted Indians to be allies and friends. Nevertheless, Young's colonization of Utah and the Southwest, brilliantly carried out from one point of view, nevertheless consistently pushed Indians from their traditional homelands and away from precious water resources. Mormon settlements and herds made progressively ruinous inroads into ecosystems on which Indians relied. Historian John Alton Peterson comments: "Often conducting themselves more like conquerors than missionaries, the Latter-day Saints displaced native societies and colluded with federal officials to place them on reservations."⁷ Peterson remarks on the tragic irony that the Saints, a displaced people, were now themselves displacing a people.

If Young was moderate in his policies to Indians on the whole, historian Howard Christy, in an influential article, "Open Hand and Mailed Fist: Mormon Indian Relations in Utah, 1847–52," has

argued that Young was initially more punitive than conciliatory with Utah's Indians.⁸ Although LDS historian Ronald Walker has argued that Christy's conclusions need tempering,⁹ nevertheless, some of the primary documents Christy relies on in fact show that many Mormons—including Young in this early period—dealt harshly with Indians, who were admittedly sometimes hostile to Mormons. Historians of Utah Indians Floyd O'Neil and Stanford J. Layton write, "Although the rhetoric of Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and others contained the promise of accommodation and respect for the Indians, at that moment Young was pursuing a policy of extermination against the Utes of Utah Valley. Under his direction, and extending well beyond his tenure as superintendent, the Mormons continued to crowd the Indians off choice land, using force as necessary, until 1869 when the Utes were finally relocated to the Uintah Reservation and the other Indians were expelled from the territory or confined to its remote corners."¹⁰ Though "extermination" seems a harsh characterization, LDS leaders actually used the word in their dealing with Indians. Apostle Willard Richards stated, in a January 31, 1850, meeting dealing with Indian conflicts in Utah Valley: "My voice is for war, & exterminate them [the Indians]." Later in the same meeting, Brigham Young articulated an equally extreme position: "I say go & kill them." Those present voted in support of this plan.¹¹ Young advised military leader Daniel H. Wells, on February 14, 1850: "If the Indians sue for peace grant it to them, according to your discretionary Judgment in the case.—If they continue hostile pursue them until you use them up—Let it be peace with them or extermination."¹²

Thus, when Hamblin arrived in Tooele on September 20, 1850, his arrival coincided with a period of the "mailed fist" in Mormon-Indian relations.

Settling Tooele

The town of Tooele was founded in late 1849. Tooele Valley, about twenty-five miles long and fifteen miles wide, is separated from the Salt Lake Valley by the Oquirrh Mountains, bounded on the north by the Great Salt Lake and on the west by the Stansbury Mountains. West beyond this range is Skull Valley and, farther west still, lie the Cedar Mountains. Beyond these mountains lie

sixty miles of the most forbidding salt desert in the United States. These valleys, mountains, and deserts were the home of the Goshute tribe.

Early descriptions of Tooele Valley emphasize its grasslands. In November 1849, Salt Lake explorer Howard Stansbury, an officer in the U.S. Corps of Topographical Engineers, wrote that Tooele Valley “forms an excellent pasturage for numerous herds of cattle, wintered here . . . under the charge of keepers. The grass is very abundant and numerous springs are found on both sides of it.”¹³ When Brigham Young and other Church leaders had explored the valley briefly in July 1847, they described the valley only as “apparently quite dry.”¹⁴ It did not look like an inviting settlement and farming site. A second exploring party, again including Young, visited Tooele Valley two years later and documented the Goshute presence: “Some Indians were encamped on the west side of the valley, who put out their fires on discovering us. Antelope, cranes, snipes, gulls and mosquitoes abounded in the valley . . . [which] was covered with dry grass.”¹⁵ Philip De La Mare, a Mormon who settled in Tooele in approximately 1854, described the valley as “a waving mass of grass three to four feet high.”¹⁶ This was not verdant farmland, as water supplies were limited, but it supplied excellent forage for cattle.

Mormons were using Tooele Valley for grazing by 1848.¹⁷ An early settler, John Rowberry, was sent there in December 1849 to winter Apostle Ezra Taft Benson’s herd of cattle.¹⁸ Benson had sent other pioneers to Tooele in October 1848 to build a sawmill. Both activities show that the Mormons did not originally see Tooele Valley as especially suited for farming. However, cattle were important in the Mormon economy from the earliest period of Utah settlement. “The first Mormon settlers brought with them 3,100 head of cattle including 887 cows and 2,213 working oxen,” writes historian Allan Kent Powell. “By 1850, the number of cattle in the Utah territory had increased to 12,000 head and by 1860 the number was 34,000 head.”¹⁹ Many stock owners sent their cattle to Tooele.

In October 1850, Harrison Severe and James McBride settled the other major town in Tooele, later called Grantsville, in the southwest part of Tooele Valley, about seven miles from the Stansbury Mountains. After these early settlements were founded, Mor-

mons expanded them and established other nearby settlements. Jacob Hamblin and his family were part of that process, reaching Tooele in September 1850 when the town was less than a year old.

The Goshute Indians

The first words describing Tooele in Hamblin's holograph autobiography are a bit surprising, coming as they do from the man renowned for his sympathy for Indians: "Here we ware pesterd with the Indians. They ware continually coming out from the mountains which was their lurking plases and steeling Cattle and horses. There was several attempts maid to stop them but to no affect."²⁰ Hamblin's language—"pestered," "lurked," and later, "depredations"—reflects the typical white view of Indians as dangerous annoyances. Such language fails to recognize that the Mormons were settling permanently in traditional Indian lands, often occupying the best camping sites near reliable springs, hunting in the Indian's hunting grounds, and grazing their stock on meadowlands, often rendering them unfit for sustaining the animals and plants used by the Indians. There is no recognition that the Mormons are "pestering" the Indians. But in fact, the Mormons were encroaching on a complex and delicate ecosystem that supported the Goshutes. It would never be the same again.

Thus, though Jacob Hamblin was more sympathetic to Indians than the average Mormon, or non-Mormon white settler and, throughout his life, strove to deal with them through negotiation rather than violence, he nevertheless had many of the biases of the white settlers throughout the West—especially the bias that the white man, with his "higher civilization," had full rights to settle wherever he wanted. This bias was perhaps even more pronounced among Mormons, who regarded wherever they settled as a Zion center place, a promised land given to them by God. Non-Mormons (be they Missourians or Indians), they insisted, would have to accept Mormon colonization. When they encountered resistance, they naturally viewed themselves as the wronged party.

The Goshutes of Tooele were much less powerful and wealthy than the dominant tribe in Utah, the Utes, who lived in central Utah and Colorado, and had some Plains Indians cultural traits, such as possession of the horse.²¹ North of Salt Lake Valley, the

Shoshoni lived in northern Utah, Idaho, and Wyoming,²² and were also in the Plains Indian category.

