Mormon-Indian Relations as Viewed Through the Walker War

H. Bartley Heiner
Brigham Young University - Provo

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/etd
Part of the Indigenous Studies Commons, and the Mormon Studies Commons

BYU ScholarsArchive Citation
Heiner, H. Bartley, "Mormon-Indian Relations as Viewed Through the Walker War" (1955). All Theses and Dissertations. 4782.
https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/etd/4782

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by BYU ScholarsArchive. It has been accepted for inclusion in All Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of BYU ScholarsArchive. For more information, please contact scholarsarchive@byu.edu, ellen amatangelo@byu.edu.
MORMON-INDIAN RELATIONS AS VIEWED
THROUGH THE WALKER WAR

A Thesis
Submitted to
the Department of History
Brigham Young University
Provo, Utah

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the degree of
Master of Science

by 199049
H. Bartley Heiner
July 1955
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Dr. Richard D. Poll, Dr. Jay B. Hunt, and Professor Gustive O. Larson have been especially helpful in criticizing and organizing the textual material of this thesis. The writer wishes to acknowledge their assistance and helpful suggestions.

For their willing cooperation and kind assistance in gathering the materials for this thesis, the writer is grateful to the library staffs of the Church Historian's Office and the Brigham Young University.

He is also indebted to his wife, LaVerne Farr Heiner, for her understanding and patience with the problems involved in the preparation of this work.

H. B. H.

July 1955
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS</th>
<th>v</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Chapter**

**I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND**

- Introduction
- The Ute Indians
- Chief Walker's Background
- Brigham Young's Indian Policy
- Previous Clashes with the Indians

**II. CAUSES OF THE WALKER WAR**

- Diminishing Game on a Receding Hunting Ground
- The Doctrine of Retaliation
- Minor Grievances
- Traffic in Indian Slavery

**III. DIFFICULTIES AND DISTURBANCES EARLY IN 1853**

- Aggravation of Difficulties
- Last Minute Peace Attempts by the Indians
- Beginning of Open Hostility

**IV. STRATEGY OF THE WALKER WAR**

- Complications at the Death of
  - Brigham Young's Policy During the War
- Preparations of the Settlers
- Indian Depredations

**V. CONCLUSION OF THE WAR**

- Early Proposals of Peace
- The Peace Treaty at Chicken Creek
- Walker's Implication in the War
- Losses and Expenses of the War
- The Aftermath

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

**APPENDIX**

- 100
- 105
# LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Illustration</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Photostatic Copies of Original Records of Losses Sustained by the Pioneers in Indian Depredations, 1850-1854</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Introduction

History shows that the first white visitors among the Indians were nearly always received with courtesy and kindness, but the passage of years changed the attitude of the Indians from one of courtesy to one of hostility. This change was due in part to the inconsistencies in the policies among different white men, for the policies of the white men were individualistic, each having his own. The Indians, on the other hand, had a common tribal policy to which their loyalty was proverbial. The injustices heaped upon them by the individualistic greed of the whites—who looked hungrily upon Indian lands in the push westward—repeatedly disillusioned the natives. Puzzled by the ever-changing schemes to dispossess them of their lands, the Indians fought the many attempts to civilize them to white men's ways. Thus, they became cynical, distrustful, and suspicious of the words and actions of the intruders.

It was with these inhospitable feelings that the Ute Indians watched the advance of the Utah pioneers upon their hunting grounds in 1847. Again they could see the threat of being displaced from the land and the natural resources which meant life and happiness to them.
Many of the Utah pioneers were kindly disposed toward the Indians. Their religion made them so. There were those, on the other hand, who lacked the spirit of brotherly love toward the Indians. These were they who were not always in harmony with Church-Indian policy. Nevertheless, there were many who were sympathetic with the problems of this race of savages. As a result of their study of the *Book of Mormon*, they considered the Indians' forefathers as enlightened people. With understanding hearts they hoped for the day when they might become the saviors of these lost aborigines by converting them to their religion and teaching them a better way of life. To fully understand the pioneer's attitude toward the Indian, one must understand the pioneer's basic religious philosophy concerning the origin of the *Book of Mormon*. In this philosophy lies the key to much of the history of the Indian problem in Utah.

**The Ute Indians**

The Ute Indians occupied at one time the entire central and western part of Colorado and the eastern part of Utah. It is difficult to be exact concerning their number in the Utah Territory in pioneer times. To obtain greater grants from the government, the Indian agents over the years exaggerated their numbers to great proportions. The account of Brigham Young as ex-officio Superintendent of Indian Affairs is considered to be the most accurate account available of the Indian population. Reporting to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1865, he estimated the number to be twelve thousand. This is probably
the first census taken of the Indians in the Territory of Utah.¹

These Indians were scattered in small groups over a large territory. The arid land and the niggardness of nature had prevented them from organizing into a confederation of tribes. Nature would not support them in large groups. It was only in times of plenty and at certain seasons of the year that they would gather together in groups, particularly when fish was plentiful. In group life they lived together in collections of families or sometimes as a single family lodge, depending on the food supply. Each group was ruled by some petty chief who, out of fear, was usually subordinate to a greater chief. A chief's greatness was generally measured by his successful forays for food, horses, or slaves. The scarcity of food and the hardships of life precluded any large institutional organization.² Thus, they became victims of the arid land about them, forced to lower their standards of living as food became more scarce. Big game was diminishing, and to supplement their food supply they resorted to eating vegetable roots, berries, seeds, fish, and insects.

The Ute Indians were a versatile people who changed with the conditions about them. The women of the tribe were burdened with the work of the camp, while the men became the

²Ibid., p. 365.
warriors and the hunters. In times of nature's poverty, when the hunt for food became of prime importance, the Indians could adjust themselves to the gnawings of hunger and to hardship and fatigue. In time of war they could become transformed into courageous and skilled fighters, who, being experts with the rifle, left their victims dead with the first shot.

Coming into the possession of horses at an early date was a boon to the Ute Indians. It gave them a means of searching for food over a wider area. It also made them more aggressive and warlike in nature, and kept them supplied with better arms and equipment. To obtain these horses they would prey upon the Spaniards in the South. Mounted upon these well-limbed steeds, the Indians made a formidable foe to encounter.

As was true of the nature of most Indians, the Utes were revengeful in disposition, never forgetting an injury. This made them hard to pacify. They believed in the doctrine of retaliation and made every effort to enforce it to the last detail. When the offender was not available, revenge was

---


2"Journal History," July 1, 1850. Church Historian's Library, Salt Lake City. The "Journal History" is a collection of transcripts compiled by successive official secretaries and historians of the Church.


inflicted upon another or upon his group. This practice caused many innocent to suffer, both whites and Indians. The Gunnison massacre is but one example of innocent men dying as a result of this philosophy.

Hence, the arrival of the Utah pioneers in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake in 1847 was watched with suspicion by the Ute Indian Nation. Old Chief Soweite, the recognized leader of the Utah band, had first-hand information of the movements and intentions of the pioneers, for his alert scouts kept constant watch along the trail. This information caused the old chief to check any act of hostility toward these invaders.

Tullidge writes that Chief Soweite and the war chief, Walker, held a council in Spanish Fork Canyon in the latter part of July or the beginning of August, 1847. The purpose of this meeting was to adopt a policy of action toward these new settlers. As a result of this discussion, the council was divided between the policies proposed by these two chiefs. Chief Soweite advised a policy of peace because he felt that the Mormons wanted peace. He likened their situation to that of the Ute Nation which had been driven into the Rocky Mountains for security. In this respect he felt kindly toward them and the record shows that during his lifetime this old chief never took part in any war against the Mormon settlements. However, Chief Walker held out for immediate attack and implied that Chief Soweite was a coward. For this accusation Tullidge
states that Soweite flogged Walker with his riding whip. As Tullidge does not indicate the source of his information, it is difficult to know just how authentic this narrative is. In this incident, however, there is a demonstration of the conflict existing in the Indian mind as a result of many years of contact with the white man. In the years to follow it flared forth in actions of hostility toward the pioneers or occasionally in offerings of peace as the Indian's better nature prevailed.

**Chief Walker's Background**

Although Soweite was recognized as leader of the Ute Indians, Walker, the war chief--because of his successful forays into the Mexican states for horses and his traffic in Indian slavery--was both feared and famous. Thomas L. Kane described him as a fine figure of a man, intelligent, a crack shot, and an excellent horseman, who always dressed himself and his horse in the finest of Indian trimmings. He was clever, dramatic, spoke Spanish and several Indian languages, and was eloquent in the use of pantomime or sign language which Indians used to communicate with each other. William Lewis Manly describes the dramatic sign language which Walker

---


2. Swinn Harris Heap, quoted in Gustive O. Larsen, "Walkara's Half Century," The Western Humanities Review, VI (1952), 239.

3. Daniel W. Jones, Forty Years among the Indians (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor, 1890), p. 50.

used to direct him to the Mormon settlements as follows:

I asked him first how many "sleeps" or days it was from there to "Mormonee." In answer he put out his left hand and then put two fingers of his right astride of it, making both go up and down with the same motion of a man riding a horse. Then he shut his eyes and laid his head on his hand three times, by which I understood that a man could ride to the Mormon settlement in three sleeps or four days.¹

According to Kane, Walker was known by various names, such as "Hawk of the Mountains," or "King of the Mountains,"² but his real name was "Wakara," "Woker," or "Wahker," which became corrupted in English as "Walker." This name, meaning "yellow," was applied to him because of his love for yellow ornaments of copper, brass, or gold with which he decorated himself.

James Linforth, who wrote an account of his travels through the Utah settlements during this period, claims that Walker came from a large polygamous family. Six of his brothers—Tabby, Arropine, Peteetneet, Ankawakets, Sanpitch (Sanpete), and Ammon (Amorah)—were also chiefs.³ The father of this group met an untimely death because he refused to participate with the Timpanogoes Ute Indians in a fight with the Snake Indians. He was shot in the back while smoking at his campfire. Walker and his brother Arropine avenged his

---

¹William Lewis Manly, Death Valley in '49 (San Jose, California: The Pacific Tree and Vine Co., 1894), p. 91.

²"Journal History," March 26, 1850.

³Frederick Piercy and James Linforth, Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley (Liverpool: Franklin D. Richards, 1855), p. 105.
death by shooting four Timpanogoos Indians. The early death of his father placed Walker in command of his father's band.\(^1\)

Tradition gives Walker certain religious experiences which seem to have had some influence in controlling his life. It states that Walker suffered death during an illness while in the Uintah Valley, and that his spirit went to the happy hunting ground where it remained out of his body for a day and a night. In this paradise he talked with God and mingled with angels dressed in white. God gave him a new name, "Pannacarra-Quinker," which signifies "Iron Twister," and told him to return to the earth again where some white friends would come to see him. Two years later the Mormons came into Salt Lake Valley. He must have believed that their arrival was a fulfillment of his vision, for he boasted that he had never shed the blood of a white man.\(^2\) Parley P. Pratt indicates that there were other occasions when dreams definitely had some influence in determining his conduct.\(^3\) These occurrences might account for his unpredictable nature. He seemed to have been a creature torn between his savage instincts and his consciousness of supernatural powers. He had personally experienced such powers, and also had seen them operating in the lives of the pioneers.\(^4\)

With the coming of the Mormons it appears that many of

\(^1\)Ibid.  \(^2\)Ibid.  \(^3\)"Journal History," December 7, 1849.  
\(^4\)Howard R. Driggs, "Utah's First Indian Conflict: The Walker War," Juvenile Instructor, LIII (1918), 343-347. Driggs quotes from the narrations of James Martineau.
the Ute Indians, through the influence of the policies of
Brigham Young and the missionary efforts of his followers, at-
ttempted to adopt a more civilized way of life. On September
5, 1848, Parley P. Pratt in a letter to his brother Orson, who
was in England, wrote that

A few weeks since, Mr. Joseph Walker, the celebrated
Utah chief, mentioned in the journey of Colonel Fremont,
paid a visit to this place, accompanied by Soweite, the
king of the whole Utah nations, and with them some hundreds
of men, women and children; they had several head of horses
for sale.

They were good-looking, brave and intelligent beyond
any we have seen on this side of the mountains. They were
much pleased and excited with everything they saw, and
finally expressed a wish to become one people with us, and
to live among us and we among them, and to learn to cul ti-
vate the earth and live as we do. They would like for
some of us to go and commence farming with them in their
valleys, which are situated about three hundred miles
south.

We enjoined it on them to be at peace with one another,
and with all people, and to cease to war.¹

Chief Walker, with a delegation from his tribe, ap-
ppeared in Salt Lake City on June 14, 1849, and asked for colo-
nists to settle in Sanpitch (Sanpete) Valley and teach the na-
tives how to build houses and to till the soil. To determine
the wisdom of complying with this request, Brigham Young sent
out an exploring party consisting of Joseph Horn, W. W. Phelps,
Ira Willes, and D. B. Huntington. This group, guided by Walker,
left in August for Sanpete and on their arrival were royally
treated.² A note made on this journey reads:

The Indians are all friendly and seem anxious to learn and

¹Tullidge, op. cit., p. 140.

²W. H. Lever, History of Sanpete and Emery Counties,
to become civilized. They wish to learn to cultivate the soil, so that they can have plenty of bread. . . .

As a result of this expedition, colonists established the settlement of Manti which thrived regardless of the hostility of some of the Indians and the handicaps encountered while making the settlement in midwinter.

George W. Bean, who was employed as interpreter and guide for Governor Young's party on a trip to locate a site for the capital of Utah Territory, tells of the good will of Kanosh, chief of the Pavants, and of his desire to have settlers among his people.  

Chief Walker, himself, tried to adopt the Mormon way of life. Whether his efforts were sincere or not is difficult to determine. The record of his conversion to the Church seemed to indicate a desire on his part to be accepted by the settlers. A letter from Isaac Morley dated March 15, 1850, which was read at a Sunday meeting in the bowery in Salt Lake City, stated that he baptized Chief Walker on the 13th of March, 1850. It is further recorded that on June 9, 1851, Chiefs Walker, Soweite, Arropine, and Unhoquitch, and an interpreter, Elijah Ward, met in Salt Lake City with President Young, Heber C. Kimball and Willard Richards. At this meeting

---


3"Journal History," March 24, 1850.
the four chiefs were ordained Elders in the Church. Chief Walker, feeling that he had won favor from the Mormon leaders, now aspired for the hand of a white woman as one of his wives. He proposed marriage to one Mary Brown, who, in desperation at the thought of being one of Walker's squaws, told him that she was promised to Judge Peacock, her brother-in-law. Though Walker's suit was fruitless, it gave Judge Peacock a second wife.  

On another occasion George A. Smith, of the Iron County Mission, revealed the good intentions and friendliness of Chief Walker as follows:

Br. Walker, the Utah Chief, when he arrived today, went to the first house he came to and enquired for men. I met him and gave him a hearty shake of the hand which he returned with a hearty hug. I invited him to my camp fire. We smoked together and conversed freely in a very friendly manner, but as I had no interpreter I distributed bread and water to his attendants and invited him to dine with us after which he told me he wished to build a house and teach his children to work. He afterwards shook hands and withdrew. He appeared very much of a gentleman in manners and one of the most intelligent Indians I ever saw. No doubt the master spirit of the Utah Nation. . . .

**Brigham Young's Indian Policy**

Early in Mormon history, Brigham Young had established a policy of kindness toward the Indian, tempered with caution.

1"Journal History," June 9, 1851.

2These Our Fathers: A Centennial History of Sanpete County 1849-1947, Arr. by Daughters of the Utah Pioneers of Sanpete County, Utah (Springville, Utah: Art City Publishing Co., 1947), p. 27.

He had often said, "It is better to feed the Indian than to fight him." It was most difficult at times, however, for the pioneers to apply religious principles of kindness and tolerance toward a people who had degenerated to thievery, depredation, and retaliation.

Brigham Young cautioned his people not to lower themselves to the level of the Indian, but to strive to lift the Indian out of his fallen state to the level of the white man. He made these observations:

How long does it take to train a white man? And how much longer an Indian? They will not be converted in many years. Men who want to get knowledge, you can't drive away from us. You can't whip them away. Stay at home and mind your own business and the Indians will do the same. And if they come and are not friendly with us, put them where they won't harm us. If we stay at home, they will send their children to our schools. I am opposed to James Emmet's method of converting Indians; he and his company never washed their hands or faces for months.¹

Brigham Young organized missions among the Indians and sent men to learn their language and to teach them the principles of Christianity. As Territorial Superintendent of Indian Affairs, he established an Indian farm of 13,000 acres on the west bank of the Spanish Fork River. Here the Indians were taught to till the soil and to build houses for their people.² Other reservations were established at Sanpete, Deep Creek, and Corn Creek, which comprised nearly 170,000 acres and which

¹"Journal History," May 7, 1849. James Emmet was a pioneer at this time who brought a company of emigrants across the plains under great difficulty.

