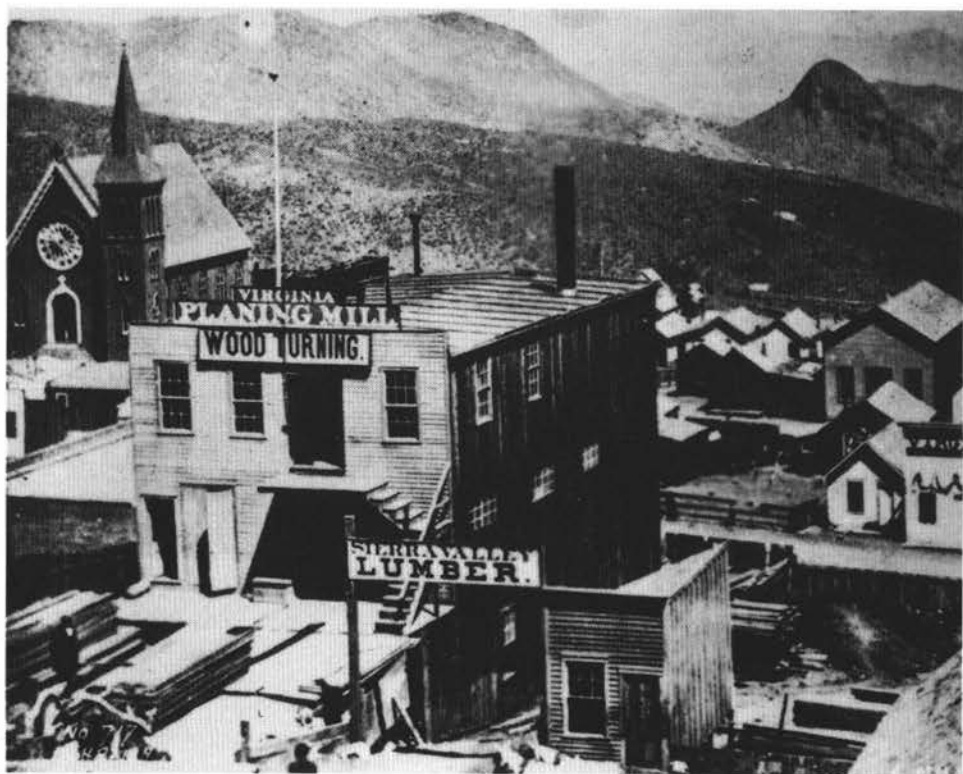


Nevada

Historical Society Quarterly



NEVADA HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

EDITORIAL BOARD

Eugene Moehring, *Chairman, University of Nevada, Las Vegas*

Marie Boutté, *University of Nevada, Reno*

Robert Davenport, *University of Nevada, Las Vegas*

Doris Dwyer, *Western Nevada Community College*

Jerome E. Edwards, *University of Nevada, Reno*

Candace C. Kant, *Community College of Southern Nevada*

Guy Louis Rocha, *Nevada State Library and Archives*

Willard H. Rollings, *University of Nevada, Las Vegas*

Hal K. Rothman, *University of Nevada, Las Vegas*

The *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* solicits contributions of scholarly or popular interest dealing with the following subjects: the general (e.g., the political, social, economic, constitutional) or the natural history of Nevada and the Great Basin; the literature, languages, anthropology, and archaeology of these areas; reprints of historic documents; reviews and essays concerning the historical literature of Nevada, the Great Basin, and the West.

Prospective authors should send their work to The Editor, *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, 1650 N. Virginia St., Reno, Nevada 89503. Papers should be typed double-spaced and sent in duplicate. All manuscripts, whether articles, edited documents, or essays, should conform to the most recent edition of the University of Chicago Press *Manual of Style*. Footnotes should be typed double-spaced on separate pages and numbered consecutively.

Correspondence concerning articles and essays is welcomed, and should be addressed to The Editor. © Copyright Nevada Historical Society, 1998.

The *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* (ISSN 0047-9462) is published quarterly by the Nevada Historical Society. The *Quarterly* is sent to all members of the Society. Membership dues are: Student, \$15; Senior Citizen without *Quarterly*, \$15; Regular, \$25; Family, \$35; Sustaining, \$50; Contributing, \$100; Departmental Fellow, \$250; Patron, \$500; Benefactor, \$1,000. Membership applications and dues should be sent to the Director, Nevada Historical Society, 1650 N. Virginia St., Reno, NV 89503. Periodicals postage paid at Reno, Nevada and at additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, 1650 N. Virginia St., Reno, Nevada 89503.

AND WHO SHALL HAVE THE CHILDREN?

The Indian Slave Trade in the Southern Great Basin, 1800–1865

Stephen P. Van Hoak

Some of Walker's [Waccara's] band [of Utes] were in the habit of raiding on the Pahutes and low tribes, taking their children prisoners and selling them. Next year when they came up and camped on the Provo bench, they had some Indian children for sale. They offered them to the Mormons, who declined buying. Arapine, Walker's brother, became enraged saying that the Mormons had stopped the Mexicans from buying these children; that they had no right to do so, unless they bought them themselves. 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.