In the generations before contact with whites, two groups had apparently been driven away from the main Ute tribes into territory that was less bountiful than central Utah: the Goshutes, in Tooele west of Salt Lake City, and extending west into present-day Nevada; and the southern Paiutes, in southern Utah, again extending southwest into Nevada, Arizona, and California.²³ Both the Goshutes and the Paiutes were known as “Diggers” because they dug for roots, often in desert conditions.²⁴ Rabbits, lizards, groundhogs, insects, and seeds were also among their food staples. Sometimes, but apparently rarely, the Goshutes would kill an antelope. Neither group used horses as a general rule; some sources state that the Paiutes were in such a state of perpetual hunger that they would eat any horses that fell into their hands. Other sources state that the Goshutes did not keep horses because they would have eaten the grasses that the Goshutes depended upon for their own survival.²⁵

Adding to the oppressed states of the Goshutes and Paiutes was the fact that the Utes would raid into their territories, capture women and children, and sell them to the residents of New Mexico; occasionally they would trade for these children. Goshute Indians told one of the early Grantsville settlers, Harrison Severe, that “about twenty years before the white men came, that Indians from the south [Utes] came among them, killing many of the men and stealing their women and children, and that many of the Indians starved and froze to death. After this massacre the [Tooele Goshute] Indians moved to the west of Cedar Mountains,” into the even more inhospitable desert.²⁶

The above outline of Utah tribes is roughly correct, but many complexities blur clear lines of demarcation. The Pahvants, a band of the Utes who lived by Sevier Lake in modern Millard County in midwestern Utah, apparently had an alliance with the Goshutes in the north and the Paiutes in the south. Some central Utah Utes intermarried with Goshutes. The fullest description we have of the Ute chief Black Hawk, who later led the Black Hawk War (1865–72), was written in 1859 by James Simpson, another U.S. topographical engineer, who explored the Great Salt Lake Desert of Utah and Nevada and visited the Goshutes there. Black

Hawk, a Ute from Utah Valley south of Salt Lake City, was married to a Goshute woman and was visiting her at the time.²⁷

While the Goshutes thus had ties with the Utes, they also were connected with the Shoshoni to the north. For instance, some authors refer to them as speaking the Shoshoni language. One early Indian missionary, George Washington Bean, described their language as a mixture of Shoshoni and Ute.²⁸ Brigham D. Madsen, a modern authority on the Shoshoni, simply refers to them as the "Goshute Shoshoni."²⁹ Madsen estimates that there were 900 Goshutes in the 1840s.³⁰ They had no strong tribal organization; in the 1840s they were living in "small, basically family groups."³¹

Early observers of the Goshutes were struck by their poverty. As early as 1827, Jedediah Smith, a mountain man and explorer, wrote, "When we found water in some of the rocky hills, we most generally found some Indians who appeared the most miserable of the human race, having nothing to subsist on (nor any clothing), except grass seed, grasshoppers, etc."³² Howard Stansbury described three Goshutes on June 12, 1850:

[One Goshute] was an old man, nearly sixty, quite naked, except an old breech-cloth and a tattered pair of moccasins. His wife was in the same condition precisely, minus the moccasins, with a small buckskin strap over her shoulders in the form of a loop, in which, with its little arms clasped around its mother's neck, sat a female child, four or five years old, without any clothing whatever. She was a fine-looking, intelligent little thing, and as plump as a partridge. . . . I gave them something to eat, and, what I suspect was more welcome, a hearty draught of water. The poor child was almost famished. The old man was armed with a bow and a few arrows, with which he was hunting for ground-squirrels.³³

Clearly, the Goshutes were struggling to survive in a marginal desert environment.

On May 9, 1859, James Simpson wrote a similar description in his diary: "We have to-day seen a number of Go-shoot Indians. They are most wretched-looking creatures, certainly the most wretched I have ever seen, and I have seen great numbers in various portions of our country."³⁴ Both men and women wore a cape made of strips of rabbit skins, which extended just below the hips and offered "but a scant protection to the body." They did not wear leggings or moccasins. Young children wore no clothes at all,

although it was so cold that Simpson's company was still wearing overcoats. The Goshutes subsisted on "rats, lizards, snakes, insects, grass-seed, and roots, and their largest game is the rabbit, it being seldom that they kill an antelope." Perhaps their main weapon, the bow and arrow, was not suited for killing antelope. Guns were rare among the Goshutes. When Simpson visited a Goshute village, the primary game brought in by hunters was "rats"—probably prairie dogs or ground hogs. They also made cakes of seeds and roots.³⁵

The Goshutes lived in wickiups made from "some cedar branches disposed around in the periphery of a circle, about 10 feet in diameter," which served as a wind break.³⁶ They made willow baskets in which they carried or stored water, seeds, and roots.³⁷

According to Simpson, Mormon Indian-translator George Washington Bean described the Goshutes as a break-off from the Ute tribe, though "they are little esteemed by the parent tribe"; despite this, as we have seen, they occasionally intermarried with them. "Fear of capture"—apparently fear of Utes stealing their children—caused them to avoid living close to water. They were, according to Simpson, "a suspicious, secretive set."³⁸

A Mr. Faust, a mail agent, characterized the Goshutes to Simpson as "of a thievish disposition, the mail company having lost by them about 12 head of cattle and as many mules." However, the agent's next statement shows that such thefts might have been a result of the Goshutes' daily struggle for survival: "They steal them for food."³⁹

All of these early descriptions of the Goshutes are written from a non-Indian perspective; they certainly missed some of the dignity, cultural depth, and positive values in the Goshute way of life. Nevertheless, they give early first-hand accounts showing that, in comparison to other Indians, the Goshutes were impoverished, lacked guns and horses, and subsisted on a diet of seeds, roots, and small animals.

Goshute historian Dennis Defa describes Mormon colonization in Tooele as "plac[ing] the Goshutes in a desperate situation. The Indians had long been accustomed to placing their camps near streams and canyons to take advantage of the water and food supply there. . . . These white settlers brought with them the idea

of exclusive use of natural resources and robbed the Goshute of many of the things they needed to survive.”⁴⁰ If it is true that the Goshutes did not keep horses because their grazing would destroy the grass and seeds that were dietary staples, the Mormons’ widespread cattle grazing catastrophically impacted the Goshute environment.⁴¹ The culture clash of white and Indian, and the competition for resources of survival, was inevitable, given the underlying assumptions of both Native American and Mormon communities. Although Brigham Young was comparatively moderate in his dealings with Utah’s Indians, he was an energetic colonizer who saw the intermountain West as the core of the Mormon homeland and endeavored to plant many permanent Mormon settlements throughout the Southwest, at the most strategic and fertile locations possible. The two most marginal groups of Utah Indians—the Goshutes and the Paiutes—were hardest hit by Mormon incursions into their territory.

Though Brigham Young, especially after 1851, and Hamblin typically exercised more restraint with Indians than many white settlers, other Saints shared more typical American cultural views, seeing Indians as uncivilized, dirty, idle, thieving, and indistinguishably bad. Only harsh reprisals, including summary executions, could control them and make them respect Mormon property.