²Memories That Live: Utah County Centennial History, compiled by Emma N. Huff (Springville: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers of Utah County, 1947), pp. 432-433.
played an important role in bringing civilization to the Indians. These reservations were disbanded by act of Congress in 1865 when the Ute Indians were moved to the Uintah Reservation in eastern Utah.¹

Brigham Young further announced that the pioneers had a great responsibility toward the Indians. Often, it was the tendency of some individuals to rob the Indians and thereby force them to steal from the white man. From such a misunderstanding, the desire to steal, on the part of the Indians, was often the fault of the whites. To prevent these individual policies toward the Indians, Brigham Young, on May 28, 1849, wrote a letter to Isaac Higbee at Fort Utah appointing Alexander Williams and Dimick B. Huntington as the only men who could trade with them.²

Brigham Young continually emphasized the folly of familiarity with the Indians. He claimed that it made them "impudent" and "saucy."³ In a later letter to Isaac Higbee, who had reported trouble with the Indians at Fort Utah, he wrote:

Stockade your fort and attend to your own affairs, and let the Indians take care of theirs. Let your women and children stay in the fort, and the Indians stay out but, while you mix with them promiscuously, you must continue to receive such treatment from them which they please to give. This is what we have told you continually, and you will find it true.

Let any man, or company of men be familiar with the Indians, and they will be more familiar, and the more

¹Neff, op. cit., p. 394.
²"Journal History," May 28, 1849.
³Ibid.
familiar, you will find the less influence you will have with them. If you would have dominion over them, for their good, which is the duty of the Elders, you must not treat them as your equals. You cannot exalt them by this process. If they are your equals, you cannot raise them up to you.

You have been too familiar with them; your children have mixed promiscuously with them; they have been free in your houses and some of the brethren have spent too much time in smoking and chatting with them; instead of teaching them to labor, such a course has encouraged them to idleness and ignorance, the effects of which you begin to feel.\footnote{Ibid., October 15, 1849.}

It was often difficult for the pioneers to control the Indian without resorting to violence and bloodshed. Violence was the one language which the Indians could understand. Any demonstration of non-resistance often was mistaken by the Indians as cowardice and prompted further hostility and depredation. Brigham Young, however, refused to condone the slaying of an Indian. It was a sin against God and the principles of the religion under his leadership. In replying to a letter received from Utah Valley in January 9, 1850, he warned the settlers against taking the lives of the Indians for stealing and called their attention to their responsibility in the light of God's mercy and justice. He said further:

Why should men have a disposition to kill a destitute, naked Indian, who may steal a shirt or a horse and thinks it no harm when they never think of meting out a like retribution to a white man who steals, although he has been taught better from infancy.\footnote{Ibid., January 9, 1850. A letter written to Alexander Williams and others of Utah Valley.}

In 1853, he repeated this counsel to men he had called to go as missionaries among the Indians:
When you go among the Lamanites deal with them honestly and righteously in all things. Any man who cheats a Lamanite should be dealt with more severely, than for cheating a white man. An Indian thinks it no sin to steal, or to kill his enemy, because he has been taught from his childhood that there is no harm in it, but on the contrary that it is a brave act. Not so with the white man, he has been taught from his infancy that it is wicked either to steal, or kill, except in self defence. ... I am sorry that some of our brethren have been killed by the Indians, but am far more sorry that some of the Indians have been slain by the brethren. I have often said, and I say again if any person is to be killed for stealing let that one be a white man, and not an Indian, for white men know better, while Indians do not, and you must lay aside your angry feelings towards them and cease wishing to kill them.  

Disobedience to this counsel was the cause of most Indian troubles. In 1849 a wagon train of Missourians killed a few defenseless squaws to obtain their horses that they might continue their journey to California.  

Such cold-blooded murder without any provocation shocked even the code of the Indians. This action was even beneath "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." The Indians, of course, sought immediate revenge. When thwarted in bringing punishment upon the real offender, they took revenge upon innocent white people. Vasquez, a partner to Jim Bridger, reported that certain Ute bands were badly disposed towards the whites in consequence of some difficulties near Taos. Chiefs Old Elk and Walker were urging these bands to join in an attack against the Mormon settlements in Utah Valley.  

Contrary to this report, a letter from Isaac Morley written to Brigham Young April 20, 1850, at

---

1Ibid., October 9, 1853. A synopsis of Brigham Young's address as contained in the Deseret News November 24, 1853.

2Heart Throbs of the West, compiled by Kate B. Carter (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1940), II, 436.

3"Journal History," April 17, 1849.
the request of Walker, revealed that Vasquez and Bridger were stirring up the natives to fight the Mormons. Such variance in the treatment received at the hands of different white men bewildered the Indians and contributed to their hostility.

Brigham Young, however, did not trust the Indian. It was hard for him to believe that the Indian would be his friend when it was to the Indian's advantage to be otherwise. In a letter to D. B. Huntington at Fort Utah, he counseled: "Do not be deceived by the over kindness of the Indians." Yet, he treated them with kindness, and often ministered to their sick and sent them supplies of food and medicine. On the other hand, he advised his people to travel in groups, to build their homes in forts, and always to protect themselves. To guard against any treachery from the Indians, he took precautionary measures to protect the colonists. Ordinances were passed by the general assembly in March 29, 1850, forbidding the "sale of arms, ammunition, or spirituous liquors to the Indians." As Governor of the Territory, he approved the organization of the Utah Nauvoo Legion on March 3, 1849, as a

1 I[b]., April 20, 1850.
2 I[b]., April 8, 1853.
3 I[b]., May 19, 1849.
4 I[b]., December 8, 1849.
5 "The Indian and the Frontier," Heart Throbs of the West, compiled by Kate B. Carter (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1940), II, 433-436.
6 "Journal History," March 2, 1850.
defense against any Indian attack.1

The Nauvoo Legion was not a new organization to the Mormons. It was a military expedient that developed as a result of their bitter experiences in Missouri and Illinois. This military organization, first chartered in the state of Illinois (1840), became the military arm of the Church, designed to protect its members in times of attack from their enemies. Its existence was of short duration, however, for it was dissolved following the repeal of the Nauvoo charter in January, 1845. However, this organization was kept intact among the members of the Church and was used whenever such organized force was needed. Members of the Legion secreted their military weapons in their homes and buried the cannon in the lot of the Nauvoo Temple. These were brought forth again for the protection of the people in the construction of the Nauvoo Temple and in their final evacuation from the city.2

Brigham Young had played an active part in this military organization. At the early date of September 27, 1844, he had received a commission as Lieutenant General from Governor Thomas of the State of Illinois.3 This office was outlawed at the dissolution of the Nauvoo Legion; but Brigham Young, as well as other officers, assumed command of their

---


2Jacob Norton, "Diary," MS, entry for October 5, 1845. Copy in the Brigham Young University Library.

3"Journal History," September 27, 1844.
respective military groups as emergencies arose. On one occasion, while camped at Cutler's Park on September 22, 1846, he organized four companies of three hundred men to prepare a defense against a threatened attack from the Missourians. These men acted under the same commands they had held in the official Nauvoo Legion.

Developments with the Indians and also with the Federal Government during the first two years of pioneering in Utah, suggested to the leaders of the Church the need for a militia. Such a military organization, authorized by the Territorial Government, would receive official support and direction. Brigham Young, in a letter to Orson Pratt in the British Isles, expressed the feelings of the time as follows:

We shall organize the Militia in due military order, under the old and honorable name of "The Nauvoo Legion": a name which has long been a terror to evil doers, and which for several years withstood a sovereign state of mobbers and lawless banditti, and finally effected a safe retreat into the strongholds of the mountains with little loss.

Accordingly, a committee of three was appointed on March 3, 1849, to organize all able bodied men between the ages of fourteen and seventy-five into a military organization known as the Nauvoo Legion. This organization was finally


2Ibid. Allusions are also made to the Nauvoo Legion during the pioneer trek throughout the journal of Jacob Norton.

3"Journal History," March 9, 1849.

4Ibid., March 3, 1849.
accomplished on May 26, 1849. Daniel H. Wells, who had been appointed as Major General, soon had the men in all settlements throughout the Territory organized and actively engaged in military training. By January of 1853, the year of the Walker War, this organization numbered over two thousand men.¹

The extent of this organization in the southern settlements of the Territory is indicated by these general orders issued on April 12, 1853, by Daniel H. Wells:

V. The General Muster of the San Pete, Pauvan, and Iron Military Districts are appointed as follows, when the Adjutant General, in his capacity of Inspector General, will inspect the respective commands therein:
   In Manti City, Saturday the 1st of May, 9 a.m.
   In Fillmore City, Tuesday the 4th of May, 9 a.m.
   In Parowan City, Thursday the 7th of May, 9 a.m.
VI. Commanders of Districts will issue orders for the company musters provided for by law, and furnish a copy of the same to the Adjutant General when issued.²

The fine military appearance and discipline of the Nauvoo Legion just before the outbreak of hostilities is described in the following article from The Deseret News:

The General Mustering of the troops of this Division of the Nauvoo Legion of the 7th Inst., was a splendid affair, not seen before by us, in the mountains. Double solid columns reached from Messrs. Livingstone & Kinkead's, to the machine shop; and we noticed no man without a bright musket or rifle on his shoulder.³

The part played by the Nauvoo Legion must be considered as part of Brigham Young's policy in relation to the Indians. It served as a defensive agency in saving the lives of both whites and Indians.

²"Journal History," April 12, 1852.
³Ibid., May 14, 1853.
Previous Clashes with the Indians

The first conflict between the pioneers and the Indians of any consequence happened on February 28, 1849. Indians had stolen fourteen horses and several cattle from Tooele Valley and had taken them to Utah Valley. Captain John Scott, with a company of thirty or forty men, descended upon the Ute thieves, killing four of them in battle at a place which was known as Battle Creek (now Pleasant Grove).\(^1\) Joshua Terry, a mountain man, who had married into an Indian tribe, claims that an Indian youth of this group later became the notorious Chief Blackhawk, who became embittered because the white men had killed his people. Blackhawk's role in this battle is questionable, since it has been contradicted by other sources. The mothers and children of the slain Indians were taken into the homes of the colonists, but were later returned to their own people.\(^3\)

Early in March of 1849, Brigham Young sent John S. Higbee with thirty families to make a settlement on the Provo River. These pioneers were intercepted about three miles from their destination by Timpanogoes Indians, led by a young brave, Angatewats, who forbade any further advance upon their lands.\(^4\) The pioneers were not permitted to proceed until the interpreter,

\(^1\)Bean, op. cit., p. 4.


\(^3\)Ibid.

\(^4\)Bean, op. cit., p. 50.
Dimick B. Huntington, promised them that he would not drive
the Indians out nor take away their rights.¹

The location of the settlement of Fort Utah on the
Provo River proved to be a point of conflict with the Indians,
because this area was one of the principal gathering places
of all Ute tribes from central Utah. Here they would assemble
for an annual rendezvous on the river, where the fish were
abundant and easy to catch. Although they met principally to
fish, they also engaged in such other sports as horse racing,
trading, gambling, footracing, and wrestling.² Some of the
members of the pioneer settlement participated in these sport-
ing events which created a familiarity with the Indians against
which Brigham Young had warned.³

During the summer of 1849 the Indians became impudent
and troublesome. They stole the corn and grain out of the
fields and drove off the livestock. Even Huntington was un-
easy. In a letter to President Young, April 19, 1849, he
wrote:

We marshaled ourselves yesterday and find twenty muskets
in camp and no cartridges. I wish you would send by Capt.
Hunt twenty rounds a piece for each gun if you think best.
We will take care of the ammunition. We have but one keg
of powder and no cartridges. I think it would be good to
have another keg, if you please. We fired the cannon once
and it had good effect. There is quite a number of Indians

¹Tullidge, op. cit., p. 234.
²Bean, op. cit., p. 52.
³"Journal History," May 28, 1849. Letter from Brigham
Young written to Isaac Higbee at Provo, Utah.
in this vicinity; they appear very friendly at present, but they are very uncertain.¹

During the winter of 1849 the settlers at Fort Utah were often fired upon while caring for their stock or going after wood. The pioneers tried to keep peace, but were accused of cowardice by the Indians. George Washington Bean, a six-foot lad of eighteen years, and Orin Porter Rockwell, an old veteran in Indian affairs, were called as special missionaries to the Indians. Their first assignment was to pacify the tribes near Fort Utah who were threatening the peace.² These rugged interpreters, with their knowledge of Indian languages and customs, became valuable peacemakers between the natives and the pioneers. However, efforts to establish good will were often nullified by the actions of few who broke confidence with the Indians sometimes ignorantly or accidentally, but in some instances with wifful intent.³

One serious event, probably accidental, in January, 1850, served to add fuel to the spreading flame. Richard A. Ivie, in company with John Rufus Stoddard and Jerome Zabrisky, recognized his buckskin shirt as being worn by an old Indian called Bishop Whitney. In the struggle to obtain the shirt, Bishop Whitney drew his bow to protect himself and Stoddard shot him through the head. To dispose of the body they ripped open the bowels, filled the cavity with stones, and dropped it in the Provo River. The Indians soon found the body and

¹"Journal History," April 19, 1849.
²Bean, op. cit., pp. 53-54. ³Ibid., pp. 52-53.
demanded compensation in horses and cattle. This demand was ignored by the settlers. Had it been accepted, the Indians would have been pacified.¹

During the same month (January, 1850) another incident which contributed to the hostility of the Indians resulted from an epidemic of measles which swept the colony at Fort Utah. This disease, to which the Indians had little resistance, had been spread throughout the surrounding tribes by some Indian prisoners who had been released from the Fort. Upon the admonition of Brigham Young, the Fort was closed to the Indians because of the threatened danger of hostility. An Indian by the name of Old Elk, who was sick with the measles, came to Sister Hunt's house (evidently the wife of Jefferson Hunt) within the Fort and appealed to her for medicine and relief. Alexander Williams grasped him by the neck and kicked him out of the Fort. That night three cows were stolen from Mrs. Hunt's yard.²

Such unfortunate incidents helped to bring on the Indian trouble at Fort Utah during the first part of February, 1850. As the Indians became more insolent, P. W. Conover, who had succeeded Captain Hunt as officer in charge, called upon Governor Young for military aid to suppress the hostility of the Indians. Young desired government approval before launching such a proposed campaign of war and consulted with Captain

¹Bean, op. cit., p. 56.
²"Journal History," January 31, 1850.
Howard Stansbury of the United States Army Topographical Engineers. The following is part of Captain Stansbury's report:

... the authorities called upon me to consult as to the policy of the measure, and to request the expression of my opinion as to what view the Government of the United States might be expected to take. Knowing, as I did, most of the circumstances, and feeling convinced that some action of the kind would ultimately have to be resorted to, as the forbearance already shown had been only attributed to weakness and cowardice, and had served but to encourage further and bolder outrages, I did not hesitate to say to them that, in my judgment, the contemplated expedition against these savage marauders was a measure not only of good policy, but one of absolute necessity and self-preservation. I knew the leader of the Indians to be a crafty and blood-thirsty savage, who had already been guilty of several murders, and had openly threatened that he would kill every white man that he found alone upon the prairies. In addition to this, I was convinced that the completion of the yet unfinished survey of the Utah Valley, the coming season, must otherwise be attended with serious difficulty, if not actual hazard, and would involve the necessity of a largely increased and armed escort for its protection. Such being the circumstances, the course proposed would not but meet my approval.

A force of one hundred men was accordingly organized, and, upon the application of President Young, leave was given to Lieutenant Howland, of the Mounted Rifles, then on duty with my command, to accompany the expedition as its adjutant; such assistance also was furnished as it was in my power to afford, consisting of arms, tents, camp equipage, and ammunition.¹

One hundred and fifty men arrived in Utah Valley and launched a campaign of war against the Indians. The battle continued for two days at the Fort without much success. They finally succeeded in routing the Indians, who broke camp and left for the mountains leaving behind their dead and wounded. Pursuit was made and several prisoners were taken.²


Of the defenders of the Fort, Joseph Higbee was killed and others were wounded. About forty Indians were killed near Provo, at Tabletop and in Rock Canyon.¹

These conflicts with the Indians were unfortunate incidents in early Utah Indian relations. A lack of understanding of Indian nature and cultural background contributed to the unwise attitudes and actions toward them. Brigham Young possessed a keen understanding of Indian nature. His policy, when followed, produced a spirit of harmony. Disobedience to his policy aggravated grievances which later flared forth into active hostility.