James Dunn, an early local historian of Tooele, shows this demonization of the Indian: “When the mean rascals had the chance they would rather steal than hunt: and that is the reason they went into the wholesale stealing of cattle, both in this valley and Salt Lake Valley until the settlers in both valleys joined together and killed a few of the red thieves; and that helped in a great measure to stop the killing of men and stealing of stock.”⁴² However, the early primary sources flatly contradict this stereotype of the Goshutes as making an easy living based on hunting. Territorial Indian Agent Garland Hurt wrote in 1855: “The Indians claim that we have eaten up their grass and thereby deprived them of its rich crop of seed which is their principal subsistence during winter. They say too that the long guns of the white people have scared away the game and now there is nothing left for them to eat but ground squirrels and pis-ants.”⁴³ Modern Tooele historian George Tripp notes that, in the Mormons’ defense, they

probably had little idea that their increasing farming and livestock grazing were destroying the Goshute winter food supply.⁴⁴

Dunn implies that the Mormon reprisals were carried out to “stop the killing of men”; but the Goshutes killed very few Mormons (none during Jacob Hamblin’s time in Tooele), while Mormons killed a number of Goshutes. In addition to the motivation of hunger for the Goshutes’ “theft,” it is also possible that their cattle raids were not, in their own cultural terms, stealing. Tripp writes, “The Goshutes regarded the land, water and food resources both vegetable and animal as belonging to everyone, not in the sense of communal ownership, but [as] no ownership at all. . . . Therefore, until the Indians were taught otherwise by their Mormon neighbors, livestock running free on the open range was regarded the same as any game animal available to whoever bagged them.” He concludes, “In good years [for the Goshutes] there was usually not much more than just enough food for survival, and in times of scarcity only the strongest survived.”⁴⁵ The early primary sources support this point of view.

Indian Conflicts in Early Tooele

The early “war” with the Goshutes in Tooele, in 1849 and the 1850s, is little known in early Utah history. These Indians were considerably less dangerous and deadly than the well-mounted and more aggressive Utes, although Utes were apparently sometimes involved in the Tooele conflicts. In Tooele, Indians robbed livestock from Mormons, and the Mormons responded with military reprisals. While the loss of livestock was certainly a serious matter to the whites, the reprisals often ended in deaths for the Goshutes.

Mormons were herding cattle in Tooele by 1848, and the first cattle were lost to Indian raids in late February 1849.⁴⁶ These raiders herded the cattle south and east to Utah Valley, suggesting that they were Utes, or Utes and Goshutes working together.

A year later, in the spring of 1850, Indians stole three of Apostle Ezra Taft Benson’s cattle.⁴⁷ More seriously, on February 11, 1851, Indians made off with half of J. J. Willis’s herd—some fifty cattle and horses. A military company of twenty organized in Salt Lake City to pursue the raiders, but a blizzard kept them in the

city. They did not set out until the 19th and returned, apparently without recovering any of the stock, on February 25 and 27.⁴⁸

A month later, on March 19, Phineas Wright, a Mormon Battalion veteran who served as Tooele's military captain, wrote to the leading military figure in Salt Lake City, General Daniel H. Wells, stating that more cattle had been taken from Willis's herd the night before; he asked for reinforcements.⁴⁹ The next day, Indians drove off more cattle belonging to Harrison Severe and James McBride; pursuers found only a few carcasses.⁵⁰ Severe and McBride had to temporarily retreat from their six-month-old settlement at Grantsville.

A month later, the next flare-up in Mormon-Indian relations caused deaths. Jacob Hamblin summarizes: "There was several attempts maid to stop them [the Indian raids] but to no affect. There was one expedition under the command of Capt Porter Rockwell. He took [captured] some 20 or 30 Eutaws nere a fresh Lake 7 or 8 miles from our Settlement. While comeing in an affrey took plase took plase in which one Mr Custer was kiled an Emigrant. The Prisoners maid their escape and fled except 5. They ware taken out and shot."⁵¹

Other sources allow us to fill in important details.⁵² Some non-Mormons were helping Mormons build a dam for Apostle Benson's mill in Richville (northwest of the town of Tooele), when, on about April 21, 1851, Indians stole their horses. The Tooele residents quickly notified authorities in Salt Lake City; on the same day, General Wells sent out a company of volunteers under the leadership of Porter Rockwell, the legendary Mormon gunman, to recover the horses.⁵³ On April 22, the posse, consisting of Salt Lake volunteers, Tooele volunteers, and non-Mormons came to Rush Lake, some seventeen miles southwest of Tooele. They "evidently mistook the route the marauders had taken" and came instead upon a "band of Indians with their familes"—Utes, according to Hamblin and other sources.⁵⁴ They had apparently not been involved in the horse raid;⁵⁵ but Rockwell, in a questionable decision, ordered that thirty should be taken as prisoners to Tooele.⁵⁶ They were not disarmed.

As the group approached Tooele at about twilight, some Indians hung back and began to scatter. The best account of what happened next is written by W. R. Dickinson, one of the non-Mor-

mons working at Benson's mill, in a near-contemporary letter: "Custer [a non-Mormon] . . . spured his horse to git Rounde them. He then puild his revolver pointed at the ingine. Shot. A nother ingine got Custer. I shot the ingine that shot Custer."⁵⁷ In other words, Custer shot at an Indian thinking he may have been escaping; another Indian returned fire, killing Custer; and Dickinson shot the second Indian. Porter Rockwell, in his report to Brigham Young, neglected to mention that Custer fired first, thus shading the narrative to make Custer seem like the victim of an unexpected and unprovoked attack. In a later retrospective account, the story has been embellished further—a typical dynamic in anti-Indian partisan history—to paint the Indians as even more cowardly. "Mr. Custer being a little behind the others, 2 or 3 Indians dropped behind him and shot him in the back."⁵⁸

Evidently the Indians scattered, and Rockwell was able to keep only four or five prisoners.⁵⁹ The next day he and his men took them across the Stansbury Mountains into Skull Valley. They found no horses, and the prisoners stated, apparently with utter truthfulness, that they knew nothing about the theft. Faced with the problem of the captive Indians, Rockwell summarily executed them. Tullidge, in a bit of special pleading that has become notorious, writes, "Rockwell and his men not finding any trace of the stolen horses, deemed it unwise to turn the thieves in their power loose to commit more depredations and perhaps shed the blood of some useful citizens, and they were sacrificed to the natural instincts of self-defense."⁶⁰ This brutal execution of innocent Indians was thus scrubbed clean and turned into "self-defense."

Rockwell may not be the only one to blame for this massacre, as apparently, the early Mormon military sometimes had a policy of "taking no prisoners." On February 9, 1850, Daniel H. Wells wrote to George D. Grant, "Take no hostile Indians as prisoners" and "let none escape but do the work up clean."⁶¹ Thus, killing Indians was not just allowed, but was sometimes ordered. Negotiations were often not even attempted; instead, the adversarial military point of view prevailed, which judged success by body count.

Hamblin remembers that "this act"—presumably Custer's death, not the murder of the Utes—"alarmed the Settlers of Toela. They asked for council." In this council, the Toelans decided to move their homes into a fort arrangement and organize an armed

guard for their livestock and fields.⁶² The fort was built about the middle of May 1851.⁶³ However, as Hamblin writes, even though “we managed in this way for 18 months,” nevertheless the Indians continued “taking our cattle whenever opportunity presented.”⁶⁴

In early summer of 1851, a month or two after the fort was built, Indians rustled about a hundred cattle from Charles White’s herd and drove them through the Stansbury Mountains, past Skull Valley, and into the Cedar Mountains. Fourteen men were sent from Salt Lake City under William McBride on June 13; but driven back by the Indians in Cedar Mountains, they sent for reinforcements and supplies.⁶⁵

On June 21, forty men arrived, supplemented by ten men from Tooele, possibly including Jacob Hamblin.⁶⁶ McBride wrote to Daniel Wells on June 24 asking for “a pound of arsenic” to poison the Indians’ “wells” and strychnine to poison their meat.⁶⁷ It is hard to assess the tone of this request; it may have been only rough, grotesque humor. There is no record that Wells sent any poison to McBride.⁶⁸

On June 25, after “morning prayer was offered to the God of the armies of Isreal by adjutant James Ferguson,” the Mormon party attacked the Indians, caught them by surprise, and killed eight of them, including a woman with a baby. Richard Warburton mentions the baby: “There was one little girl papoose picked up; its mother had been killed (couldn’t tell the squaws from Indians). It was brought into camp and a soldier appointed for its nurse; he fed it on sopped bread and a little suger we had; it grew up to womanhood in Salt Lake.”⁶⁹

Warburton also gives vivid details showing what it was like to participate in an early Tooele Indian campaign in the summer. After the Indians drove the posse out of the canyon in Cedar Mountains, the Mormons crossed Skull Valley “to the east side where we thought we could find water. You must remember that this was in the latter part of July, the heat was intense.” They eventually camped by a little stream. “On the banks of this little stream two human skulls were found, hence, the name of Skull Valley. This place of our camp was badly infested with scorpions and those big tarantulas; shake them out of our bedding in the morning; not very pleasant bed fellows.” The second attack on the Indians occurred at 2:00 P.M., and “The suffering for want of water was fear-

ful; had no canteens; men would [fall] down as if they were shot and lay helpless; had to leave them where they fell." After the raid, one man was so dehydrated that he could not speak.⁷⁰

Thus, in this campaign about eight Indians were killed, including the woman. At this point, the Indians in Tooele had not killed any whites (with the exception of Custer, who had fired first). But the Mormons had taken a typical white view of "Indian problems": the best solution was a quick, harsh attack. It was extreme by Christian or modern standards. The fact that at least eight Indians died while there were no Mormon casualties raises the question of whether there was an actual "battle."

Lieutenant Hamblin

In the Little autobiography, Hamblin says that he served as "first lieutenant" in Captain Phineas Wright's company and made "several expeditions against the thieves, but without accomplishing much good."⁷¹ He left accounts of numerous contacts with Goshutes in Tooele.

Hamblin's first military expedition against Indians is apparently described both in his holograph autobiography and in Little, who says that it took place about a month before March 13, 1852. In Hamblin's autobiography, Wright sent him with fourteen men "to ascertain something with regard to them [the Indians] if possible." However, according to Little, the expedition was Hamblin's idea.⁷² The group rode to Willow Creek (Grantsville), where they learned that a light, presumably an Indian camp, had been seen in the "west mountains" (the Stansbury Mountains). Jacob investigated with Grantsville resident Harrison Severe. At about midnight, they, too, saw the light, and Hamblin quickly organized a dawn raid on the camp. Hamblin sent his men into two groups up parallel canyons to take the camp by surprise. However, according to his autobiography, they found only two families, who ran up the canyon shrieking, expecting to be shot. "We run in a hed of them and they stopt. Thare was several shots fird at them. None took affect. When I herd the schreems of the chirdin I could not bare the thought of killing one of them."⁷³ Apparently, the whites had been intent on killing the Goshutes, but Hamblin's tenderness toward children changed his intent.

In Little's account, Hamblin and his men are halted by a mira-

cle. When they come upon the Indians, “the chief among them sprang to his feet, and stepping towards me, said, ‘I never hurt you, and I do not want to. If you shoot, I will; if you do not, I will not.’” Hamblin continued (in this version), “I was not familiar with their language, but I knew what he said. Such an influence came over me that I would not have killed one of them for all the cattle in Tooele Valley.” In addition to this miracle, Little also portrays a larger group of Indians and details the pain and terror of the flight: “The running of the women and the crying of the children aroused my sympathies, and I felt inspired to do my best to prevent the company from shooting any of them. Some shots were fired, but no one was injured, except that the legs and feet of some of the Indians were bruised by jumping among the rocks.”⁷⁴

In both accounts, Hamblin brings some of the Indians back to Tooele. According to the autobiography, “We brought them home with us gave them p[r]ovisions blankets and treated them k[i]ndley.”⁷⁵ According to Little, Hamblin assured the frightened Indians that that they would be safe. However, in Tooele, “my superior officer”—either John Rowberry or Phineas Wright—“ignored the promise of safety I had given the Indians, and decided to have them shot.” Hamblin announced that he “did not care to live” if he saw the Indians whose safety he had guaranteed “murdered, and as it made but little difference with me, if there were any shot I should be the first. At the same time I placed myself in front of the Indians.” Rowberry or Wright backed down, and the Indians were freed.⁷⁶ Only Little, in Hamblin’s later autobiography, reports this specific incident. One argument for accepting it as reliable is that Mormons then had a policy of executing Indian captives, as the Porter Rockwell incident shows.⁷⁷

Hamblin went on to confess that he came to doubt his non-violent attitude toward the Indians. “From the feelings manifested by the Bishop [Rowberry] and the people generally, I thought that I might possibly be mistaken in the whole affair,” he wrote. “The people had long suffered from the depredations of these Indians, and they might be readily excused for their exasperated feelings, but, right or wrong, a different feeling actuated me.”⁷⁸ Rowberry, in addition to his ecclesiastical office, was a major in the territorial militia.⁷⁹ Phineas Wright, Hamblin’s direct military superior, was Rowberry’s first counselor. From Missouri onward, Mormon

militarism was closely tied to ecclesiastical leadership. Hamblin's autobiography adds, "The manner we had tretd the Lamanites that we had taken prisoners had good influence in that trib[e]. In three months from that time the hole tribe came in and wanted to liv with us and be brothers promiceing to s[t]eel nomore."⁸⁰

This incident shows Hamblin beginning to turn away from the psychology of the Indian fighter for whom Indian deaths are seen as military trophies. Hamblin's sensitivity to the terrified Goshute children seems to have forcibly struck him with their shared humanity. All of these incidents, as well as the actual brutal killings of Goshutes that Hamblin may have witnessed, were steps toward the confrontation with a Goshute on March 13, 1852.

Encounter in the Mountains

Four substantive accounts exist of this confrontation. The most contemporary is a military report written by Captain Phineas Wright, Hamblin's immediate military superior, on March 15, 1852, the last day of the three-day expedition.⁸¹ Since Wright was not part of the expedition, he probably obtained the details from Hamblin. Hamblin tells the story in his holograph autobiography, and Little also includes it.⁸² The fourth account is the autobiography of Thomas Atkin Jr.,⁸³ which may be less reliable than the others. Atkin seems to write as an eyewitness, but he is not listed in the military record mentioned above, although his older brother George is. Either Thomas went on the expedition but was not listed by mistake—Wright may have mistakenly listed George instead of Thomas—or Thomas described the expedition as he heard it from George and others, secondhand.

All of these narratives differ somewhat in purpose and sometimes in details. Both Wright's and Atkin's accounts emphasize military aspects of the incident, while Hamblin's autobiography and Little's account have a more religious focus. I will use the contemporary military report as the main framework, referring to the other accounts when appropriate.

Wright's military report begins: "March the 12th we received an express from Grants vill that the Gosutes Indians were in the Tooile vally fresh tracks being seen also being told by the Indian that lives at Grants ville."⁸⁴ These Indians were identified as "a portion of the same band [who] came again to steel cattle."⁸⁵

This time, according to Little, Rowberry specifically ordered Hamblin “to take another company of men, go after the Indians, to shoot all we found, and bring no more into the settlement.”⁸⁶ The particularity of these orders shows that Rowberry was probably still angered by Hamblin’s taking prisoners and intervening to stop their killing in the previous expedition.