¹Bean, op. cit., p. 62.
CHAPTER II

CAUSES OF THE WALKER WAR

Diminishing Game on a Receding Hunting Ground

As new emigrants continued to arrive in Utah, they depended more and more upon the wild game for their food supply. Consequently the wild life disappeared from the valleys, for it was either killed or driven out by the emigrants who moved in upon the land. A lecture given in New York City by Mr. Copway (his real name was Kogegabouts), an Ojibewa chief, issued a warning and a premonition of things to come. Wilford Woodruff, who attended the lecture, reported a part of his lecture as follows:

The killing of the game by the continually increasing emigration through the Indian lands, and the grasping disposition of the whites in seizing upon such lands, would ultimately drive the Indians to starvation and desperation, and thus initiate a cruel bloody, relentless war between them and the white men throughout the land.¹

A. J. Holeman, agent for the Indians in Utah, reported in September of 1851 that the Indians were alarmed because the whites had taken possession of their hunting grounds and were killing their game. At the close of the Walker War this condition was more pronounced. Holeman intimated that the greatest offenders were the Mormons, who were "taking possession of the

¹"Journal History," December 15, 1849.
best lands in the territory."\(^1\) George W. Armstrong, Indian sub-agent, made this comment in his report for 1855:

The game, which in former years was considerable, and upon which the Indians in part depended, is rapidly diminishing, which will increase their difficulties in obtaining subsistence, and if left to their own resources, will, I fear, impel them to the frequent commission of petty thefts; a source of great annoyance, loss and irritation to the settlers.\(^2\)

Armstrong, during the same year, reported that Chiefs Tintick, Tabby, and Sanpitch were complaining over the decreased fish supply in Provo River. The Indians, who fished with traps and bow and arrow, could not compete with the fish nets used by the settlers. Armstrong added: "I requested one of the fishing companies to fish for them, which request the company immediately complied with, and, after some days successful fishing, they loaded the pack horses of the Indians with a large quantity of fish."\(^3\)

In the absence of meat, the Indians' diet was almost one of starvation. They were forced to search for edible roots and herbs. They ate the red fruit of the cactus after singeing off the stickers and drying the fruit. The seedpods of the yucca plants were also dried, and flour was made from the mesquite beans and pinon nuts. Grasshoppers were always available. These were boiled for summertime eating, and dried

---


\(^3\)Ibid., pp. 202-203.
like the cactus fruit for winter use.

To escape starvation the Indians resorted to thievery. It was their only alternative, since the Indian Department was slow in helping them in the Territory of Utah. In a letter to Amasa Lyman and Charles C. Rich, Brigham Young wrote in 1852 that

You should consider that we have received nothing from the general government to sustain our state or territory and that has come upon this people and the public funds. Not one dime have the government of the United States paid to sustain peaceful relations with the Indians of this territory, or suppress hostilities.¹

The Indians had early invited the pioneers to make colonies among them in the south with the purpose in mind of being taught how to raise food from the soil. Chief Walker, June 14, 1849, invited the settlers to Sanpete Valley.² Young Chief Kanosh, of the Pavant Indians, welcomed them to Fillmore.³ George A. Smith commented on the friendly attitude of the Indians in Iron County and added that they "seemed glad the Mormons were settling in Little Salt Lake Valley [now Parowan]."⁴

The motive behind the Indians' invitation to settle on their lands was evidently sincere for they were concerned about their own food supply. They had observed the pioneers'...
superior skill in extracting food from the soil and had tasted their banquets of plenty. This prompted the Indians to desire to learn these methods for themselves.

As the settlers moved among them and began to accumulate flocks and herds, new relationships apparently developed. The Indians assumed that the pioneers were indebted to them for the appropriation of their lands, and when they were hungry they proceeded to collect the debt. They would appear at doorways and beg for food, clothing, or other items. As they looked upon the growing crops and the grazing herds, they felt that they had a share in them. With this possessive feeling, Chief Walker warned the surrounding tribes against molesting the Mormons. At one time when he was displeased with the hostility of a group of Pioedes toward the pioneers at Parowan, Walker attempted to kill their chief, Quonarah, and would have done so had not the pioneers intervened. George A. Smith records another incident wherein Walker assumed the role of a protector of the Mormon people:

Walker preached a Mormon sermon to the Pihede [sic] Captain, told him he must be honest, must not steal anything, must not disturb a brute belonging to us. He must go and get buckskins and bring them here and trade for knives, shirts, etc., but not for powder. When the weather got warmer he must be baptized and he would be good all the time, and that he must tell all the Pihede [sic] far and near that they must be honest and not steal anything from us.3

---


3George A. Smith, op. cit., entry for March 21, 1851.
Recognizing the growing food emergency for the Indians as a result of a shortage of game, Brigham Young furnished them with rifles and ammunition to increase their hunting skill. This kindness was later rescinded when the Indians became more hostile. He counseled his people not to hunt game. Many of those who complied with his request seldom had meat, for they could ill afford to kill off their stock. Oftentimes, their only meat for the table was an occasional jack-rabbit.

As the game diminished, the Indians looked more and more to the settlers for a large share of their living. This was always forthcoming; but in times of crop failure, it became difficult to feed the Indians without depriving themselves of basic necessities. This drove the Indians to prey upon the livestock of the pioneers. Such petty thievery was a source of great annoyance.

During the first winter at Manti, the Indians lived upon livestock that had died of starvation. It is said that this food supply helped to keep them in a good humor.

One incident describing the desperation of the Indians

---

1S. N. Carvalho, Incidents of Travel and Adventure in the Far West (New York: Derby & Jackson, 1857), p. 190.
3U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, op. cit., 1855, p. 203.
4Ibid.
is recorded in the journal of William Adams in 1850. Some Indians had been caught killing two oxen on the Sevier River. They fully expected to be killed for the offense, but the pioneers had compassion on their destitute and naked condition and released them after giving them food and bedding.¹

A great toll in livestock was taken by the Indians near Tooele during the winter of 1850-51. In February, fifty head of cattle and horses were stolen from the Willes' herd, and by spring the loss in livestock amounted to nearly twelve thousand dollars.² These thefts became so troublesome that a company of men under Orin Porter Rockwell, sent in pursuit of the thieves, succeeded in capturing thirty Indians. During the night, the Indians killed the guard, L. D. Custis, and escaped.³

Striking again near Black Rock in June, the Indians drove off sixty head of White's herd of cattle. Again a company of the Nauvoo Legion was called into activity to punish these Indian thieves near Tooele. Major George D. Grant, in charge of this sortie, reported that his company had killed eleven Indians and "burned up tons of beef which the Indians had butchered and laid out to dry."⁴

The settlers in Provo were also suffering from cattle


²"Journal History," February 11, 1851.

³Ibid., April 22, 1851.

⁴Ibid., June 27, 1851.
losses. The Indian thieves were led by Patsovet, who was embittered over the Fort Utah battle.\footnote{Ibid., April 28, 1850. Letter from Isaac Higbee and P. W. Conover at Fort Utah to Daniel H. Wells.} Chauncy G. Webb reported that Patsovet was eventually captured and executed for attempts made upon the lives of some settlers.\footnote{Ibid., April 29, 1850.}

The First Presidency in their epistle of April, 1851, wrote:

The Indians have been troublesome in their operations the past winter, driving off cattle from remote settle-
ments, but with less threatening of life than formerly, and more secret in their depredations.\footnote{Ibid., April 7, 1851.}

After the summer harvest was over, there was less trouble with the Indians, for food was more plentiful and game was easier to hunt. The optimism after the summer's harvest was indicated in the following epistle of the First Presidency in October, 1852:

There have been less disturbance, and outbreaks among the Indians than during previous seasons; some are begin-
ing to know the value of bread, and are willing to labor a part of their time, and learn how to work to raise corn for themselves; and we recommend to all the settlements to cultivate this spirit, and learn the Indians to raise grain, and live by their labor; rather than steal, starve, or live by begging, as the game is scarce on their hunting grounds.\footnote{Ibid., October 13, 1852.}

\textbf{The Doctrine of Retaliation}

Some writers have indicated that the most deep-seated of all causes of the Walker War was the desire on the part of
the Indians to avenge the slaying of their fellow tribesmen who had fallen during the battle of Fort Utah in February, 1850.\(^1\) The occupants of the Fort had never made compensation for the death of "Old Bishop," and the lives of some forty Indians had been lost in the ensuing battle. It was difficult for the Indians to forget these grievances. It was yet more difficult for the white man to understand the Indians' code of life.

One of the basic principles of the Indian code was "a life for a life." When an Indian was killed, the death of the offender or one of his relatives was required. The decision as to who should pay the penalty was often made by bargaining and taking into consideration the worth of the guilty man's life to the tribe. When it was agreed that a relative was to pay the penalty, then certain qualifications determined the choice of that person. When the crime was due to carelessness, the relative selected was to be a weakling, a cripple, or an aged person; but when the crime was a deliberate murder, the person chosen to die was to be equally as strong and able and as near the same age as the murdered man. It is readily apparent that many innocent were killed under this code. "The logic for this law lay in balancing the punishment with the crime."\(^2\) This doctrine of retaliation was the basic philosophy


underlying nearly all Indian massacres and depredations.

When a white man killed an Indian, the white man was usually shielded by his own people. The Indian's response was then that "A white man slew my brother, my duty is to avenge his death, by killing a white man." The doctrine appears to be the ultimate in savagery, but the white man treated the Indian in much the same manner. Emigrant trains to California wantonly and cruelly shot the Indians down like wild beasts. Brigham Young stated that the white man was guilty of chastising whole settlements of Indians for the acts of one or more of their group, and innocent Indians who were friendly to the whites were killed in such retaliation.

Enoch Reese, in reporting to Governor Young regarding his trip to San Bernardino, told of an innocent Indian who was shot down by a company of emigrants going to California, whose only offense was that he had come to their camp to trade. This act jeopardized every emigrant train along the trail. The murdered Indian's chief had reported the incident to Reese, who was his friend. He regretted to warn them that now he would be unable to restrain his people from killing the whites. That night, in revenge for their comrade's death, the Indians attacked an emigrant company (which was following Reese's party) and badly wounded three white men.

1"Journal History," April 6, 1854. Discourse of Brigham Young at the General Conference.

2Carvalho, op. cit., p. 187.

3"Journal History," April 6, 1854.

4Ibid., February 4, 1854.
To release a man to the Indians who had wantonly slain one of their tribe would seem inhuman; and yet it could have saved the lives of many innocent people. The wisdom of such a practice was questioned by Heber C. Kimball in a letter to Brigham Young in which he related to him an incident that occurred near Ogden. An Indian chief by the name of Tarakee, while hunting his horse in a corn field, was slain by Urban Van Stewart. The Indian, according to Van Stewart's report, was stealing his corn. Lorin Farr, presiding authority in Ogden, expressed fear that the Indians would demand the life of the man who did the shooting. Heber C. Kimball, shocked at such willful murder, said, "How far, it is wisdom to save the lives of such men as Stewart, to the sacrifice of the Saints, is a question to be decided at a future time."\(^1\)

On another occasion, two men shot and killed an old squaw just for target practice. The presiding authority, fearing Indian retaliation on the entire settlement, delivered the man who had fired the fatal shot to the Indians. It was said, "No one knew what happened to that man, but the Indians were satisfied and innocent people did not suffer for another's wrong."\(^2\)

It was Brigham Young's advice that, ordinarily, the Indians would respond to justice and right, and that the pioneers should conduct their actions accordingly. On one

\(^1\)Ibid., September 17, 1850.

occasion he said:

I will not consent to your killing one Indian for the sin of another. If any of them commit a depredation, tell the tribe to which they belong, that they may deliver up that man or men, to be tried according to the law, and you will make friends of the whole tribe.¹

The Indians' philosophy of retaliation found expression in the Walker War. It was an attempt to take revenge for the many grievances which had been heaped upon them and likewise of obtaining payment for the losses which they had suffered as a result of the coming of the white man.

**Minor Grievances**

The Indians had an inner grievance that is difficult to describe—a sort of wounded pride in the realization of their own inferiority in the presence of a more cultured people. To mitigate this situation, the pioneers made efforts to rehabilitate the Indians. This was attempted by a program of education in farming and of extensive missionary work among them. They succeeded in converting a considerable number to the Church.² However, there were a few settlers who, although attached to the pioneer group, did not adhere to their standards or policies. These were guilty of abusing the Indians and of shooting them for trivial offenses.³ Such acts of diminution reminded the Indians that they had once been masters of all they surveyed. Hence, their resentment deepened toward the

¹"Journal History," April 6, 1854.
²Ibid., November 7, 1852.
³Brockbank, op. cit., p. 7.
white man.

The pride and dignity of most Indians has always been legendary, and instances illustrating their aristocratic poise and bearing color the pages of early history. To maintain pride in this Indian heritage was difficult for them to do when forced to destitution.

An event which illustrates this pride of the Indian occurred at Parowan. Chief Walker and his brother Ammon, with a large band of warriors, visited the Sunday services of the Mormons in Parowan. Walker asked for permission to speak, and with the help of his brother, who understood English, he preached a sermon. The incident was a classic example of the Indian's desire to maintain his self-respect, and to assert his importance. In most dramatic eloquence Chief Walker held up his two index fingers, one higher than the other, and said, "Walker, Brigham, toi-nab," which signified that Walker and Brigham were both chiefs but that Walker was a little bigger chief than Brigham.1 On various occasions, he would use this unique method to illustrate his importance. He admitted that Brigham Young was a big chief but he wanted it understood that he was a big chief also.2

It was confusing to the Indian to be rebuffed after once having enjoyed the fellowship of the pioneers. The change of policy at Fort Utah from one of excessive familiarity to

1Driggs, "Utah's First Indian Conflict," op. cit., p. 347.
2Orson F. Whitney, History of Utah (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon & Sons, 1892), 1, 528.
that of complete exclusion from the Fort, was but one example. In enforcing this new policy, Old Elk was kicked out of the Fort in a most undignified manner when he had asked for medicine to give him relief from the measles.1

The rebuff which Chief Walker received when he wanted to fight the Shoshones was a violation of the Indian code of brotherhood. He felt that because he had restrained his followers from attacking the pioneers and because he had warned outlying tribes against interference with these new settlers, such acts of brotherhood should be appreciated. The Shoshones had crept out of the canyons unawares and had stolen horses belonging to the Utes. Chief Walker requested of Brigham Young that he supply young men for the campaign against the Shoshones. This request was refused and he was advised not to undertake such an expedition. This so angered Chief Walker that during the summer of 1850 he laid plans to massacre all of the settlers in Fort Utah.2 These plans were thwarted by Chief Soweite, who alerted the people of Fort Utah of Walker's intent. He also threatened the angry chief that if he pursued such a course, he would oppose him in battle. Walker and Arropine stormed off to Echo canyon, massacred the Shoshones and brought back prisoners to flaunt before the people of Manti.3 Later, in a treaty of 1852, a penitent Walker expressed


2Whitney, op. cit., p. 431.

3Lever, op. cit., p. 15.
his sorrow for not following the counsel of Brigham Young.1

Traffic in Indian Slavery

Indian slavery was a well established practice at the time of the arrival of the pioneers in Utah. The buying and selling of Indian children for slavery was a profitable enterprise for the Ute Indians. This practice had developed because of the destitute and starved condition of many of the tribes. It seemed more humane to trade one's child for a horse to eat than to eat one's own flesh and blood; for a while, at least, it prevented starvation for both the parent and the child. However, many children were taken by force, gambling, theft and other methods, and even by killing the parents who objected to the kidnapping of their children.2

The interference of Brigham Young and the pioneers in this slave traffic was one of the main grievances which contributed to the Walker War. Their opposition to the practice of Indian slavery was due primarily to the pagan principles which motivated it. In an attempt to stop this practice, Brigham Young advised the people to purchase the Indian children as fast as possible, and to educate them and teach them the gospel.3 In harmony with this policy, the Legislature of the Utah Territory legalized the purchase of Indian children.4

2"Journal History," May 2, 1853. Brigham Young's account of his trip through the southern territory.
3George A. Smith, op. cit., entry for December 27, 1850.
This might seem inconsistent, but it relieved a serious problem among the Indians and prevented others from taking advantage of them in their weakened condition.