The military report lists the twelve Mormon members of the expedition, not including a friendly Indian, Jack, who accompanied them. Its leader was Jacob Hamblin, “3 Lieut.” Other participants included Jacob’s brother, Oscar; twenty-two-year-old Dudley Leavitt, whose sister, Priscilla, would marry Hamblin in 1857; Ensign Riggs, also twenty-two, who had recently married Jacob’s sister, Adeline, and who later moved to Santa Clara in southern Utah; Cyrus Tolman, one of Tooele’s founders; English convert George Atkin, another Tooele stalwart; and Harrison Severe of Grantsville.

The company set out at midnight.⁸⁷ According to Atkin, they came to Grantsville, “refreshed ourselves and horses,” and set out again before daylight.⁸⁸ At dawn they found the Indians’ trail and followed it about ten miles.⁸⁹ Little reports that the tracks came down to the valley, but then turned back when snow made thievery impossible.⁹⁰ Then the Mormon posse found a large cache of roots that the Indians had buried, and Jack told Hamblin that the Indians would be found at the next water hole.⁹¹

At about 10:00 A.M., the Mormons “came upon the Indians 6 in number camped on the side of the mountain.”⁹² Wright places this camp eighteen miles west of Grantsville, on the east side of the Stansbury Mountains. However, Little identifies it as farther north, “near a large mountain between Tooele and Skull Valleys” while Atkin recalls it as near “the north point of the stansbury range of mountains.”

Wright continues: “The company [of Mormons] [was] discovered by there [their, that is, the Indians’] sentinal in about half a mile before reaching the camp which gave the Indians a chance to scater on the mountain before our men could git to them or Break of[f] there Retreat.”⁹³ The autobiography adds that they were drying themselves by a fire when “we came upon them soudently. They left their legins mogisons and fled among the rocks.”⁹⁴

Hamblin apparently divided his company to pursue the scattering Goshutes and keep them from reaching the mountains.⁹⁵

Jack opened fire on one Indian, who “was skulking behind some rocks” but missed, and the hostile Indian “sprung after Jack with a volley of arrows.”⁹⁶ Jack ran toward Hamblin, who had hidden “behind a rock in a narrow pass.”⁹⁷ Then when the two men were about 25 feet apart, the pursuing Goshute saw Hamblin taking aim at him.⁹⁸

“As I raised my gun to fire the poor fellow begged for mercy,” Hamblin wrote in his autobiography. He was obviously offering to surrender, but Hamblin, under strict orders from Rowberry, “thought it would be a neglect of duty if I let him pass.” Hamblin pulled the trigger—“but my gun mist fire.”⁹⁹ Hamblin’s “cap lock” gun could not be reloaded quickly,¹⁰⁰ and the Goshute, convinced his life was in danger, “as quick as thought . . . threw an arrow at me but fortunately it struck the guard of my gun.” Both men sprang for a stone that lay between them. Hamblin, strong and six foot two, wrested it free. The Goshute leaped backward, then shot three more arrows at Hamblin: one pierced his hat, another whizzed by his head, and still another penetrated Hamblin’s coat but missed his body.¹⁰¹ He hurled the stone at the Indian, hitting him in the chest. As the Goshute reeled backward, Hamblin reloaded and “burnt two more caps at him but my gun would not go, and so he past by.”¹⁰²

Hamblin returned to his company and found that “several of the company had fair shots lost by but their guns mist fire.”¹⁰³ The only white casualty was a slight arrow wound to a single man.¹⁰⁴ “We felt vexed at our first of all our ill success as we killed none of them,”¹⁰⁵ wrote Hamblin, reflecting the military perspective. Similarly, Wright’s report summarizes: “However the rest of the company were Blasting away at them the Best they could and some of the Indians was Badly wounded so supposed by the Blood on the rocks as they followed them some 5 miles. In their flight they left their moccasins all but one and took their flight Barefooted.”¹⁰⁶ Either Wright wanted to emphasize a degree of military success (wounding some of the Indians), or if he was following Hamblin’s details, Jacob had not yet taken a religious view of the expedition.

However, according to Hamblin’s autobiography, he and his

men soon saw divine intercession in their lack of military success: "We ~~finally~~ concluded it was all wri^{ght} that the Lord had youse [use] for them so we returnd home."¹⁰⁷ In subsequent weeks, months, and years, Hamblin's convictions deepened, causing him to revise his sense of mission with regard to Utah's Indians. In the *Little* autobiography, published in 1881, Hamblin writes:

In my subsequent reflections, it appeared evident to me that a special providence had been over us, in this and the two previous expeditions, to prevent us from shedding the blood of the Indians. The Holy Spirit forcibly impressed me that it was not my calling to shed the blood of the scattered remnant of Israel [Americans Indians], but to be a messenger of peace to them. It was also made manifest to me that if I would not thirst for their blood, I should never fall by their hands. The most of the men who went on this last expedition, also received an impression that it was wrong to kill these Indians.¹⁰⁸

This miraculous "guarantee" of safety, contingent on his own peaceful intentions, became a significant psychological support for Hamblin in his future relations with all Native Americans.

Conclusion

How soon after the actual confrontation in the mountains did Hamblin's "conversion" to nonviolence take place? Did he receive the realization that he should not kill Indians quite soon after the incident, or did it take months or years to crystallize? The "conversion" is first explicitly attested in *Little*, the 1881 version of Hamblin's autobiography. But the autobiography, written after 1854, possibly some twenty to thirty years earlier than *Little*, contains a suggestion of the conversion.

However, in *Little*, the next incident recounted suggests that Hamblin was not immediately fully converted. He had one more brush with danger in Tooele, in which he tried to kill, and was nearly killed by, an Indian named "Big Foot." This story is found only in *Little*.¹⁰⁹ Once again, Hamblin was part of an expedition (he calls it the "fourth" expedition) that surprised a camp of Goshutes in the mountains. Once again, he witnessed the Indian women and children fleeing in terror, cutting their feet on rocks and leaving trails of blood. And again, this piteous sight moved

him to work with Indians “in a different way,” not through military reprisal and massacre.

However, when he saw the tracks of the Indian leader “Big Foot,” he felt that this was a very dangerous Indian who perhaps “deserved killing.” As he followed the trail through the snow along high ridges, he came to a cedar with low foliage, but instead of investigating it, “a feeling came over me not to go near it.” After he ascended a steep hill and could look back at the tree, he saw that “no trail had passed on.” He circled around to get the Indian in sight, “but he in some way slipped off unobserved.” Later, Hamblin came to know Big Foot personally, and the Indian told him that if he had walked up to the cedar tree, he would have put an arrow in Hamblin “up to the feather.” Again, Hamblin felt that a divine providence kept him from shedding the blood of an Indian, and from being killed. “I thanked the Lord, as I often felt to do, for the revelations of His Spirit,” wrote Hamblin.¹¹⁰ Thus, it is probable that Hamblin’s non-violence crystallized in the months or years following the incident in the mountains in which his gun would not shoot, not immediately after it.¹¹¹

While Hamblin’s miraculous safety among Indians cannot be proven historically or scientifically, he himself deeply believed in it. That conviction accounts for his willingness to go on many expeditions, often alone, among hostile natives, far from the safety of white settlements. In his own view, he was not risking his life. Hamblin relied on this “promise” that he would not die at the hands of Indians when visiting infuriated Navajos in 1874.¹¹² Martha Cragun Cox, a woman who knew him when she was a child, mentioned to him that two brothers who had gone with him on the mission to the Navajos had said that a “braver man never lived, than Jacob Hamblin”; but according to her, Hamblin strongly denied this characterization, saying: “I had the assurance from the Holy Spirit—a promise given direct from the heavens that so long as I did not desire to shed the blood of the Lamanite or did not shed the blood of any, my blood should not be shed by them. It was not so hard for me to be brave when I knew they could not kill me.”¹¹³

Hamblin’s conversion to nonviolence is all the more remarkable given its setting in a period when Mormons tended to deal harshly with Indians—during the time of Howard Christy’s

“mailed fist,” when some Mormons carried out punitive raids on Indians and executed Indian prisoners. It is worth noting that Hamblin’s nonviolent feelings and reluctance to kill put him in explicit rebellion against his local military and ecclesiastical leaders, John Rowberry and Phineas Wright. The misfiring of Hamblin’s gun, Hamblin’s interpretation of the incident as an explicit promise of protection, and his conversion to pacifism, present a stark contrast to other Mormons’ willingness to employ harsh militaristic solutions while confronting the vast culture gap that yawned between white and Indian in early Utah.