The early settlers of Fillmore were constantly annoyed by the begging Pieder Indians and other tribes who were always in a condition of extreme want. Anson Call, an early settler of Fillmore, related how these Indians would sell their children to the Utes and the Spaniards, who passed through the area. He also tells of his efforts to follow the Indian policy of Brigham Young:

I taught them . . . not to sell the children to the Spaniards but to sell them to the "Mormons" and we would clothe them and educate them. . . . Kanosh, the chief, gave me his son about 8 years of age who I agreed to clothe and send to school for 3 years and then give him back to him again. I washed and clothed him and he commenced the school. His mother came and the boy wept and wanted to go with her and she prevailed with the chief and accordingly took him.¹

Sometimes the pioneers accepted Indian children as settlement for grievances or losses resulting from thefts and the killing of livestock. George A. Smith wrote to Brigham Young on January 17, 1851:

After crossing Sevier River, the Indians crippled a yoke of oxen—one mortally. We pursued the Indians and captured two of the thieves, one man, and a boy twelve years old. An exchange was made satisfactorily, by taking the boy for the ox which was crippled: the boy is living with Br. William Empy, and seems perfectly contented.²

A climax was reached when one Pedro Leon and other


²"Journal History," January 17, 1851.
Spuriards came into the Territory of Utah with a license to deal in Indian slavery. Brigham Young, informed of their intentions, had them placed under arrest. The court forced them to relinquish their slaves and leave the Territory.1 As a result of this episode with the Spaniards, Brigham Young issued a proclamation in April of 1852 forbidding traffic in Indian slavery.2 The Indians were offended at this action. Batteez and his tribe showed their resentment by evading Brigham Young on his visit to Nephi.3 As a dramatic illustration of the effect of the proclamation upon them, Arropine killed a Piute child in the presence of the visiting Mormons. "Several of us were present when he took one of these children by the heels and dashed its brains out on the hard ground, after which he threw the body towards us telling us we had no hearts, or we would have bought it and saved its life."4 Chief Walker expressed his willingness to live in peace if he could "have his own way in stealing other Indian children to sell them to the Mexicans for guns and ammunition, or if we will buy those children of him and give him guns and ammunition, to enable him to continue his robberies."5 This antagonistic feeling,

1Juanita Brooks, "Indian Relations of the Mormon Frontier," Utah Historical Quarterly, XII (1944), 6-7.
2Creer, op. cit., pp. 36-38.
3"Journal History," May 2, 1853.
4Daniel W. Jones, Forty Years among the Indians (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1890), p. 53.
5"Journal History," May 11, 1853. William M. Wall's account of his expedition to the southern settlements.
deliberately stimulated by Pedro Leon and his company as they left the Territory, contributed to the tension existing at the outbreak of the Walker War.
CHAPTER III

DIFFICULTIES AND DISTURBANCES EARLY IN 1853

Aggravation of Difficulties

The many unfortunate and sometimes unavoidable clashes between the pioneers and the Indians had by 1853 strained relations between them considerably. Inconsistent demonstrations of peace by the Indians at one time and demonstrations of hostility at another had the appearance of hypocrisy; but the actions of certain unregenerate white men among the settlers had the same appearance to the Indians. The Indians were as confused by these inconsistencies as were the whites. Men who were honest with the Indians, such as Dimick B. Huntington, George W. Bean, Elijah Ward, and Jacob Hamblin, were respected and protected by them. These were men whom the Indians referred to as men who "talked straight" and whose tongues were not "forked."¹

Early in the year, signs of increasing hostility portended an inevitable clash unless preventive measures could be taken. Governor Young kept in constant touch with the outlying settlements, advising them to use caution toward the Indians and to keep him informed of any alarming developments. Letters from Fillmore early in January brought the news that

¹Bean, op. cit., p. 91.
Indians had stabbed a man by the name of Robinson and had stolen powder from F. H. Hoyt. ¹ In Parowan a group of Utes who were clamoring for a conflict fell upon a band of Piedes and killed five of them without provocation. ² Walker, who was absent at the time, was angry with the Indians who took part in this massacre. ³ The Governor's suspicions mounted with the increased hostility. He made known his concern (April, 1853) in a letter to John C. L. Smith in Parowan as follows:

... an express was sent from Iron county that Indian Walker has manifested hostile feelings; for it seems that he had drawn out his men on a small portion of our brethren and commanded them to return home, when they were in pursuit of supposed thieves. These Indians would not suffer them to proceed any farther. This circumstance, small as it might appear to some, caused suspicion in my mind that all was not right with the Indian chief. ⁴

Brigham Young sent interpreter Dimick B. Huntington, who held the confidence of the Indians as well as the Indian Department, to the southern settlements with instructions to apprehend any rumored difficulties in that area. ⁵ At the same time Brigham Young, Ezra T. Benson, John Taylor, and a small party began a tour of the settlements to the south. They intended to examine the prospects for further colonization and to observe the general condition and welfare of the people. ⁶

¹ "Journal History," January 16, 1853.
² Ibd., February 28, 1853.
³ Ibd., February 12, 1853. Letter from George A. Smith to Henry Lunt.
⁵ "Journal History," May 12, 1853.
⁶ Bean, op. cit., p. 88.
On April 5, 1853, Brigham Young sent a military letter directing Captain William M. Wall to make an expedition through the southern settlements. His mission was to investigate Walker's attitude and to study the apparent hostility of the Ute Indians. The letter was as follows:

Nephi City, Utah Territory
April 5, 1853

To Captain Wm. M. Wall
Commanding the detachment of troops,
now traveling South

Sir: Take thirty of your men with your best horses for riding and for baggage wagons, and proceed directly on the road southward reconnoitering the country to the right and to the left, if necessary. Take with you George Bean the interpreter, and continue your travel until you find Dimick B. Huntington, you will learn from him the whereabouts of Walker, and the condition of the Indians.

You will call for supplies at the various settlements through which you pass, and you are at liberty to use grain flour, or vegetables that shall be in the hands of the bishops as tithing.

You call on the Blacksmiths to do such work as is necessary for your camp. You will follow out the instructions that you have in your possession from the Lieutenant General, warning the people to be on their guard that they may not suffer from Indian depredations, or others that may be traveling through the country.

You will give receipts to the several persons from whom you receive grain, etc., and report the same to the Adjutants office in Salt Lake City, on your return.

If all is peace among the Indians, you may return home, after visiting the Southern Settlements, and delivering a copy of the Governor's proclamation to each settlement.

If Walker is not disposed to live peaceably with his band of Indians while in this territory, but has made his threats to the danger of the inhabitants, and you have an opportunity, without too much endangering your command, you will take him prisoner, with those of his band who are determined to follow him, but if he and his bands are too strong, you will immediately send a messenger informing me thereof, that a sufficient company may be raised to meet him.

I wish you to be very careful with your horses, etc.; do not over-hurry them, and watch them while they are feeding, lest you may be surprised by depredating roving parties.
Picket out a portion of all your horses and keep up a guard during nights, that you may be continually prepared. My counsel to the different Settlements is—that they keep up night and day guards, and be on the continued watch; and on no account scatter horses, but keep all property as near together as possible and guard their horses and cattle by day and corral them at night.

—Brigham Young

The Governor's party was also concerned over the news that "a horde of Mexicans or 'outlandish men' were in the southern part of the Territory stirring the Indians up to strife and furnishing them with guns and ammunition." Their concern was further increased by their contact at Provo with a man named Bowman—a slave trader from Santa Fe. Bowman had been trading at Manti where a rumor apparently originated that exposed the real purposes of his visit to the Territory of Utah. It seems that he, and a considerable force of Mexicans, had been hired by outside agents not only to trade for Indian slaves but also to assassinate Brigham Young. This news caused the executive party to terminate their tour of the Territory at Manti in Sanpete Valley.

To discourage these Mexican intruders, Governor Brigham Young issued a proclamation which forbade traffic with the Indians in arms and ammunition. It also made public the

---

1Heart Throbs of the West, V, 406.


3"Shortly after our return, this Bowman was waylaid and killed by some Indians in Salt Creek Canyon." Bean, op. cit., p. 89.
purpose of Wall's expedition and directed him to warn "the settlers to be on their guard against Indians who might be incited to war by Mexicans or others."¹ This proclamation, made at Provo on April 23rd, appeared in the Deseret News as follows:

Therefore, I, Brigham Young, Governor, and Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Territory of Utah, in order to preserve peace, quell the Indians, and secure the lives and property of the citizens of the Territory, hereby order and direct as follows:

1st. That a small detachment consisting of 30 men, under the charge of Captain Wall, proceed south, through the entire extent of the settlements, reconnoitering the country, and directing the inhabitants to be on their guard against any sudden surprise.

2nd. . . . .

Captain Wall was an officer of the Nauvoo Legion in the Provo District.³ Some of the members detailed for his detachment were "Boliver Roberts, Adjutant; L. L. Woods, A. P. Chesley, Miles Weaver, Joseph Clark, Riley Clark, Doctor Stoddard, Aaron Stoddard, John W. Turner, R. A. Ivie, Isaac Baum, John W. Witt, Charles Moeller, Amos W. Haws, Jarome Zabriskie, John M. Higbee, Alva Zabriskie, James Knight, Simon Kelting, James Smith, James A. Bean, George W. Bean, E. Bown and sons, Jonathan Hoops, Clinton Williams and Capt. Wm. M. Wall."⁴ At Palmyra, Brigham Young directed J. W. Berry and

¹"Journal History," May 2, 1853.
²Deseret News, April 30, 1853, p. 3.
⁴Bean, op. cit., p. 89.
Wm. Holt to join the company of militia. In his instructions to them he emphasized that they were to advise the settlers to concentrate in communities and to build stockades for protection against the Indians. The main company went as far as Parowan, where a small detachment of picked men continued on to Ash Creek and visited the settlement made by John D. Lee among the Pueblo Indians.

Captain Wall's Company of the Nauvoo Legion observed strict military discipline throughout the expedition. This military demonstration, which was completed in nineteen days, disturbed the less orderly Indians. However, interpreter Huntington, who was in a strategic position to observe the effect upon them, thought that the expedition contributed to the peace. In an account of his trip sent to the Deseret News he gives the following opinion:

... Capt. Wall, Company A, of the Nauvoo Legion reconnoitering the country south put the Indians into a panic, I never saw a more scared set in my life. The Governor ordering out Capt. Wall's Company is the best thing that has ever happened to the nation. It is the best teaching that they ever heard, and if they continue to hearken to it, will be their salvation.

Despite Huntington's opinion, this military display, instead of healing the breach with the Indians, probably had an adverse effect. The Indians were angry with the announcement that the settlers were to move into fortified communities, for it emphasized the barrier that already existed between

---

1Tullidge, op. cit., p. 139.
2Bean, op. cit., p. 89.
3Ibid.
4Deseret News, May 28, 1853, p. 3.
them and cut off their main source of food supply. Previously they had been treated as needy brothers. Certain chiefs and other Indians had been baptized into the Church. They had worked together with the settlers, carrying water, hauling and chopping wood, and harvesting crops.¹ This move to exclude them from the settlements added to the rising tension, for to the Indians it appeared to be an about-face in policy.

During the month of April an incident occurred in Parowan that illustrated the mounting ill will. Eleven men were preparing to go after two horses that had been stolen by a party of passing emigrants. Two Ute Indians who were observing their preparations became suspicious of their intentions and inquired of a small boy for information. They were told that the men were going out to fight Chief Walker. This playful remark almost resulted in a tragedy for the eleven men were surrounded, not far from the community, by Chief Walker's warriors. The Indians would not believe the story of the stolen horses and intended to massacre the whole group. The white men carefully maneuvered out of the Indian circle and made a mad dash for Parowan, arriving unharmed.² That the military expedition added to the already heightened feeling of ill will is evidenced by the events which followed in its wake.

The day before Brigham Young and his party were to

¹"Journal History," March 1, 1853. Letter from Samuel Pitchfork.

arrive in Sanpete Valley, in April, 1853, Chief Arropine, who did not want to face the Mormon leader, stormed out of Manti to demonstrate his anger over the Governor's proclamation. During the night Allred's settlement kept constant watch because of the increased hostility toward them. The following night, three Indians came to the house of Bishop Morley of Manti with offerings of peace from Walker, Arropine, and others. They had timed this visit to take place when the Governor's party was at Nephi. It was also reported that Peteetneet and his band had gone "up the Provo Kanyon to wait and see how the battle went." Such action would suggest that the Indians were aware of the climactic situation. It would also indicate that there were many Indians who did not want to participate in hostility toward the pioneers. The Walker War, so named, might not have been instigated by Chief Walker but could have been the movement of certain insubordinate sub-chiefs and Indians over whom the Indian tribal organization had little control.

Brigham Young and his party arrived in Salt Lake City from Sanpete on May 2nd. On the following Sunday, May 8th, he spoke to the members of the Church in the Tabernacle and gave counsel pertaining to the Indians. He repeated instructions for the safety of the settlers and expressed a note of

1"Journal History," April 27, 1853.

2Ibid., April 29, 1853.

3Ibid., May 12, 1853.
anxiety predictive of the coming conflict:

Every settlement that has been made in these valleys of the mountains has received strict charges from me, to build, in the first place, a fort, and live in it until they were sufficiently strong to live in a town; to keep their guns and ammunition well prepared for any emergency; and never cease to keep up a night watch, if any apprehensions of the Indians being hostile are entertained. We have suffered nothing from them compared with what we have suffered from white men who are disposed to steal; and I would rather take my chance today for good treatment among Indians, than I would white men of this character.

I have no recollection of the Indians killing any of this community except one man, which happened about three years ago this spring, who had started for California on foot and alone, against counsel. The redskins found him and slew him. I have never heard of their even disturbing a family; and I do not intend that they ever shall, if watching and praying, and being ready for them will prevent it.

I have always acknowledged myself a coward, and hope I always may be, to make me cautious enough to preserve myself and my brethren from falling ignobly by a band of Indians. I am satisfied that the men who follow Walker, who is the King of the Indians in these mountains, do it out of fear, and not because they have real regard for their leader. If he becomes hostile, and wishes to commit depredations upon the persons or property of this people, he shall be wiped out of existence, and every man that will follow him. This is my calculation, and I wish you to be ready for it.

My advice is to be on the watch all the time. Do not lie down and go to sleep and say all is well, lest in an hour when you think not, sudden destruction overtake you.1

Early in the summer of 1853 (probably May or June) Chief Walker and some of his painted braves visited Manti and demanded the person of Charles Shumway. Walker intended to scalp Shumway and put him to death. Perhaps this strange request was to compensate for some unknown offensive act toward the Indians.2

1Nibley, op. cit., p. 204.

2Shumway had traded with the Indians at an early date. The Exploring Party of 1849 contacted three Indians who
The demand for Shumway was rejected and the town of Manti prepared for an Indian attack, even though most of the men had gone to Salt Lake City for supplies. It was Chief Soweite who again rose in opposition to Walker's demand and placated the Indian tribes. Walker, apparently humiliated because of his political defeat and this open disregard for Indian justice, left for the seclusion of the mountains. The demand for Shumway may have appeared to be reasonable from the Indians' point of view, but to the settlers it looked like open defiance from Chief Walker.

**Last Minute Peace Attempts by the Indians**

After Captain Wall's military demonstration, the Indians cautiously made certain overtures of peace again to establish faith and good will. One such attempt was made by Arropine when he explained the source of certain atrocities attributed to the Indians. These had been committed, according to Arropine, by a renegade Indian who was called Squashhead because of his large round head and huge mouth. Stories of his savage atrocities had terrorized the settlements and had caused trouble between the Indians and the settlers. Squash-head was exacting tribute from the pioneers on threat reported that "Walker was up the river (Sevier) hunting and that Shumway was camped a few miles ahead, and had sent to Walker to come and trade." ("Journal History," December 6, 1849.) It could be that the Indians required the death of Shumway for some grievance against him or that he meet the requirements necessary to pay for offenses committed by others.

---

1Lever, *op. cit.*, p. 17.
of death, because the white men had disregarded the Indian custom of burial. It appears that Squash-head's brother, who had died in his absence, was buried by the settlers without the usual articles and objects that would help him to the "Happy Hunting Grounds." Chief Arropine reported these circumstances to Elijah B. Ward, who forwarded the information to the Deseret News as follows:

Provo City, June 24th 1853
Editor of News:

Dear Sir,—Some time since there appeared an article in your paper concerning a child that was lost from Mountain-ville (in this county). I have been informed by Arappeer and others of the same band of Indians, that the above mentioned child was killed by a certain Indian, belonging to the Provo band (known by the name of Squash-head); he came to Provo, and has boasted of doing it in the presence of Snake Indian that lives at my house, and his wife, and my woman. I think it would be good policy for all parents to take warning by the above, especially those who live out of towns or near kanyons.

I would further state that it is reported here by Walker's Indians, that this Squash-head tried to take some undue advantage of a young squaw of their band, and then drowned her in the Provo; since that they have shot him all to pieces, and threwed him in the river, so we have got rid of the worst Indian that has marred the peace of our society for a long time.