Furthermore, although this confrontation was a conversion experience of sorts for Hamblin, he had demonstrated sympathy for Indians in military expeditions before this one. Thus, the conversion was a culmination rather than a complete about-face. Nevertheless, his feelings of doubt about his own nonviolence, due to criticism from his military-ecclesiastical leaders, show that he was conflicted on the issue before the conversion.

Hamblin’s future interactions with Utah’s Indians would partake of all the tragic ambiguities of the broader story of Mormon dealings with Indians.¹¹⁴ His chief loyalty was to Brigham Young, the great colonizer, who sought to populate the intermountain West with his Zion-seeking people. Granted, Young developed moderate policies toward Utah’s Indians compared to many other Western leaders. Still, he directed Mormon settling efforts that appropriated Indian homelands and water resources and, as inevitable side effects, disrupted Indian ecosystems. Nevertheless, Hamblin’s efforts to avoid bloodshed and use diplomacy in Mormon-Indian relations probably saved many lives and possibly avoided massacres of Indians in southern Utah and Arizona.

Notes

1. James Little, ed., *Jacob Hamblin, A Narrative of His Personal Experience, as a Frontiersman, Missionary to the Indians and Explorer* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1881), 28; see also Hamblin, “Autobiography,” holograph, after 1854, MS 1951, fd. 2, Historical Department Library, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter LDS Church History Library). For this and other similar documents, I have added terminal punctuation and initial capitals where necessary.

2. Little, *Jacob Hamblin*, 28.

3. For example, see Parley P. Pratt, quoted in Juanita Brooks, ed., *Journal of the Southern Indian Mission: Diary of Thomas D. Brown*, Western Text Society, No. 4 (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1973), 34–35, May 21, 1854: “They [the Indians] have suffered hell enough here and this for generations because of the rebellion of their fathers . . . abuse & suffering has followed their rejection of the Priesthood, and such will ever be the reward of them that follow a similar course & it will be on their children after them.” Mormons sometimes associated Indians with the Gadianton robbers, a “secret combination,” in the Book of Mormon—close to the outer limits for wickedness in Book of Mormon terms. See W. Paul Reeve, *Making Space on the Western Frontier: Mormons, Miners, and Southern Paiutes* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 2006), 102–4.

4. Howard A. Christy, “Open Hand and Mailed Fist: Mormon-Indian Relations in Utah, 1847–52,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 46 (Summer 1978): 235.

5. For positive views of Brigham Young and the Utah Indians, see Dale Morgan, “The Administration of Indian Affairs in Utah, 1851–1858,” *Pacific Historical Review* 17 (November 1948): 383–409; Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969), 145–60; Juanita Brooks, “Indian Relations on the Mormon Frontier,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 12 (1944): 1–48; Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Utah: 1540–1886* (San Francisco: The History Company, 1889), 471; Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon and Sons Co., 1892), 1:425. Young’s maxim is quoted in Brooks, “Indian Relations,” 4, and Whitney, *History of Utah*, 1:425.

6. I am speaking specifically of massacres, such as the Sand Creek Massacre in Colorado in 1864, distinguishing massacres from actual battles or wars, though sometimes it is difficult to draw a clear line between the two. Many women and children were killed in the Sand Creek Massacre, which had virtually no military purpose. Nevertheless, Mormons often were guilty of unduly punitive expeditions against Indians or unwarranted executions of Indians. Mormon military actions against the Utes in Utah County in 1849 and 1850 are a good example. See Christy, “Open Hand and Mailed Fist,” 221–25.

7. John Alton Peterson, *Utah’s Black Hawk War* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1999), 7.

8. Christy, “Open Hand and Mailed Fist,” 217–35. In the same camp are Floyd A. O’Neil and Stanford J. Layton, “Of Pride and Politics: Brigham Young as Indian Superintendent,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 46 (Summer 1978): 237–50; and Howard A. Christy, “‘What Virtue There Is in Stone’ and Other Pungent Talk on the Early Utah Frontier,” *Utah His-*

torical Quarterly 59 (Summer 1991): 301–19. John Alton Peterson gives Young a mixed review; see *Utah's Black Hawk War*, 7, 12–13, 69–70, 383–86.

9. Ronald W. Walker, "Toward a Reconstruction of Mormon and Indian Relations, 1847–1877," *BYU Studies* 29 (Fall 1989): 21–42.

10. O'Neil and Layton, "Of Pride and Politics," 237.

11. Church Historian's Office, General Church Minutes, 1839–77 (CR 100 318), January 31, 1850, in Richard E. Turley Jr., ed., *Selected Collections from the Archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 2 vols., DVD (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 2002), 1:18; hereafter cited as *Selected Collections*. See also Church Historian's Office. History of the Church, 1839–ca. 1882 (CR 100 102), January 31, 1850, in *Selected Collections*, Vol. 1, DVD 2, and the discussion in Christy, "Open Hand and Mailed Fist," 224.

12. Brigham Young to Daniel H. Wells, February 14, 1850, Utah State Archives, Territorial Militia Records, 1849–77, Series 2210 (hereafter Territorial Militia Records), No. 1312; see also discussion in Christy, "Open Hand and Mailed Fist," 224 note 30. For the rhetoric of extermination in white-Indian relations, see Clifford E. Trafzer and Joel R. Hyer, eds., *Exterminate Them: Written Accounts of the Murder, Rape, and Slavery of Native Americans during the California Gold Rush, 1848–1868* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1999); Peterson, *Utah's Black Hawk War*, 383. Peterson also comments on the tragic irony of "extermination," since the Saints had been driven from Missouri under an extermination order.

13. Howard Stansbury, November 6, 1849, diary entry in his *Exploration and Survey of the Valley of Great Salt Lake of Utah, including a Reconnaissance of a New Route through the Rocky Mountains* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1852), 118.

14. "Memoirs of George A. Smith," July 27, 1847, in George A. Smith Papers, 1834–1875 (MS 1322), Box 1, fd. 2, *Selected Collections*, 1:32.

15. Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (a chronological scrapbook of typed entries and newspaper clippings, 1830–present), July 17, 1849. The Journal History is available in *Selected Collections*, volume 2.

16. Quoted in George W. Tripp, "Tooele's First Four Years 1849–1853," in Orrin P. Miller, *History of Tooele County*, 2 vols. (Tooele, Utah: Tooele Transcript Bulletin, 1990), 2:78.

17. Janet Anderson and Ella Brown, "Stansbury Mountain Canyon—Grantsville Division," in Kate Carter, comp., *Treasures of Pioneer*

History, 6 vols (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1952–57), 6:479; see also *Journal History*, February 27, 1849.

18. Andrew Jenson, comp., “Tooele Stake History,” 3, LDS Church Library; (no author), “Mormon Colonization in the West,” in Kate Carter, comp., *Heart Throbs of the West*, 12 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1939–51), 3:283.

19. Allan Kent Powell, “Cowboys and the Cattle Industry,” “Utah History to Go,” http://historytogo.utah.gov/utah_chapters/pioneers_and_cowboys/cowboysandthecattleindustry.html (accessed on October 9, 2007). See also Donald D. Walker, “The Cattle Industry of Utah, 1850–1900: An Historical Profile,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 32 (Summer 1964): 184; Charles S. Peterson, “Grazing in Utah: A Historical Perspective,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 57 (Fall 1989): 300–319.

20. Hamblin, *Autobiography*, 53–54.

21. For introductions to the Goshutes, see Dennis R. Defa, “Goshute Indians,” in Allan Kent Powell, ed., *Utah History Encyclopedia* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994), 228–29; Dennis R. Defa, “The Goshute Indians of Utah,” in Forrest S. Cuch, ed., *A History of Utah’s American Indians* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Division of Indian Affairs / Utah State Division of History, 2000), 73–122; James B. Allen and Ted J. Warner, “The Gosiute Indians in Pioneer Utah,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 39 (Spring 1971): 162–77. For the Utes, see Robert S. McPherson, “Ute Indians—Southern,” in Powell, *Utah History Encyclopedia*, 609–11; Clifford Duncan, “The Northern Utes of Utah,” in Cuch, *A History of Utah’s American Indians*, 167–224.

22. Mae Parry, “The Northwestern Shoshone,” in Cuch, *A History of Utah’s American Indians*, 25–72.

23. For an introduction to the southern Paiutes, see Martha C. Knack, *Boundaries Between: The Southern Paiutes, 1775–1995* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001).

24. Peterson, *Utah’s Black Hawk War*, 86.

25. Robert S. MacPherson, “Setting the Stage: Native America Revisited,” in Cuch, *A History of Utah’s American Indians*, 17 note 16; Defa, “Goshute Indians,” 228.

26. Mildred Mercer Allred, ed., *History of Tooele County* (Salt Lake City: Tooele County Daughters of Utah Pioneers), 300: “The Goshiute Indians had no horses at the time the white men arrived.”

27. James H. Simpson, *Report of Explorations across the Great Basin of the Territory of Utah for a Direct Wagon-route from Camp Floyd to Genoa, in Carson Valley* (1876; rpt., Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1983), 51–52, entry of May 8, 1859.

28. *Ibid.*, May 9, 1859, 52.

29. Brigham D. Madsen, "Shoshoni Indians (Northwestern Bands)," in *Utah History Encyclopedia*, 497–98. See also Peterson, *Utah's Black Hawk War*, 84 note 17.

30. Madsen, "Shoshoni Indians," 497.

31. George W. Tripp, "Tooele Indians," in Miller, *History of Tooele County*, 2:82; Simpson, *Report of Explorations*, May 9, 1859, 54.

32. A. M. Woodbury, "Route of Jedediah Smith in 1826 from the Great Salt Lake to the Colorado River," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 4 (1931): 45.

33. Stansbury, *Exploration and Survey*, 202-3.

34. Simpson, *Report of Explorations*, 52; see also Miller, *History of Tooele County*, 2:49. These were Goshutes living near the present Utah-Nevada state line.

35. Simpson, *Report of Explorations*, May 9, 1859, 52.

36. *Ibid.*

37. *Ibid.*, 54.

38. *Ibid.*

39. *Ibid.*, 53.

40. Defa, "The Goshute Indians of Utah," 97.

41. Jacob Hamblin acknowledged this fact. Jacob Hamblin, Letter to Brigham Young, September 19, 1873, Brigham Young Collection, CR 1234, LDS Church Library; Little, *Jacob Hamblin*, 87–88.

42. Article from *Tooele Transcript*, January 30 and February 6, 1903, quoted in Jenson, "Tooele Stake History," 12–14.

43. Garland Hurt, Letter to Brigham Young, August 27, 1855, *Nevada Observer* website, <http://www.nevadaobserver.com/> (accessed October 9, 2007).

44. Tripp, "Tooele Indians," 82.

45. *Ibid.*

46. *Journal History*, February 27, 1849; Tripp, "Tooele's First Four Years," 71–72.

47. Jenson, "Tooele Stake History," 9.

48. "Valley Journal," *Deseret News*, February 22, 1851, 6; *Journal History*, February 11, 19, 25, 27, 1851. See also George D. Grant, Letter [to Daniel H. Wells], February 22, 1851, Territorial Militia Records, No. 1324.

49. Phineas Wright, Letter to Daniel H. Wells, March 19, 1851, Territorial Militia Records, No. 107. For Wright, see Tripp, "Tooele's First Four Years," 71–74; Edward W. Tullidge, *Tullidge's Histories, Vol. 2: Containing the History of All the Northern, Eastern, and Western Counties of Utah; also the Counties of Southern Idaho* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor, 1889), 86. Wells had been elected major-general of the Utah Nauvoo

Legion in 1849 and was promoted to lieutenant-general in 1852. His military leadership was criticized as unnecessarily harsh at times, but Mormons viewed him as a hero. In 1857 he became a counselor in Brigham Young's First Presidency. Bryant Hinckley, *Daniel Hammer Wells and Events of His Time* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1942).

50. "[Auto]Biography of James McBride, 1818-1881," written in 1874, typescript, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter Perry Special Collections).

51. Hamblin, *Autobiography*, 54-55.

52. Rockwell's report to Brigham Young, *Journal History*, mistakenly placed at April 23, 1850 (it should be 1851). See also Juanita Brooks, ed., *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout, 1844-1861*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Utah Historical Society/University of Utah Press, 1964), 2:398, April 28, 1851; "Indian Depredations," *Deseret News*, May 3, 1851, 4; Tullidge, *Tullidge's Histories*, 2:83; Harold Schindler, *Orrin Porter Rockwell: Man of God, Son of Thunder* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983), 193-96.

53. Daniel H. Wells, Letter to Phineas Wright, April 21, 1851, Territorial Militia Records, No. 111; Schindler, *Orrin Porter Rockwell*, 193-96.

54. Tullidge, *Tullidge's Histories*, 2:83; Hamblin, *Autobiography*, 54-55; *Journal History*, April 22, 1851 ("some thirty Utah Indians"); and W. R. Dickinson, Letter to "folkes," May 29, 1851, typescript, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City ("Utaw indeans").

55. See Tullidge, *Tullidge's Histories*, 2:83: The Mormons "followed them [the horse-thieves], as they supposed, to the west side of Rush Lake, but evidently mistook the route the marauders had taken. However, they there found a band of Indians with their families, took them prisoners and started for Tooele, but without disarming the men." If they "mistook the route" of the marauders, the "band of Indians with their families" would have been the wrong Indians.

56. Orrin Porter Rockwell, report to Brigham Young, April 23, 1851.

57. Dickinson, Letter to "folkes," May 29, 1851; discussed in Schindler, *Orrin Porter Rockwell*, 195. *Journal History*, April 22, 1851, also records that Custer shot first.