Respectfully Yours,
Elijah B. Ward

In the early part of July, the eventful month for the Walker War, the Indian leaders were manifesting peaceable dispositions. The Office Journal of Brigham Young indicates for July 2, 1853, that

1Don Carlos Johnson (comp.), History of Springville, Utah (Springville, Utah: William F. Gibson, 1900), p. 28.

2"Journal History," June 24, 1853.
The day was warm in G. S. L. City. Gov. Brigham Young had an interview with the Indian chiefs Walker Peteetneet and other Indians whose band of Indians were encamped a short distance above the governor's house. Chief Walker also came into the President's Office and manifested a peaceable disposition, showing his hypocrisy.¹

**Beginning of Open Hostility**

Soon after this interview with Brigham Young, Chief Walker with his braves and their families, consisting of about eighty lodges,² were camped on Spring Creek one mile north of Springville, Utah. During the summer it was the usual custom for the Indians to camp near the Provo River to fish because there was an abundance of fish in this area. However, each year it became more difficult for them to camp and to find pasture for their horses because of the fences inclosing the area. Although the Indians resented this intrusion upon their fishing rights, they were pleased that the settlers were close at hand; for it gave them an opportunity to trade with the settlers. Trading, stealing, and begging characterized most of their relationships with the pioneers.

An unfortunate incident occurred during one of these trading activities which added fuel to the smoldering ill will already existent. On the morning of July 17, 1853, two Indians—one a squaw—appeared at the cabin of James Ivie with three large trout which they wanted to exchange for some flour. Mrs. Ivie, not knowing the value of such a trade, called for

¹*Tbid.*, July 2, 1853.

²*Lever, op. cit.*, p. 17.
her husband who was engaged in digging a well near the cabin. As flour was very scarce at this season of the year, he suggested that she give only three pints of flour in return for the three fish. About the time of the exchange, two other Indians entered the cabin. One of them, Showeroshoakats, the husband of the squaw, was enraged with his wife for making such a poor trade. He began to beat her viciously, knocking her on the floor and kicking her about. Ivie, who evidently enjoyed a good fight, tried to evict Showeroshoakats from the cabin. The Indian grabbed his gun, which he had leaned against the door frame, and tried to shoot Ivie. As the two men struggled for the gun, it broke in two pieces. Ivie, having the barrel, struck Showeroshoakats a terrible blow on the head which apparently cracked his skull. The second Indian drew his bow in defense of his fallen comrade and shot at Ivie, but the arrow passed through his shirt. Ivie then swung at this Indian with the gun barrel and knocked him unconscious. The squaw, who by this time had revived, attacked Ivie with a piece of wood from the fireplace and cut a large gash in his upper lip. Ivie, now greatly enraged, knocked the squaw unconscious as he had the other two.

Joseph Kelly, a native of Springville, passed by the

---

1Bean, op. cit., p. 90.


3Ibid., p. 305.
cabin at this critical moment and saw the implications of the event. He knew that when the Indian camp was aroused that Ivie and his family would be in great danger, so he sent them to Springville. Kelly and the other Indian tried to revive the unconscious trio by pouring water on them. This fourth Indian, who had not taken part in the fracas, spread the news to the Indian camp.¹

The excitement among the Indians rose to a high pitch, for Showeroshoakats was popular with his tribe. Intense anxiety also spread through the settlement. A letter was sent posthaste to Brigham Young, giving an account of the disturbance.²

Bishop Aaron Johnson, in full authority at Springville, with A. K. Thurber,³ interpreter William Smith, and other leading men of Springville made many earnest attempts to settle the difficulty. George W. Bean, a resident of Fort Utah, said that "Ivie was not disposed to do much, not understanding Indian customs," and also added that "It was understood that one beef-ox and very little besides would make peace again, but it was not forthcoming, and the Indians sought revenge."⁴

J. Marinus Jensen, in his History of Provo, Utah, relates three attempts in which Bishop Johnson tried to make

¹Ibid., p. 305.
²"Journal History," July 18, 1853.
³Bean, op. cit., p. 91, footnote.
⁴Ibid., p. 90.
peace. Of one he writes:

They found the wounded man groaning with pain and the Indians greatly excited, but finally the leading Indians consented to discuss the matter and to accept in compensation for injuries sustained a beef, a gun, and a pair of blankets. The white envoys agreed to the terms of settlement, and an Indian was appointed to accompany them to Springville to collect the indemnity. The beef and the gun were soon procured; but on account of their scarcity, the getting of the blankets was a difficult matter. Angered by the delay, the Indian, with a savage yell, suddenly tore away toward the hostile camp.¹

Bishop Johnson took immediate action to protect the town against Indian attack; and the next day after the disturbance (July 18th) he ordered Caldwell's cavalry and Parry's infantry of the Nauvoo Legion to be prepared for immediate action.² Chief Walker and his tribe broke camp the same day and moved from Spring Creek to Payson Canyon where he joined his brother Arropine and his band. Bishop Johnson, not losing hope for reconciliation, followed them to Payson Canyon but was unable to reach any agreement with them.³ About this time the wounded Showeroshoakats died and "pandemonium broke loose in the camp," and the peace envoy upon their return to Springville had great difficulty in escaping from the Indians.⁴

The same night (July 18th) it appears that Chief Arropine went to Payson and ate at the house of President McClellan (grandfather of the organist). Everything appeared

¹Jensen, op. cit., p. 93.
³Bean, op. cit., p. 90.
⁴Jensen, op. cit., p. 94.
to be peaceable. The Chief ate his supper, mounted his pony, and rode toward his camp. Soon after, a shot was heard and Alexander Keele, who was standing guard, was killed.\textsuperscript{1} This cruel act has been attributed by some to Arropine because it happened so near to the time of his departure from Payson.\textsuperscript{2} Others doubt that he had anything to do with it. Interpreter George W. Bean claims that Alexander Keele was killed by "Wahwoonoh, a reckless Ute brave."\textsuperscript{3} However, the truce which had almost been achieved was now ended. A last attempt was made to negotiate peace by leading men of Payson who visited the Indian braves on Hogsback in Payson Canyon. In this peace parley the leaders of Payson demanded that the murderer of Keele be punished. This demand was refused. It was inconsistent to the Indians that the murderer of Keele should be punished when James Ivie was not punished for the killing of Showeroshoakats. At the failure of these negotiations it was generally understood that war had been declared by the Indian tribe.\textsuperscript{4}

An editorial in the Deseret News illustrates the feelings of the time:

It is well known to the residents of this Territory that the Indian Chief, Walker, has been surly in his feelings and expressions at divers times and places within our borders, for more than one year past, and that he has repeatedly endeavored to raise an excitement and open war

\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{1}"Journal History," July 30, 1853.
\textsuperscript{2}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{3}Bean, op. cit., p. 93.
\textsuperscript{4}Bean, op. cit., p. 93.
out of small pretexts, that in former times he would have smiled at. It is equally well known that, in the midst of all Walker's folly, Gov. Young has pursued an invariable, and uniformly mild course towards him and his tribe, and has counseled our citizens so to do, and that counsel has been followed in all the settlements without any deviation worthy of notice, but it at last appears that all this does not prevent a still greater exhibition of perfect folly and wickedness on the part of Walker. His cunning and treachery, his thieving and murderous propensities have outweighed the constantly open and extended hand of utmost kindness, and on mere pretext, which he could have satisfactorily arranged in a moment, had he possessed a spark of good feeling, he has declared open war.¹

¹"Journal History," July 30, 1853.
CHAPTER IV

STRATEGY OF THE WALKER WAR

Complications at the Death of Alexander Keele

After the death of Alexander Keele (July 18th), the Indians near Payson began moving their families up the canyon to Little Mountain. The noisy squaws and papooses awakened the sleeping families at Stewart's sawmill who sensed the impending danger and fled to the creek bed. The brush along the creek concealed their flight and the water muffled the sound of their footsteps as they stealthily made their way down the canyon. Regardless of all these precautions, occasional shots were fired by Indians who heard the fleeing families pass through the brush. Upon their arrival at the lower mill, wet and frightened, they found that their group, now increased by other families, consisted of twenty-two men, women, and children. William McClellan, one of the group, volunteered to go to Payson for help. However, after his departure the group was afraid that he might be killed and thus not return, so they started for Payson with a team and wagon. To make the Indians think that they were armed, they held sticks over their shoulders to imitate guns. A detachment of militia, sent by Colonel Conover, eventually arrived and escorted them safely.
to Payson. ¹

The citizens of Payson notified all the neighboring towns of the possibility of an Indian attack and the various communities, sensing the danger which threatened Payson, sent all the men they could spare.² Colonel Peter W. Conover, commander of the Utah Military District, was notified at his home in Springville that Payson was in need of help. He started for Payson with a detachment of fifty men on the morning of the 19th with orders to reconnoiter the country, warn the people, and add re-enforcements to the unfortified settlements.³ Lieutenant Colonel William H. Kimball and one hundred mounted men⁴ joined Colonel Conover at Payson amid the excitement and fear of an expected Indian attack. Even though it was only 11:00 a.m. it was decided that the troopers should remain in Payson until the following day. They assisted in strengthening the fortifications of the town and their presence greatly increased the morale of the citizens. Conover, however, had already received word from the rescue party returning from Payson Canyon that the Indians had departed in the direction of Manti. Had the Indians intended to strike Payson before their departure, they could have massacred the whole settlement.

²Huff, op. cit., p. 435.
³Conover, op. cit., p. 33.
⁴Peter Gottfredson, Indian Depredations of Utah (Salt Lake City: Skelton Publishing Co., 1919), p. 54.
since there were four hundred Indians in the neighborhood at the time.

Small groups of disgruntled Indians struck during the night of July 19th in a number of places. An attack upon Mt. Pleasant was repulsed by a large force of defenders and the alarmed Indians fled to the mountains, leaving one dead Indian behind. Several head of cattle were stolen at Manti and three horses from Nephi. William Jolley, while on guard duty at Springville, was wounded in the arm.1

Conover's detachment left Manti on the 20th and spent the night at Salt Creek with Colonel George A. Smith, who held council with them concerning the gravity of the situation. Groups of Indians were again busy during the night. Allred's settlement was attacked and the guard at Nephi was fired upon but without inflicting any damage.2

The troops arrived in Manti on the 21st and proceeded to prepare the city for a probable attack since it had been reported that the Utes were coming toward Sanpete. The expected raid came during the night, but the attack was repulsed by the careful plans and military maneuvers of Colonel Conover. The disappointed Indians had to satisfy themselves with two yoke of oxen which they found at the mouth of the canyon. To recover the oxen Conover divided his forces and sent them in pursuit of the Indians. One of the detachments, led by Lieutenant Colonel Jabez Knowlin, overtook ten Indians as they

1Deseret News, July 30, 1853. 2Ibid.
were butchering the stolen animals. The savages, when asked if they were enemies, opened fire upon the troopers. All ten Indians were killed in the ensuing battle.\textsuperscript{1} Since there were only ten Indians with the stolen oxen, it might indicate that there were only a few involved in the attack on Manti.

As the hostilities had spread to other areas, Colonel Conover and his men received word to return home on July 23rd that they might better serve their own communities.\textsuperscript{2}

**Brigham Young's Policy During the War**

These constant Indian attacks caused Governor Young to place the entire Territory of Utah under martial law. An order issued on July 21st outlined the policy followed by the Governor during the period of hostility. It reads as follows:

Head Quarters, Nauvoo Legion, and of the
Militia of the Territory of Utah
Great Salt Lake City, July 21st, 1853

General Orders No. 1.

I. Owing to the present position of our Indian relations, it has become apparent that the policy of constructing forts and occupying them, which has been so often urged by the General Authorities of this Territory upon the various settlements, should now be adopted and rigidly enforced.

II. The Commandants of the various Military Districts in the Territory, viz, South, Cottonwood, Utah, Juab, San Pete, Pauvan and Iron Military Districts, and North, Davis and Weber, and Western Jordan, and Tooele, West, will cause all of the forces under their commands respectively to repair immediately to their posts in their various settlements and locations, and Col. Peter W. Conover, Majors Markham and Boyce will forthwith bring their present expedition against the Utah Indians to a close and return to their several posts in their respective Districts, together with the forces under their commands.

III. All Absentees, citizens, and residents of the various settlements and Districts above mentioned are

\textsuperscript{1}Conover, op. cit., p. 33. \textsuperscript{2}Ibid.
hereby requested and instructed to repair to their various locations without delay and all are desired to remain at home in order to enable the various Officers and authorities to carry into effect these orders and instructions.

IV. The Commandants of the several Districts will upon the receipt of these orders proceed to put all settlements within their respective Districts in a state of efficient defence. No settlement must be allowed to remain without having a good and substantial Fort and more whenever it is necessary, and the people should universally occupy them and reside in them. They will also construct good and sufficient Coralls for stock and Stack Yards for the Grain, and be vigilant in preserving all the Stock and Grain from the Indians, and in no case permit an Indian to commit any depredation upon the property in any of your districts and also lend your aid, and require as much as possible that all the Grain, Hay, and Vegetables be taken care of and preserved that nothing be lost or wasted.

V. They will also proceed to repair and put in complete order their arms, ordnance and prepare ammunition, guns, and means of Defense and see that all is kept in a perfect state for immediate use.

VI. No person must be allowed to give sell or in any way dispose of to any Indian man, woman, or child, any Gun, Powder, Lead, Caps, Flints or any other weapon or species of ammunition, or give them any aid or comfort whatever, but give them no chance to take property of any description, but let them return if they will to their various locations and remain as much as usual as possible, only not giving them any opportunity to take life or property. Let no person go into any Kanyon alone, nor indeed without sufficient force to take care of themselves, and in no case go without sufficient guard, that no such party may be taken by surprise by the Indians.

VII. All Stock should be strongly herded by armed Herdsmen and strongly guarded and coralled at night.

VIII. It is anticipated that the Indians will continue to commit depredations as they shall have opportunity, which opportunity it is most desirable should be avoided as much as possible, but we wish it distinctly understood that no retaliation be made and no offence offered, but for all to act . . . [the next part is cut away].

. . . [the first part of No. IX is cut away] Let every enterprise be guarded, and be careful that no fire shall be put into the stacks of grain or fields; and look out that you are not surprised in harvesting and haying in the fields or in hauling, between the fields and stack yards, and as soon as may be, thrash the wheat and safely store it, and be careful that you save hay sufficient for the winter, if you should have to keep up stock, or in case any emergency should arise. We do not expect that any person will complain, or think it hard to comply with these instructions, for it is for their good and salvation for them to do so; the safety of the settlements depend upon it, and we expect
them to be complied with, whether it suits every individual circumstance or not, and the Commandants of the various Military Districts, and authorities of the various settlements, are required to carry them into effect.

X. The Commandants of the several Districts, are required as soon as these orders come to hand to forthwith publish the same, and to cause copies to be forwarded to all the settlements in their respective Districts, and the bearer of these dispatches is instructed to give notice, and publish them as he goes.

It is desirable in order to completely carry out the policy indicated in the foregoing, that no threats or intimidations be made or exercised toward the Indians, no more than if nothing unusual had occurred to destroy peaceful relations heretofore existing.

Brigham Young,
Governor, Ex-Officio Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and
Command-in-chief of the Militia.
Daniel H. Wells,
Lieut. General, Commanding
Nauvoo Legion.

On July 25th Colonel George A. Smith was placed in command of all military districts south of Great Salt Lake County and given full military authority to enforce the order of July 21st. The same day Governor Young sent Walker the following letter:

Great Salt Lake City
July 25, 1853

Capt. Walker:
I send you some tobacco for you to smoke in the mountains when you get lonesome. You are a fool for fighting your best friends, for we are the best friends, and the only friends that you have in the world. Everybody else would kill you if they could only get a chance. If you get hungry send some friendly Indian down to the settlement and we will give you some beef-cattle and flour. If you are afraid of the tobacco which I send you, you can let some of your prisoners try it first, and then you will know that it is good. When you get good natured again I would like to see you. Don't you think you would be

1"Journal History," July 21, 1853.

2Ibid., July 25, 1853.
ashamed? You know that I have always been your best friend. Brigham Young.¹

President Young expressed this same philosophy regarding the Indians in a meeting at the tabernacle on July 21, 1853. He said:

How many times have I been asked in the past week, what I intend to do with Walker. I say LET HIM ALONE, SEVERELY. I have not made war on the Indians, nor am I calculating to do it. My policy is to give them presents, and be kind to them. Instead of being Walker's enemy, I have sent him a great pile of tobacco to smoke when he is lonely in the mountains. He is now at war with the only friends he has upon this earth, and I want him to have some tobacco to smoke.²

Colonel Smith took immediate measures to enforce the orders he had received. He was a kindly man who did not take pleasure in slaying the Indians.³ He was also an advocate of Brigham Young's policy that "no retaliation be made and no offence offered" toward them in this outbreak.⁴ His words were:

...refraining from indulging in acts of retaliation or violence against, but manifesting a conciliatory disposition towards the Indians, and at the same time watching so vigilantly as to be able to punish, with instant death, those who should attempt to steal cattle or kill the settlers.⁵


²Cecil J. Alter, Utah, the Storied Domain (Chicago: The American Historical Society, Inc., 1932), 1, 159.