58. Mary Ann Weston Maughan, "Autobiography and Journal," in Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 2:381. Tooele historian John Bevan gives another variant of the death, quoted in Tripp, "Tooele Indians," 83. As he tells it, Custer (misnamed "Orsen Baffet") fell asleep in his saddle, then Indians stole his gun and shot him. Both of these late accounts conflict with the much earlier and more first-hand Dickinson account, and with the *Journal History*.

59. Rockwell, Report to Young, April 23, 1851, and the Journal History report four captives; Hamblin, Tullidge, and Stout report five.

60. Tullidge, *Tullidge's Histories*, 2:84; see also Christy, "What Virtue There Is in Stone," 305 note 11. This execution is understandably omitted from some retellings of the story, but the Hamblin autobiography supports it.

61. Special Orders No. 10, February 9, 1850, in Territorial Militia Records, emphasis Wells's; see commentary in Christy, "What Virtue There Is in Stone," 304.

62. Hamblin, Autobiography, 55.

63. Esaias Edwards, Autobiography, 35, written before 1897, holograph, Perry Special Collections.

64. Hamblin, Autobiography, 55–56.

65. Daniel H. Wells, Letter to William McBride, June 13, 1851, Territorial Militia Records, No. 120; William McBride, Letter to Daniel H. Wells, June 19, 1851, Territorial Militia Records, No. 1327; Tullidge, *Tullidge's Histories*, 2:84.

66. Daniel H. Wells, Letter to William McBride, June 20, 1851, Territorial Militia Records, No. 126; William McBride, Letter to Daniel H. Wells, June 24, 1851, Territorial Militia Records, No. 1328.

67. William McBride, Letter to Daniel H. Wells, June 24, 1851, Territorial Militia Records, No. 1328.

68. Will Bagley, *Blood of the Prophets: Brigham Young and the Massacre at Mountain Meadows* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), 110, argues that the tone is serious and that Mormons did poison some Indians' wells and meat.

69. William McBride, "Minutes of the Campaign against the Hostile Indians in June 1851," 4, Territorial Militia Records, No. 1326. The *Deseret News*, as quoted in Allred, *History of Tooele County*, 217, gives the death count as eleven. Tullidge, *Tullidge's Histories*, 2:84, has nine. Esaias Edwards, Autobiography, 35, has "about ten." According to Richard Warburton, "When the body of men came up there was some shooting done and about 8 Indians made good," including the baby's mother. Richard Warburton, *Reminiscences*, 1907, typescript, 3, in "Tooele Histories," MS 8326, LDS Church Library.

70. Warburton, *Reminiscences*, 3.

71. Little, *Jacob Hamblin*, 26.

72. "The following winter I asked for a company of men to make another effort to hunt up the Indians." Little, *Jacob Hamblin*, 27.

73. Hamblin, Autobiography, 56–58.

74. Little, *Jacob Hamblin*, 27.

75. Hamblin, Autobiography, 58.

76. Little, *Jacob Hamblin*, 27. Something similar happened to Hamblin's future brother-in-law, Dudley Leavitt. According to Juanita Brooks, *On the Ragged Edge: The Life and Times of Dudley Leavitt* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1973), 46-47, 53, the young man brought an Indian prisoner to Tooele and refused to allow him to be shot. Brigham Young, contacted by letter (or dispatch), "told them to feed the Indian and let him go." This episode shows the moderate side of Brigham Young.

77. See also Christy, "Open Hand and Mailed Fist," 225.

78. Little, *Jacob Hamblin*, 27-28. John Rowberry was actually the branch president; Tooele Ward had not yet been organized. Myrl H. Porter, "Tooele County," in Carter, *Heart Throbs of the West*, 10:45.

79. Daniel H. Wells and James Ferguson, Letter to Officers of the Nauvoo Legion, August 1, 1857, quoted in Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 14:361-62.

80. Hamblin, *Autobiography*, 60-61.

81. Captain Phineas Wright, Military report to James Ferguson, Adjutant General, Salt Lake City, March 15, 1852, Territorial Militia Records, No. 1332. I am indebted to Will Bagley for alerting me to this source. Ferguson was another Mormon Battalion veteran.

82. Hamblin, *Autobiography*, 58-61; Little, *Jacob Hamblin*, 28-29.

83. "[Auto]Biography of Thomas Atkin," 29-30, photocopy of holograph, before 1919, Perry Special Collections.

84. Wright, Military report, March 15, 1852.

85. Hamblin, *Autobiography*, 58.

86. Little, *Jacob Hamblin*, 28.

87. Wright, Military report, March 15, 1852.

88. Atkin, *Autobiography*, 29-30.

89. Hamblin, *Autobiography*, 58-59.

90. Little, *Jacob Hamblin*, 28.

91. Hamblin, *Autobiography*, 58-59.

92. Wright, Military report, March 15, 1852.

93. *Ibid.*

94. Hamblin, *Autobiography*, 59.

95. Little, *Jacob Hamblin*, 28.

96. Wright, Military report, March 15, 1852.

97. Little, *Jacob Hamblin*, 28.

98. Wright, Military report, March 15, 1852.

99. Hamblin, *Autobiography*, 59.

100. The cap, which would be set off by the hammer, contained the priming charge that would explode and set off the gunpowder in the

barrel. Charles Edward Chapel, *Guns of the Old West* (New York: Coward-McCann, 1961), 83, 69–71.

101. Little, *Jacob Hamblin*, 28.

102. Hamblin, Autobiography, 59–60. Wright, Military report, March 15, 1852, describes the confrontation thus: “Jack runing towards Lieut Hamblin who was watching the movements and Leveled at his Brest on the aproch of the Indian which did not see Hamblin untill he got within 25 ft of of him. When Hamblins gun mised fire the Indian then Directed his arrows at him and kept comeing closter at which Hamblin gathered a rock and hit the Indian full drive in the Brest which made him turn on his heels and run. This gave Hamblin time to put on another cap on his gun and fire at him on the run but his cap Busted the second time and the Indian got away.” Atkin attributes the misfires to the damp weather, not to defective caps.

103. Hamblin, Autobiography, 60.

104. Little, *Jacob Hamblin*, 28.

105. Hamblin, Autobiography, 60.

106. Wright, Military report, March 15, 1852. Atkins, Autobiography, 29–30, also emphasized the military success: “Our short expedition checked their depredations for a while.”

107. Hamblin, Autobiography, 60.

108. Little, *Jacob Hamblin*, 28.

109. *Ibid.*, 29.

110. *Ibid.*

111. Hamblin’s later experiences in southern Utah obviously shaped his attitudes toward the Native Americans further, but this article necessarily focuses on Hamblin in Tooele.

112. Little, *Jacob Hamblin*, 119.

113. “Biographical Sketch of Martha Cox,” 103, finished in 1928, photocopy of holograph, Perry Special Collections.

114. Despite Hamblin’s status as a folk hero among Mormons, he was human and had limitations, as some historians have acknowledged. For example, Charles S. Peterson, “Jacob Hamblin, Apostle to the Lamanites and the Indian Mission,” *Journal of Mormon History* 2 (1975): 21–34, saw the Indian Mission (which Hamblin epitomized) as falling short of its spiritual objectives, the conversion of Indians. To compensate, Mormons emphasized the Indian Mission’s inarguable practical successes.