³"History of George A. Smith," The Contributor, IV (March, 1883), 203.

⁴"Journal History," July 21, 1853.

⁵"History of George A. Smith," op. cit., p. 203.
Preparations of the Settlers

The Indians withdrew into the protected recesses of the mountains where they could prey at will upon small isolated settlements. Colonel Smith ordered all inhabitants to gather into forts and to protect their stock with armed guards. During the next few days the settlers began to abandon their homes in outlying areas and move into central locations. The hardship and labor required to make such a move and set up living quarters again within the fort was tremendous. Smith said that

These measures involved much labor on the part of those inhabitants who had to leave their houses and build anew in a fort, but they soon brought the Indians to terms, and no doubt prevented a long list of murders from Indian vengeance.¹

Joel Hills Johnson, a pioneer of Iron County, gives a description of his move into Cedar City as follows:

July 28, 1853.

I then packed up my family and household furnitures and moved into Cedar fort or City. In a few days a detachment of Militia, sent by order of the governor under the command of Colonel G. A. Smith and Kimball, arrived to strengthen the southern settlements. They assisted in pulling down the buildings at Lees and Shirtzes settlement, and also the houses at my place, and moving them on to the ground of the new city or fort, which was laid out on the south side of the creek, on to which ground was soon moved the inhabitants and buildings of the old fort.²

Angus W. Woodbury in his history of southern Utah tells about moving the settlement of Paragonah: "Houses were demolished, windows, doors and furniture loaded into wagons, and

¹Ibid.

they were soon on their way to Parowan."¹ Parowan became a small military camp. Roll call was taken both night and morning and each man kept provisions on hand for any sudden expedition against the Indians.²

William Leany, an early settler of Parowan, wrote in his diary that

We were here Anoyed with Walkers Band of Ute Indians, and when we Saw our numbers So Small they thought to Read upon our Stock, and were otherwise very Saucy but we were well organized in a millatery Capassity having many of our number who had Served in the War with Mexico, and in the year 1853 we were under arms more or less for one whole year Major John Steele was our Commanding officer during that War and by good management and Constant Watchfulness we never lost a man, and at last Subdued the Indians and made them our Friends.³

The inhabitants of Mt. Pleasant moved to Allred's settlement (Spring City) where they helped to build a small fort.⁴ But the Indians, alert to every weakness, drove off two hundred head of livestock from the settlement on July 29th.⁵ Two of the stolen horses escaped from the Indians and returned to the settlement, and were used as a means of communication with Manti. When relief arrived all the inhabitants


⁵"Journal History," July 29, 1853.
of Spring City and Mt. Pleasant were moved to the fort at Manti, where they remained until the spring of 1854.¹ Hans Dinesen who had settled at Allred's settlement relates the suffering he experienced as follows:

When we got to Manti there were but few houses into which members of our company could get, so we had to camp in our wagons on the square near where the old fort was and we suffered severely with the cold. I had only a thin covering over the wagon. Ice froze over everything, the snow was one foot deep over the ground. We barely kept alive; our food was not plentiful, and our bread was made of bran and smusty ground wheat mixed with our frozen potatoes; and wheat was ground in a coffee mill owned by Parshall, as there was no grist mills, and our bread when baked was as black as coal, and on this we had to satisfy our appetites three times a day. But this was not the worst of our troubles; the cold suffering was, if possible, worse than hunger, as we had no fire only what we built outside on the ground near our wagons. Night after night each man had to take his turn of standing guard. . . . Every morning and evening the drum was beat for roll call by "Drummer Beal," where the orders were given the men for place and time of guard.

About an hour was consumed at each call, standing around in the deep snow, very thinly clad, some with their knees and toes out, and hair pushing itself through the holes in the crown of their old hats, and those that had nothing for a wrap, made a "Surrappa" out of an old horse blanket by cutting a hole in the middle, and putting their heads through.²

The settlers in Millard County were scattered on isolated farms. They were all moved into the settlement of Fillmore where they built a larger fort.³

In Utah County the same precautions were taken. The settlers of Santaquin were moved to Payson since the settlement was too small to protect itself.⁴ Cedar Valley moved to Lehi

²"South Sanpete Stake Records, Manti Ward," 1853.
³"Millard Stake Records," 1853.
⁴Tullidge, op. cit., p. 442.
July 28, 1853, but moved back again in September and fortified their settlement by setting cedar pickets between the houses. The city of Lehi built a fort and a parapet in which a guard maintained a constant lookout for Indians.¹

The building of a fort was undertaken with great hardship. James McBride, one of the earlier settlers of Grantsville, said that

During the winter of 1853-54 we built a fort thirty rods square to protect our families from the Indians. The walls on the north, west and half of the south sides was built of dried mud. It was five ft. thick at the bottom, twelve feet high and eighteen inches thick at the top. The east wall and half of the south was built of 6" - 4" - 12" adobes with rock foundation. This part of the wall was three feet thick at the bottom, twelve feet high and eighteen inches thick at the top. The total length of wall built was 120 rods and the average cost per rod was twenty five dollars. ... ²

The settlers of Mountainville (Alpine) were moved to the pasture of Willard Richards where they camped in wagons for the duration of hostilities.³ Spanish Fork and Palmyra were greatly exposed to Indian attack but survived by enforcing strict military discipline and posting guards both night and day.⁴ The increased hostility even alarmed the citizens of Salt Lake City, for on August 27th a selected committee made plans to build a wall around the city.⁵

There were some settlers who were reluctant to move

---

¹"Lehi Stake Records," Manuscript History, 1853. Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City.


³Tullidge, op. cit., p. 139. ⁴Ibid.

⁵"Journal History," August 27, 1853.
into protected areas. Heber C. Kimball at a special conference held on August 13th reprimanded the dilatory settlers as follows:

The Indians are now upon us, and our brethren are scattered off, three, four, and five families in a place, away off in this and in that direction, exposed to the Lamanites. They have been called into the city that they might be saved, and they are now teasing us, and wanting to go back, and live in those exposed locations without a fort.¹

George A. Smith, also in a Conference sermon on October 7th, told the pioneers that if they had obeyed the instructions given to them from the president that there would not have been an Indian war. He said:

After the Indians have come and peeled your heads clean, murdered your wives, killed off your children, burned your houses, and plundered your property, then you can move into forts, and it will be all right. That appears to me to be the kind of fort ing I can observe in the thinly settled parts of this county; in the cities the people are more wide awake.²

Some of the settlers complained about George A. Smith's policy of destroying houses in isolated areas. He justified this policy in the same discourse as follows:

There were several men wounded through leaving their houses and not throwing them down, for they became a barricade for the Indians; so I took upon me the responsibility of removing such dangerous places as would give shelter to our enemies, while they pierced us with their bullets. Some men would tell me such a course was not strictly according to the law. I told them I should save the lives of the people. And if they had not been gathered up, scores of men, women and children would have been butchered before now.³

¹"Journal History," August 13, 1853.

²Ibid., October 7, 1853.

³Ibid.
George A. Smith passed from settlement to settlement during the summer enforcing the precautionary measures outlined by the Governor. As he was a large man, the journeys were difficult for him to bear. Nevertheless, upon his return in August he was able to report that the settlements were all well defended.\(^1\) The policy of gathering into fortified enclosures and fighting a defensive war had saved the lives of both white people and Indians.

**Indian Depredations**

Thwarted in their efforts to prey on isolated families and villages, the Indians watched for every opportunity to steal the livestock. Their plan of attack seemed to follow a common pattern. They would watch from some hidden point until the herd had been taken out to graze and then with wild yells would dash down from the hills on horseback and circle the fort. The men in the fort would run to their posts, the women and children would huddle in the darkest corner, and the herders of the stock would flee for safety. Then about fifty warriors who had purposely remained hidden would gather up the stock and hurry toward the mountains. As soon as the thieves and the cattle were ascending the foothills, the Indians circling the settlement would join them. Often the only stock ever recovered were the cows that returned to their calves at the fort.\(^2\)

---

\(^1\) *Heart Throbs of the West*, pp. 461-496.

Soon after Colonel Conover reached Manti he sent Clark Roberts and John W. Berry, July 24th, with a message to Governor Young. As these two men passed through the vacated settlement of Santaquin, they were fired upon by Indians who were hiding in an empty house. Roberts was wounded in the shoulder and Berry in the wrist. They were pursued by the Indians to Payson but were saved by the guards of the settlement.\textsuperscript{1}

About the same time two guards at Palmyra, W. S. Berry and Charles Price, were attacked while herding stock. Price received a serious wound in the thigh while trying to recover the stolen animals.\textsuperscript{2}

On August 10th a company of ten men under Lieutenant Robert Burns were attacked while camped at Mona. During the battle Isaac Durrin was wounded in the knee and one Indian was killed. Two horses were also killed.\textsuperscript{3}

Again on August 18th the Indians attacked four men who were hauling lumber from Snyder's mill near Parley's Park. Two of the men, John Dixon and John Quayle, were killed and John Hoagland was wounded. Hoagland and John Knight were able to unhook the team from the wagon, climb on their backs and escape down the canyon. A detachment of militia recovered the bodies and dismantled the mill.\textsuperscript{4}

When news of the death of

\textsuperscript{1}Gottfredson, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 48. \textsuperscript{2}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{3}"South Sanpete Stake Records, Manti Ward," p. 10.

\textsuperscript{4}"Journal History," August 18, 1853.
these two men was received, Brigham Young issued the following proclamation on August 19th:

Whereas the Utah Indians of this territory have been for some time, and still are, in a state of open and declared war with the white settlers, committing injures upon them at every opportunity, killing them, driving off their stock, and burning their mills and dwellings, and

Whereas, numerous responsible affidavits are lodged in the office of the United States district court for Utah Territory, setting forth that certain white inhabitants of this territory, in defiance of all law, justice and humanity, have trafficked and do still traffic with the said hostile Indians, selling them powder, lead and guns, and threaten to continue to do so, and

Whereas, such conduct tends directly to augment burdens which are already onerous: Therefore, to promote the public safety and preserve the property and lives of the people from hostile Indians,

I Brigham Young, Governor and Ex-officio Superintendent of Indian Affairs of the said Territory of Utah, do hereby order and direct as follows to-wit:

1st. Let all the forces be in readiness to march to any point at a moment's notice; and when not in service, remain in their various locations using all diligence to completely secure sufficient hay, and all crops, and keeping strict guard upon stock, and all exposed property, and prosecuting the completion of their defenses with all possible speed.

2nd. Let every person be prepared to defend himself, and to aid others by personal service, or with supplies, whenever required.

3rd. Every person, whether resident or non-resident, is hereby strictly forbidden to give, trade or in any way voluntarily put in possession of any Utah Indian, any powder, lead, gun, sword, knife or any weapon or munition of war whatever; or to give, or in any manner render to any Utah Indian, any aid, shelter, food or comfort, either directly or indirectly unless by permission or license from the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, the Indian agent or sub-agent; and every license to trade with the Indians, in this territory, is hereby revoked; and every person to whom opportunity offers is required to notify passing emigrants, and non-residents of this proclamation, so far as trading with, or aiding Indians is concerned, and forthwith report to the nearest civil or military officer, every case of departure from the most rigid compliance with this prohibition and revocation.

4th. As small and large parties of Indians are constantly prowling about, watching for unguarded points, let all who go to canyons, or any retired places, go armed, and in sufficient numbers to be safe; and all are required to be constantly on the alert; and all officers must
preserve order, and carry out the orders and regulations which have been given, and enforce the same when necessary.

5th. Heavy expenses have already been incurred by the inhabitants of this territory, in defending themselves against hostile Indians, and much property has been lost and destroyed, and such will continue to be the case until hostilities cease.

Therefore, officers of every grade, when on duty, are required to keep an accurate account of all services performed, and expenses incurred under their commands on account of hostile Indians, or other evil disposed persons, whether residents or non-residents, and promptly forward the same to the office of the Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of said Territory to be affixed, at Great Salt Lake City, this nineteenth day of August, in the year of the Independence of the United States of America, the Seventy eighth. By the Governor.

Brigham Young

Willard Richards, Secretary Pro Tem.

The spirit of hostility among the Utes spread to other tribes. The Pahvant Indians in the vicinity of Fillmore shot and killed William Hatton who was standing guard on September 13th in the town of Fillmore. On September 26th Stephen Markham engaged a group of Indians camped at the mouth of Salt Creek near Nephi. When Markham demanded their weapons, the Indians chose to fight rather than give them up. In the battle C. B. Hancock was slightly wounded and a number of Indians were killed.

One of the most horrible massacres of the Walker War was that which took place on October 1st at Uinta Springs east of Salt Creek Canyon. A caravan of fourteen wagons loaded

---

1Deseret News, October 1, 1853, p. 2.
2Gottfredson, op. cit., p. 59.
3"Journal History," October 15, 1853.
with wheat and provisions for the Semi-Annual Conference at Salt Lake City left Manti on September 30th. All wagons were to camp at Shumway Springs for the night but the drivers of the two leading wagons disobeyed orders and continued on to Uinta Springs where they camped about daybreak.¹ The four drivers, William E. Reid, James Nelson, William Luke, and Thomas Clark were attacked by the Indians and horribly mutilated. The sacks of grain were ripped open and scattered over the spot covering the body of Thomas Clark.² The bodies of three of the men were picked up by the rear wagons and taken to Nephi for burial, but the body of Thomas Clark under the wheat was not found until later.³ The Indians followed the wagons into Nephi, yelling defiance and derision at the teamsters. However, the militia arrested seven of the Indians in Nephi and shot them.⁴

A few days later, on October 6th, John Warner and William Mills were guarding the grist mill near the mouth of Manti Canyon. They had been assigned to remain at the mill until they had ground sufficient flour for the winter. While they were gathering wood near the grist mill the Indians killed them. Later the Indians returned and burned the mill. This atrocity, they claimed, was in retaliation for the death of

¹Lever, op. cit., p. 21.
²"Journal History," October 15, 1853.
³"Sanpete Stake Records," p. 11.
⁴Lever, op. cit., p. 21.
their comrades whom Major Higgins of Manti had executed for stealing cattle.  

About this time eight Indians were killed in a skirmish at Mona and one squaw and two boys were taken as prisoners.  

The settlers who had left crops in the fields would return periodically to care for and harvest them. They were cautioned, however, to go well armed and in groups, or under the protection of the militia. Those who observed these precautions were able to harvest their crops unmolested. However, there were those few who disregarded this counsel and suffered therefrom.  

A group of settlers from Payson returned to Santaquin on October 14th to harvest a crop of potatoes. Ferney F. Tindrel, contrary to orders, went some distance from the other men and commenced to work. Thirty Indians appeared. Tindrel tried to run for safety but was shot and scalped. The boy who was with him hid in the brush and escaped harm. The other harvesters hid from the Indians until help came from Payson.  

Later the houses at Santaquin were burned by the Indians.  

The Gunnison massacre was the worst tragedy which occurred during the Walker War. The Deseret News implied that this massacre was not related to the Indian troubles of the

---

1Ibid.  
2"Journal History," October 15, 1853.  
3Gottfredson, op. cit., p. 82.  
4"Journal History," November 13, 1853.
time but was the result of the foolish conduct of emigrants passing through the territory. However, it was an expression of the general feeling of all the Indians in the Territory. Hostility among them seemed to be contagious since all had some grievance against the whites.

Captain J. W. Gunnison was the topographical engineer for the Central Pacific Railroad. He and his company were surveying on the eastern bank of the Sevier River about fifteen miles north of the lake. The party separated to make a reconnaissance of the Sevier Lake. Captain Gunnison's group was attacked by Pahvant Indians on the morning of October 26th as they were eating breakfast. Seven of the party were killed, including Captain Gunnison.  

It is true that the cause of this terrible massacre can be traced to a company of emigrants known as Hilliard's or Hildreth's company. This group had killed three Indians whose only purpose was to trade with them. Anson Call, President at Fillmore, tried to make peace between the Indians and the emigrants but the sons of one of the slain Indians demanded revenge. Israel Call, son of Anson Call, describes the incident as follows:

Father, with a company of about fifteen, went after the emigrants and overtook them. The emigrants had an Indian with a rope tied around his neck, leading him behind a wagon. Three Indians had come into their camp the night before to trade with them, and the emigrants had seized them forcibly and stripped them of everything.

---

1Deseret News, November 11, 1853.

2"Journal History," October 26, 1853.
They then turned one of the Indians loose and told him to run; when he got a short distance from the camp, they shot him down. They did the same with another who was severely wounded. When the third was untied and told to run, he refused, and so they took him along with them and tied him up for the night. This latter one was liberated by father and his company, and then the talk began for peace. The Indians who had come with father were bent on killing the whole company of emigrants.¹

The Indians followed the emigrant train for some time but were unable to attack. Because they could not obtain satisfaction they massacred Gunnison's party in retaliation.² Governor Young sent Dimick B. Huntington with a posse to gather the remains of the dead. They buried the parts of the bodies which the wolves had not destroyed on the bank of the river.³

¹"Journal History," October 26, 1853.
²Ibid.
³Ibid.
CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION OF THE WAR

Early Proposals of Peace

There were several groups of Indians who had grievances but did not participate in open hostility. To avoid being mistaken for hostile Indians they remained much in seclusion. This was pointed out in the report of George W. Armstrong, Indian Agent for Utah Territory, as follows:

This band, numbering seventy lodges, are the most harmless and friendly of any of the Utah Indians. About the beginning of the Indian war of 1853, this band would not take part against the whites and quietly left the scene of action and have not since returned until the present. About the eighth of the month I was visited by the old chief (Sawriet) in person, who was very friendly, together with Roo-ea-gwoosh, (or Horse Tail), Tshare-puegin, (or White-eye) who made about the same statements as the others.1

Jacob Hamblin, a resident of Tooele during this period, was sent with a company of troops to recover some stolen stock. He related an experience which illustrated the attitude of some Indians:

One morning at daybreak, we surrounded their camp before they were aware of our presence. 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." I was not familiar with their language, but I knew what he said. Such an

1U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, op. cit., 1855, p. 205.
influence came over me that I would not have killed one of them for all the cattle in Tooele Valley. ¹

The policy of Brigham Young to fight a defensive war protected such Indians. Certain of these friendly Indians, desiring to know the attitude of the settlers toward them, made requests for peace in the fall of 1853. As early as September 10th, White-eye, principal chief of the Utes, and Antero, chief of the Yampa Utes, accompanied by a large band of Indians visited the Governor and requested peace. ² Ammon, the brother of Walker, visited Parowan on November 28th and sued for peace in behalf of Walker and his tribe. ³ In a letter to the Deseret News on December 28th, Huntington reported that a delegation of twenty-five Indians had come into Payson from Eu-win-ty Valley with the message that many of their tribe wanted to follow the advice of the Governor to be at peace with the whites. ⁴

In February, 1854, Captain Hancock of Payson captured two Indians, one of them being the son of Peteetneet. Hancock held the son in captivity and sent the other Indian to notify Peteetneet about his son's imprisonment and to invite Peteetneet to Payson. He arrived the next morning and as a result of his visit a peace was agreed upon. ⁵ Peteetneet

²"Journal History," September 10, 1853.
³Tbid., December 8, 1853.
⁴Deseret News, December 22, 1853, p. 3.
⁵Memories That Live, p. 435.
returned to his retreat and apparently quarreled violently with Squash-head's band because they had stolen cattle from Spanish Fork. Peteetneet sent Indian Bowlegs with a number of the stolen cattle back to Payson on March 24th. Spanish Fork was the home of Peteetneet and his tribe. After this incident, he and four lodges came down to Spanish Fork and camped within the fort. At the request of Brigham Young, the people of Spanish Fork built a home for the Chief.

The winter was severe for the Indians. The settlers had been told not to give them any comfort unless they were peaceably disposed. As a result they had to subsist on stolen livestock. Other items of food which they usually obtained from the settlers during peace times were not obtainable. However, the citizens of Parowan fed about one hundred peaceful Piedades during the winter. A letter to Nelson Higgins of Manti, April 9th, described the condition of the Indians near Sanpete:

The Indians around this place appear perfectly friendly. Quite a number of the Utahs have visited us. A few are here now, tho' the most of them have left, as they came in for some provisions, saying that their friends were hungry; and so soon as they could procure a few pounds of flour to carry to their suffering friends, they were off. Some two or three came in a few days ago, saying that a small party were encamped on the Salt creek in the Sevier valley, who were on the point of starvation. I immediately dispatched one of them to the camp with some flour.

1"Journal History," March 24, 1854.
2Tullidge, op. cit., III, pp. 140-141.
3"Journal History," January 22, 1854.
4Ibid., April 9, 1854.
Walker and his Indians had not fared much better. It was reported on November 11th that Chief Walker had quarreled with his tribe and left them to spend the winter with the Navahoes. The Pahvantes claimed that Walker was not angry with the whites but that his brothers were angry. During the winter he sent a party of thirteen warriors under the leadership of his brother Sanpete to California on a raiding expedition for horses. They were successful in taking nearly one thousand head but the Mexicans pursued them and recovered all but one hundred and twenty horses. Walker, as a result, felt that he was a poor man. Such a paltry number of horses limited his trading activities for the year. He now needed the help of the settlers, so he and Peteetneet visited George A. Smith on March 4th and smoked the pipe of peace. Walker stated that he had visited all the Indians in the country and had told them to be at peace with the Mormons and not to "disturb their animals."

Such offers of peace from the Indians were not to be ignored by Brigham Young. To assure Walker of his good faith, he sent Ezra T. Benson and Erastus Snow to Fillmore in Millard County to survey land for Walker and Kanosh at Corn Creek. On April 1st Major Bedell, Indian agent for the Territory, and Dimick B. Huntington, interpreter, were dispatched to Fillmore

1"Journal History," November 11, 1853.

2Ibid., March 4, 1854.  
3Ibid.

4Ibid., March 20, 1854.
to arrange for peace talks. Walker had expressed desires for a lasting peace, a place to dwell, to build a home, and to raise grain.\(^1\) George W. Bean, Orin Porter Rockwell, John W. Murdock, and other friends of the Indians were sent to help in these peace arrangements.\(^2\) Brigham Young had assigned Bean and Rockwell the task "of keeping Chief Walker in hand and peaceable for a year if it cost the Church $10,000."\(^3\) Bean and his party loaded with presents and a letter from the Governor contacted Walker in Beaver. Walker, trying to impress the visiting group, put on a demonstration of how he would treat his enemies. Waxing dramatic he struck Beaver-ads, another chief, in the face with an open knife, causing a wound that bled profusely. Beaver-ads would have killed Walker had it not been for the intervention of the truce party. Walker had to pacify the offended chief by giving up part of the presents he had received.\(^4\)

At this meeting Walker agreed to meet President Young at Chicken Creek in fifteen days, with the provision that he would be given many presents. He had several complaints so Bean's party accompanied him to Chicken Creek, where they left him in good spirits to await the coming of Governor Young.\(^5\)

\(^1\)Ibid., April 1, 1854. Letter from Brigham Young to Amasa M. Lyman.

\(^2\)Bean, *op. cit.* , p. 93.

\(^3\)Ibid., p. 94.

\(^4\)Ibid.

\(^5\)Ibid.
The Peace Treaty at Chicken Creek

On May 4th the Governor's party began the trip southward. The party was large, according to Thomas Bullock, consisting of eighty-two men, fourteen women and five children who traveled in thirty-four carriages and the same number of wagons. There were ninety-five animals in the caravan. Some of the leading men were Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, John Taylor, Daniel H. Wells, Wilford Woodruff, Ezra T. Benson, Lorenzo and Erastus Snow, Huntington, Bean, and Rockwell.1 During the journey Daniel H. Wells forwarded a letter to Chiefs Walker and Grospene to inform them of the date of the arrival of the Governor and his party. President Young requested that four beef cattle be sent from Provo to precede his meeting with Walker. The party arrived in Nephi on the evening of May 10th.2

... we arrived at 12:15 M. and formed a corral near a willow patch. There was plenty of grass in the neighborhood and our animals felt well. A company of Indians came in on horses, singing and firing guns to Walker. At 1:30 p.m. Pres. Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Parley P. Pratt, Wilford Woodruff, Ezra T. Benson, Geo. A. Smith, John Taylor, Isaac Morley, Dimick E. Huntington and others went to Walker's tent; but he said he was sick, and lost his spirit and would not talk. At 4 p.m. we took some flour and wheat down to Walker and then went to his tent.3

Walker's disposition can be attributed to Rockwell for he had preceded the President's party and had slipped the old Chief a bottle of whiskey. Walker had swallowed a good share of it in one gulp so that by the time the Governor arrived he

1"Journal History," May 10, 1854.
2Ibid., May 11, 1854. 
3Ibid.
was half drunk. Even Huntington could not arouse his spirits. Evidently the whiskey did not have the effect that Rockwell planned,¹ for the old chief sat sulking in his tent. He wanted it known that he was as great a chief as Brigham Young. He demonstrated this with his two thumbs, as he had on other occasions. The Mormon Governor, on the other hand, was not one to wait upon ceremonials. He could afford to humor this influential chieftain.

It was late in the afternoon when he and his party bowed themselves into the chief's tent. When all were assembled the pageantry of the Indian council began. The peace pipe passed from mouth to mouth in silent ceremonial. The Indian chiefs and whites sat crosslegged about the council circle in expectant anticipation. As the peace pipe was laid aside it was Sanpete who broke the silence in tragic eloquence as follows:

My son was a brave chief, he was so good to his old father and mother--one day Wa-yo-sha was hunting rabbits as food for his parents--the rifle of the white man killed him. When the night came, and he was still absent, his old mother went to look for her son; she walked a long way through the thick bushes; at the dawn of day, the mother and the son were both away, and the infirm and aged warrior was lonely; he followed the trail of his wife in the bush, and there he found the mother of his child, lying over the body of Wa-yo-sha, both dead from the same bullet. The old woman met her son, and while they were returning home, a bullet from the rifle of Americats shot them both down . . . old San Pete can no fight more, his hand trembles, his eyes are dim, the murderer of his wife, and brave Wa-yo-shaw, is still living, San Pete no make peace with Americats.²

¹Bean, op. cit., p. 94.
²Neff, op. cit., p. 380.
As each chief made known his grievance, all turned expectantly to Walker for his words would set the policy of the council; but Walker was unwilling to speak his mind. He would wait until the following morning. The words of his friends had made him sad and he wanted time to counsel with them.

When the council reconvened the next morning, the Governor had asked that twenty plugs of tobacco be distributed among the various chiefs at the council. An incident in its distribution almost disrupted the conference. Whitney states that

The two parties sat facing each other from opposite sides of the tepee in which the council was held, and the presents brought by the Governor were being distributed. Among the gifts was quite a quantity of tobacco. These General Wells was asked to dispense to the assembled braves. He did so, taking the sack which contained it and tossing to each of the warriors a plug of the compressed weed so delightful to the senses of most savages, and, it may be added, of most civilized men as well. The general's action though not meant to offend, was very displeasing to the dignified Ute Chieftain. His eyes blazed with anger, and he refused to lift his piece of tobacco from where it lay. Some one directed his attention to it, whereupon he remarked that he was not a dog, to have a present thrown to him, like a bone to a cur. General Wells good-naturally made amends of his oversight and taking a new plug of tobacco presented it to Walker with a polite bow. The chief's anger was at once dispelled, and the proceedings continued amicably to the close.¹

Brigham Young addressed the council, and Huntington acted as his interpreter. He expressed his friendliness toward the Indians and his sorrow that bad blood had risen between them. He also told them of the gifts he had brought for

¹Whitney, op. cit., p. 528.
Then Chief Walker spoke:

Wakara has heard all the talk of the good Mormon chief. Wakara no like to go to war with him. Sometimes Wakara take his young men, and go far away, to sell horses. When he is absent, then Americats come and kill his wife and children. Why not come and fight when Wakara is at home? . . . Wakara no want to fight more. Wakara talk with Great Spirit; Great Spirit say--'Make peace.' Wakara love Mormon chief; he is good man. When Mormon first come to live on Wakara's land, Wakara give him welcome. He give Wakara plenty bread, and clothes to cover his wife and children. Wakara no want to fight Mormon; Mormon chief very good man; he bring plenty oxen to Wakara. Wakara talk last night to Payede, to Kanutah, San Pete, Parvain --all Indian say 'No fight Mormon or Americats more.' If Indian kill white man again Wakara make Indian howl.  

Walker then signed the treaty. It made provisions that trade with the Indians would again be established. Orin Porter Rockwell and George W. Bean were appointed to trade with the Ute tribe. They were to attempt to recover all stolen animals from the Indians. As the Indians did not want to give them up, it was decided that it would be best to trade for the stolen animals rather than to take them forcibly.

Before leaving Chicken Creek, members of the Governor's party administered to Walker's sick child and Dr. Sprague gave advice as to its care. This so pleased the chief that he accompanied the white visitors on their trip south to Harmony.

The Governor's expedition into the southern territory had been planned at an opportune time. The Indians were coming

---

1Neff, op. cit., p. 380.
2Ibid., pp. 380-381.
4Bean, op. cit., p. 95.
from their winter retreats and were wondering where to spend the summer. The settlers had fenced their usual camping grounds, which created ill will between them. At this time of uncertainty they were pleased to hear the words of peace from the Mormon chief and were gratified with the gifts of cattle, blankets, clothing, and tobacco.¹

Walker's Implication in the War

Though the Walker War is named after the Ute chieftain, there is some doubt about his responsibility for it. During the peace talks at Chicken Creek he would not assume the blame for any hostilities during the war. He claimed that these had been perpetrated by young, hot-headed warriors whom he could not handle.² Evidence seems to justify this claim and to exonerate both Walker and his brother Arropine from instigating any plot resulting in bloodshed. At the death of Keele, when the whites followed the killer up Payson Canyon, Walker forbade his Indians from harming them. The Indians were in such force, being nearly four hundred in the neighborhood of Payson, that they could have killed all of the settlers of Payson had they so desired. The few white casualties of the war seem to indicate that it was not a planned campaign by the whole tribe. Arropine, to do penance for any personal war guilt, killed his favorite horse and his Sanpete squaw, saying, "If God is

²Julina Smith, op. cit., p. 97.
satisfied, I am.¹

Brigham Young spoke in Walker's defense at the General Conference of the Church, April 6, 1854:

Allow me to say a word in behalf of Walker. I tell this congregation and the world, the "Indian Walker," as he is called, has not been at the foundation of the difficulties we have had. He has had nothing to do with them. I told you so last summer, and I tell it to you now. I know it from that which is within me. Has he done no wrong? I did not say he has done no wrong—He has been angry and felt at times that he would like to destroy this people; but I do know, that he has been held by a superior power. At the very commencement of the fuss, he was not in favor of killing the whites... Who are the guilty Indians? A few bad men who thirst for blood, who do not have the spirit of the Lord, but love to steal Indian children, and kill one another; who love to steal from each other, and kill anybody, or everybody, in order to satisfy their thirst for blood. A few of them we know; but I tell you Walker has not been the cause of the Indian war; but the Lord will work out the salvation of this people if they do as they are told. I tell the brethren who live out from the city, that the Indians are friendly, and wish to make treaties.²

At the time of the raid upon Allred's settlement (Spring City), when two hundred head of livestock were taken, Chief Walker held the Indians back for three days and had given his consent to the raid only on the condition that the whites would be spared.³ Later he returned one of Allred's fine horses, knowing that his friend would need it.⁴

Again the general epistle of the Presidency of the Church for April 10th exonerates Walker from the depredations of the Walker War. It reads:

¹"Journal History," April 6, 1854. ²Ibid.
⁴Ibid.
It is proper to state, that many of these depredations, in fact nearly all of them, have been committed in the absence of Walker and Arrowpine, and without their knowledge or consent. It is known that he was hostile in his feelings, but many of his men were much more so; and he found it impossible longer to restrain them.\footnote{Journal History," April 10, 1854.}

It was also the opinion of George A. Smith, commander of the military district during this period, that hostilities were caused by a few "corrupt individuals who were fired with a desire for plunder." He said that

\textit{... when the Indians saw property scattered all over the plains, thousands of cattle and horses, with grain and everything spread before them in an unprotected condition, those that were evil minded among them, coveted our property, and they thought we could not defend it; and sure enough we could not; for we have more property than we can defend; we have more cattle than we can take care of; Indians can steal from us all the time, and we cannot take care of that which God has given us. ...}.\footnote{Ibid., October 7, 1853.}

\section*{Losses and Expenses of the War}

The casualties of the Walker War were negligible when compared with the casualties of other Indian uprisings. Brigham Young in his message to the legislature stated that twelve white men were killed during this period of hostility. The leaders of the Church were of the opinion that "every solitary instance of Indian hostility and depredation" had "been committed thro' neglect, in disobedience of orders, carelessness or disregarding the counsel which" had "been given from time to time."\footnote{Ibid., April 10, 1854. Epistle of the First Presidency taken from Deseret News, April 13, 1854, p. 3.} The small number of dead resulted from the policy...
outlined by Brigham Young at the beginning of the war. Only
two of the twelve lost their lives in the performance of their
duty. The remaining ten lost their lives because of carelessness in following instructions.\textsuperscript{1} Colonel George A. Smith asserted in his Conference address of April 6, 1854, that "not a single white person, save Kiel, has fallen during this entire Indian trouble, only when they were going directly contrary to, in direct opposition to, and in open defiance of the instructions, courses, and directions, given for their preservation." Speaking of the results of the policy which was followed he added:

Not a single person has been injured, that did not violate those instructions—not a man since the first one was killed. Has all this been oppressive? No. How has this policy affected the Indians?—They have come in perfectly hungry, saying, "for God's sake give us something to eat." Had an opposite policy been adopted, they would no doubt have continued their depredations. But our measures have so been carried out, that the Utah Indians are humbled in their feelings, and feel themselves worse whipped, than any that I have ever read of.\textsuperscript{2}

There were nineteen white men killed during the Walker War. This included those killed in the Gunnison massacre.\textsuperscript{3} Speaking to the legislature December 13, 1853, Brigham Young said, "During the late troubles, twelve of our citizens have been killed at different times, and many wounded; and seven of the exploring party, including the lamented Captain Gunnison

\textsuperscript{1}Neff, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 375.  
\textsuperscript{2}"Journal History," April 6, 1854.  
\textsuperscript{3}Julina Smith, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 97.
have been killed on the Sevier."¹ The Deseret News for November 12, 1853, lists the number of dead in the Gunnison massacre as eight; but one of this number, Wm. Potter, was a citizen of Manti and evidently was included in the twelve citizens spoken of by Governor Young.² An account of those killed is contained in an old journal evidently kept by some secretary to Brigham Young. This journal contains the names of thirteen dead but it includes the names of Captain Gunnison and William Potter, which of course shows that the count of nineteen is correct.³

Since the settlers fought only a defensive war, not many Indians lost their lives. Brigham Young, when accounting for the twelve whites killed, stated that "about an equal number of Indians are supposed to have been killed."⁴ The loss in livestock is difficult to estimate. Nearly every community lost part of its herd. Many animals were shot or poisoned with arrows.⁵ The total loss was estimated by Brigham Young at approximately 350 to 400 head.⁶

The value of lost livestock and the expense involved in moving homes and building fortifications was very great.

¹Neff, op. cit., p. 377.
²"Journal History," November 12, 1853.
³"Historical Incidents, Indian Raids, Missionary Records, Nauvoo Courts." No. 1728. A record containing the original list of casualties for the Walker War. Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City.
⁴Neff, op. cit., p. 377.
⁵Deseret News, December 8, 1853.
⁶Neff, op. cit., p. 377.
Certain projects such as iron making, building, and others had to be abandoned to carry on the war. The report of Brigham Young as Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Utah Territory in 1853 indicated the great expense incurred by guard duty, alert duty, building forts, tearing down houses and building them again within the forts, and also that the influence of Walker on other tribes had caused great expenditures for presents and provisions to keep them pacified.¹

In the same report, Brigham Young explained how the Indians were effected by the failure of congress to appropriate funds:

I do not consider my duty fulfilled in this report without briefly alluding to the small amount appropriated by congress for the support of this superintendency. It does not appear to men even supposable that congress is entirely ignorant of the number and scattered condition of our settlements nor of the fact that considerable numbers of friendly Indians are almost constantly harboring around our settlements, and depending upon them mainly for support, without returning an equivalent in labor or trade. The result is, that notwithstanding the amount disbursed from government funds for their relief, that amount falls short of their necessities, and very short of their wishes and demands: thus almost forcing our citizens to furnish the larger portion of the relief, or subject themselves to annoyance, depredation, and the loss of property by theft. The former course is pursued, being wisely deemed for the best and most humane policy, as you are already aware that the resources for a livelihood open to the natives, by their country and habits, are very limited.²

To the legislature December 15, 1853, Governor Young expressed hope that the government would pay the expense of the war and indicated that accounts and abstracts had been

¹U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, op. cit., 1853, pp. 201-202.
²Ibid.
forwarded to the proper departments for allowance, but added: "For expeditions for the suppression of Indian hostilities the General Government have not as yet appropriated any compensation, nor have they authorized any treaties to be held with the Indians for any purpose whatever."\(^1\) As time went by without compensation the Utah legislature memorialized congress January 10, 1854, for the expenses of the war.\(^2\) The following account illustrates the situation:

The expense incurred in this 12 month's difficulties amounted to 200,000 dollars, which Congress, according to established usage, should pay on receiving the accounts, but it has merely refunded a small portion. The whole amount appropriated by the Government from 1850 to 30th June, 1855, for expense in suppressing Indian hostilities, Indian service, and for the expense of negotiating treaties with, and making presents of goods and provisions to them is 95,940 dollars, sixty-five cents, and small as it is, when the drafts from the Superintendent of Indian Affairs are presented at the Treasury, some frivolous reason is found for dishonouring them, and perpetual annoyance ensues. More economy has been observed in Utah than in Oregon or California, to which much larger appropriations have been made, where there are no more Indians to be taken care of, and a far less permanent improvement of them has been made. Again, in Utah no treaties have been held with the Indians by the Government, and no troops have been stationed in the country for the protection of the citizens, and yet the Indians are more peaceable than in either of the other places mentioned.\(^3\)

Not only were there expenses for the Walker War which remained unpaid, but there was also the cost of constant vigilance which was maintained after the war. A note to the


\(^2\)"Journal History," January 10, 1854. History of Brigham Young.

\(^3\)Piercey and Linforth, op. cit., p. 108, footnote 33.
Editor of the Deseret News for August 12th, 1854, reads:

Editor of the News
Sir:-
We still herd our cattle, stand guard, and carry our small arms with us into the fields. Our herding costs us about $10 per day, $3,650 per year. Our guarding will cost 50 cents per watch of two hours, four watches, two men on at a time, $4 per night, $1,460 per year; added to the above, makes a sum of $5,110.

Philomen

The attitude of the government in not appropriating money to cover the expense of the Walker War might be explained by the false reports regarding Brigham Young and the Mormons which had been sent to Washington.

The Aftermath

The peace treaty at Chicken Creek, May 12, 1854, officially ended the Walker War. The peace had not removed the threat of the renegade Indians, nor the thievery which the Indians had always inflicted upon them. The General Authorities advised them to finish their forts and to live together in communities. Therefore, the building of walls and fortifications continued. This policy disturbed the Indians. Walker looked upon such construction with a suspicious eye, even forbidding the people of Nephi from finishing their wall.

Brigham Young, by letter, explained to him that this fortification had to be completed and that he was acting foolishly in

---

1Alter, Utah the Storied Domain, I, 175.

2Neff, op. cit., p. 364.

opposing it. When Bean read the letter to him, Walker became angry and trampled it under his feet, but later in a repentant mood he came to Bean and said: "I'm not angry now, 'Shenentz' my relative, has convinced me I was wrong in my suspicions of Brigham and his Mormons and I'm sorry for all the trouble."¹

The murder of two boys, William and Warren Weeks, at Tooele, August 8, 1854, while getting a load of wood, again electrified the territory and impressed upon the settlers the imminent presence of danger.² But the murderers were delivered up for trial by the Indians themselves as an indication that they wanted peace instead of war.³

The southern settlements were in danger throughout the years of 1854 and 1855 as the settlers had to bear the brunt of feeding and clothing most of the Indians in the neighborhood. The tithing yards were usually full of Indians for the Bishops had received instructions to feed, clothe and give them shelter as they needed, until a more friendly attitude was established.⁴

The Parowan Ward Record contains an account of Chief Walker's proposed plan to spend the winter in Parowan during 1855-56. When he arrived the solid fort walls cast a shadow upon the welcome he expected to receive so he passed by Parowan

¹Bean, op. cit., p. 99.

²"Journal History," August 8, 1854. History of Brigham Young.

³Bean, op. cit., p. 106.

⁴Julina Smith, op. cit., p. 95.
to spend the winter with the Navahoes.  

He returned early in January, 1855, probably sick with lung fever, according to one report.  

He died at Meadow Creek in Millard County, January 29, 1855.  

Dimich B. Huntington writing to the *Deseret News*, February 16, 1855, claims that Walker, while gambling with some Pahvantes, broke a blood vessel which caused his death.  

As his sickness developed and his suffering increased, he asked that two Pahute children be killed to give him relief from his misery; but when relief did not come, he asked that none be slain at his death.  

However, Indian custom was observed in Walker's burial. According to Huntington, a Piede woman was killed, two Piede girls were strangled with lassoes, and forty horses were killed to help him to the happy hunting grounds. Walker's grave was watched by a ten-year old Pahute boy who was condemned to hold this lonely vigil until he died of starvation.  

Thus ends the career of a great Indian chief who won his laurels as a leader by his own courage and ruthlessness. His savage nature had been tempered by his admiration and respect for Brigham Young, and one of his last requests had been

---


3Ibid., February 16, 1855.

4Ibid., January 29, 1855.

5Ibid., February 16, 1855.
to have Governor Young's letter buried with him.

The short period of peace was but a brief respite for the settlers. The grievances of the Indians had not been removed but possibly their resentment had been softened or modified by concessions and gifts made to them. Brigham Young's policy of feeding and keeping them happy partially compensated for the wrongs the Indians had suffered. It was difficult for the Indians to change their age-old customs. The clash of cultures remained. For the Indians, it was probably better to live and eat in peace than to fight against something which could not be altered. Later generations would forget the open canyons, the grazing lands, the trout-filled streams, and the wild game; and a new way of life would replace the old.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books


Carvalho, S. N. Incidents of Travel and Adventure in the Far West. New York: Derby & Jackson, 1857.


Heart Throbs of the West. Compiled by Kate B. Carter. Vols. II and V. Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1940.


Jones, Daniel W. Forty Years among the Indians. Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1890.


Pierce, Frederick, and Linforth, James. *Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley.* Liverpool: Franklin D. Richards, 1855.


Whitney, Orson F. *History of Utah.* Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon & Sons, 1892.

**Public Documents**


U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs. *Annual Report, 1854.*


**Articles**


Brooks, Juanita. "Indian Relations of the Mormon Frontier," *Utah Historical Quarterly,* XII, 6-7.


"History of George A. Smith," *The Contributor,* IV (March, 1883), 203.


Snow, Wm. J. "Utah Indians and Spanish Slave Trade," *Utah Historical Quarterly,* II (July, 1929).


*History of Spanish Fork,* *Tullidge Quarterly Magazine,* III (April, 1884), 137-170.

*History of Utah County,* *Tullidge Quarterly Magazine,* III (April, 1885), 377-455.


**Diaries**

Adams, William. Copy made by the Brigham Young University Library, 1938.

Conover, Peter Wilson. Copy made by the Brigham Young University Library, 1946.

Johnson, Joel Hills. Copy made by the Brigham Young University Library, 1945.

Leany, William. Copy made by the Brigham Young University Library, 1946.

McBride, James. Copy made by the Brigham Young University Library, 1939.

Norton, Jacob. Copy made by the Brigham Young University Library, 1949.

Raymond, Samuel James. Copy made by the Brigham Young University Library, 1944.

Williams, Henrietta E. Copy made by the Brigham Young University Library, 1953.

**Records of Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints**

"Historical Incidents, Indian Raids, Missionary Records, Nauvoo Courts." No. 1728. A record containing the original list of casualties for the Walker War. Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City.

"Journal History." A collection of transcripts beginning in 1830, compiled by successive Secretaries and Historians of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City.


**Theses**


**Newspapers**

Deseret News. Salt Lake City, 1853 to 1855.
APPENDIX

Photostatic Copies of Original Records of Losses Sustained by the Pioneers in Indian Depredations, 1850-1854

(From "Historical Incidents, Indian Raids, Missionary Records, Nauvoo Courts." No. 1728. Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City.)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Killed</th>
<th>Horsed</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Notes</th>
<th>Authority</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 9</td>
<td>Corp.</td>
<td>Arcanum</td>
<td>Joseph Bigelow</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>John N. Brower</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>John J. Brower</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>John A. Brower</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>William R. Brower</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Mary Williams
- John Brower
- John N. Brower
- John J. Brower
- John A. Brower
- William R. Brower

- This entry includes the names of the deceased and mentions John N. Brower.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event Date</th>
<th>Locality</th>
<th>Killed</th>
<th>Wounded</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Authority</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oct 4</td>
<td>1. Wintersprings</td>
<td>James Nelson</td>
<td></td>
<td>William Locke</td>
<td></td>
<td>Page 124. They were cruelly maltreated.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct 6</td>
<td>1. Martin 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. St. Louis</td>
<td>John E. Waring</td>
<td></td>
<td>William Mills</td>
<td></td>
<td>Page 124. He was whipped. Cape Girard, Mr. Potter and 6 others who had been killed by the Indians.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov 4</td>
<td>1. Cedar Valley 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8.</td>
<td>William Weeks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Seiner Alps Vol. 1, No. 23, [107]
MORMON-INDIAN RELATIONS AS VIEWED
THROUGH THE WALKER WAR

An Abstract
of a Thesis Submitted
to the Department of History
Brigham Young University
Provo, Utah

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Science

by
H. Bartley Heiner
July 1955
ABSTRACT

Early Utah history involved many adjustments of differences between the pioneers and the Indians. This thesis is a study of the differences and of the policies adopted to alleviate them, particularly in the background, setting, and events of the Walker War.

The Mormons came into a territory inhabited by the aggressive Ute Indians. However, the niggardness of nature and the white man's oppression had reduced them to a condition of destitution. They had descended to trading, begging, and stealing. Possibly, with the idea of exploiting the Mormons, the Indians invited them to settle in various sections of the territory. The Mormons accepted this invitation with the idea of saving this benighted people.

Chief Walker was the most prominent leader among the Utah Indians. He had achieved his leadership and his fame by his successful raids upon southern Spanish settlements. He was feared by his own people as well as other tribes for his traffic in Indian slavery. Walker had great respect for Brigham Young because of his "powerful medicine" and his policy toward the Indians.

Brigham Young believed in being kind to the Indians but he also believed in being adequately protected against their hostility. He organized the Nauvoo Legion to insure
this protection. He disapproved of familiarity with the Indians and censored those who killed them.

Many grievances soon developed between the Indians and the settlers. Early clashes with the Indians at Battle Creek and Fort Utah left scars that were difficult to heal. The Indians resented the killing of their game and the occupation of their hunting grounds. This resentment was increased by the interference of the Mormons with Indian slavery and the Indian code of retaliation.

Early in the year of 1853 Chief Walker and his Indians showed signs of hostility and Brigham Young took measures to determine the cause and to alleviate the circumstances. He sent interpreters Huntington and Bean into the southern territory to make investigations. Captain Wm. M. Wall with a military company was dispatched through the territory to apprehend any slave traders. This further antagonized the Indians, for the expedition appeared to be a threat against them. Some Indians, realizing the seriousness of the situation, tried to avoid open conflict by making peace advances. An unfortunate trading incident at Springville, in which an Indian was slain, kindled the flame of hostility. Efforts to negotiate peace failed, and open warfare began with the killing of Alexander Keele in Payson.

Colonel George A. Smith, in command of the area of conflict, enforced the order of the Governor to move all families and houses into fortified communities. This resulted in much suffering and hardship, but it saved many people from
being exposed to Indian attack. The settlers fought a defensive war which accounted for the few lives lost. The heaviest toll was in damaged property and in stolen livestock. The pioneers, by moving into fortifications, cut off the Indians' main source of food supply. This forced them to sue for peace. Final arrangements were made with Chief Walker to meet at Chicken Creek for peace negotiations on May 12, 1854.

Walker would not assume blame for any of the atrocities attributed to the Indians. He insisted that they had been committed by a group of hot-headed warriors whom he could not control. Brigham Young exonerated him from blame in the war. Evidence seems to justify the point of view that the war was conducted by a small minority of disgruntled warriors.

The expenses and losses of the war were not assumed by the Federal Government, so the burden fell upon the settlers and the Church. This expense was extended beyond the war since settlers had to maintain defenses for their cities and armed guards to protect their cattle.

Chief Walker died on January 29, 1855, at Meadow Creek in Millard County. He was given the customary Indian burial and at his request was buried with a letter of Brigham Young in his hand.

The Walker War did not remove the grievances. The barrier of background and culture between the Indians and the Mormons was too great to permit relations of common brotherhood.