Daniel W. Jones
Utah, 1853¹

For the Southern Paiute and Western Ute inhabitants of the southern Great Basin, contact with Euroamericans initiated extensive cultural transformations. In 1776, Friar Francisco Athanasio Domínguez, a Spanish Franciscan seeking a land route to California, led the first recorded Euroamerican expedition into the Great Basin. Though Domínguez's expedition was unsuccessful in finding a passage to that extensive Spanish province, it did achieve another objective by making contact with both the Western Utes of present-day Utah and the Southern Paiutes of southwestern Utah and southern Nevada. Domínguez's promises to return to these people for the purpose of building settlements and missions did not come to fruition, but the trails into the Great Basin forged by Domínguez and others were followed by New Mexican and American trappers and traders, and eventually by a flood of Mormon settlers hungry for land. Throughout the turbulent post-contact period, the Southern Paiutes and Western Utes sought to adapt to the deluge of Euroamerican influences and settlements washing into their lands. Among the many tragic consequences

Stephen P. Van Hoak is currently a doctoral student in history at the University of Oklahoma. He wishes to thank both Professors Willard Rollings and Hal K. Rothman for reviewing early drafts of this manuscript while Mr. Van Hoak was in the M.A. program in history at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas.

of Euroamerican influence and Indian accommodation was the creation of an Indian slave trade. Differing capacities of the Southern Paiutes and Western Utes to adapt to change resulted in the Utes becoming active slave raiders and traders, with the Paiutes often becoming their victims. By the early 1850s the slave trade was at its peak, involving New Mexicans, Utes, Mormons, and Paiutes, all contending for possession of Paiute children, the preferred target of slavers. Euroamericans were not only the catalysts for this slave trade, but also the agents of its eventual demise.²

Prior to Euroamerican contact, slavery was virtually nonexistent among the Southern Paiutes and Western Utes. Primarily hunting and gathering societies, these tribes had neither cultural nor economic use for slaves. In the arid Great Basin, the resources consumed by slaves would have equaled or exceeded the sparse resources they might have generated, and the nearest potential market for the sale of captives was New Mexico, an area largely unknown to the Paiutes and Utes prior to the Domínguez expedition in 1776. Women and children captured in intertribal conflicts were either killed or integrated into the capturing tribe, while male captives were nearly always killed. But the entry of New Mexicans into the Great Basin beginning in 1776 provided the Western Utes with an alternative to killing or integrating captives.³

Domínguez's trail into the Great Basin was soon followed by New Mexicans seeking trade with the newly discovered natives of the Great Basin. The New Mexican traders who journeyed along the Spanish Trail into Western Ute territory were primarily interested in beaver pelts, but many also traveled there in search of slaves. In 1813 Mauricio Arze and Lagos Garcia led a trading expedition to Utah Lake in central Utah that returned to New Mexico with several Indian captives purchased from the Western Utes. According to the affidavits of the members of this expedition, the Western Utes were accustomed to selling captives to passing New Mexican traders.⁴ This is the first evidence of an Indian slave trade in the Great Basin, and it suggests that Euroamericans created the market for slaves in that region sometime between 1776 and 1813.⁵ The slave traders usually brought purchased captives back to New Mexico for sale as domestic servants to wealthy landowners.⁶ Children were highly prized as slaves and the preferred target of traders because of their relative ease of control and assimilation; child captives thus became more valuable to the Western Utes as objects for barter to slave traders for Euroamerican goods than as potential integrated members of the tribe..

In addition to a market for slaves, New Mexicans also introduced guns and horses to the Western Utes, who proved ideally suited to acquire and utilize these items. The home of the Western Utes in the foothills of the Wasatch Mountains provided a generous supply of exploitable food sources, including small and large game, piñon nuts, and numerous edible plants and roots. Utah Lake was the only large freshwater lake in the southern Great Basin, and its numerous feeder streams ensured a stable, year-round supply of fish for the Western



New Mexicans, Utes, Mormons, and Paiutes contended for possession of Paiute children, the preferred target of slavers. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

Utes.⁷ This abundance of food sources supported a population of Utes that was comparatively dense by Great Basin standards, including a large number of warriors. The location of the Western Utes, astride both the east-west Spanish Trail and the north-south trade route used by fur trappers, allowed them access to trade without their ecosystem and grasslands being ravaged by the heavy traffic of the Spanish Trail.⁸ The Utes' excellent access to trade and their surplus of available resources enabled them to trade pelts and food, as well as captives, to Euroamerican traders in exchange for guns and horses. As guns and horses proliferated among the Western Utes, the newly armed and mounted warriors formed predatory raiding bands, primarily hunting buffalo in what is now Utah, Wyoming, and Idaho, and engaging in small-scale horse raids against the Shoshone inhabitants of those regions.⁹ Usually horse raiding and buffalo hunting were profitable ventures and lucrative vocations for the warriors in these bands, and by the 1820s many such bands existed among the Western Utes.¹⁰

In contrast to the Western Utes, the Southern Paiutes were unable to adopt widespread use of guns and horses. Southern Paiute lands were characterized by expansive dry and bleak landscapes dotted with relatively small, fertile areas surrounding springs and rivers. Though the Paiutes were experts at exploiting the scarce resources in their environment, they had few desirable products to trade to the New Mexicans for guns, ammunition, or horses.¹¹ With only scattered large game to hunt and no nearby weaker tribes to raid, the potential economic advantages in acquiring these weapons was severely limited. Effective hunting, raiding, and combat application of guns and horses required a denser population than that of the Southern Paiutes, whose concentration of resources was insufficient to support such a population. Even had they acquired a large quantity of horses, the relatively sparse grasslands in Southern Paiute territory were inadequate to sustain such herds for protracted periods of time.¹² As a result, the few horses the Paiutes acquired were consumed as food, and the few guns they procured quickly fell into disuse as they malfunctioned or were depleted of ammunition.¹³ Lacking a concentrated force of mounted and well-armed warriors, the Paiutes were at a severe military disadvantage to both the Western Utes and the New Mexicans.

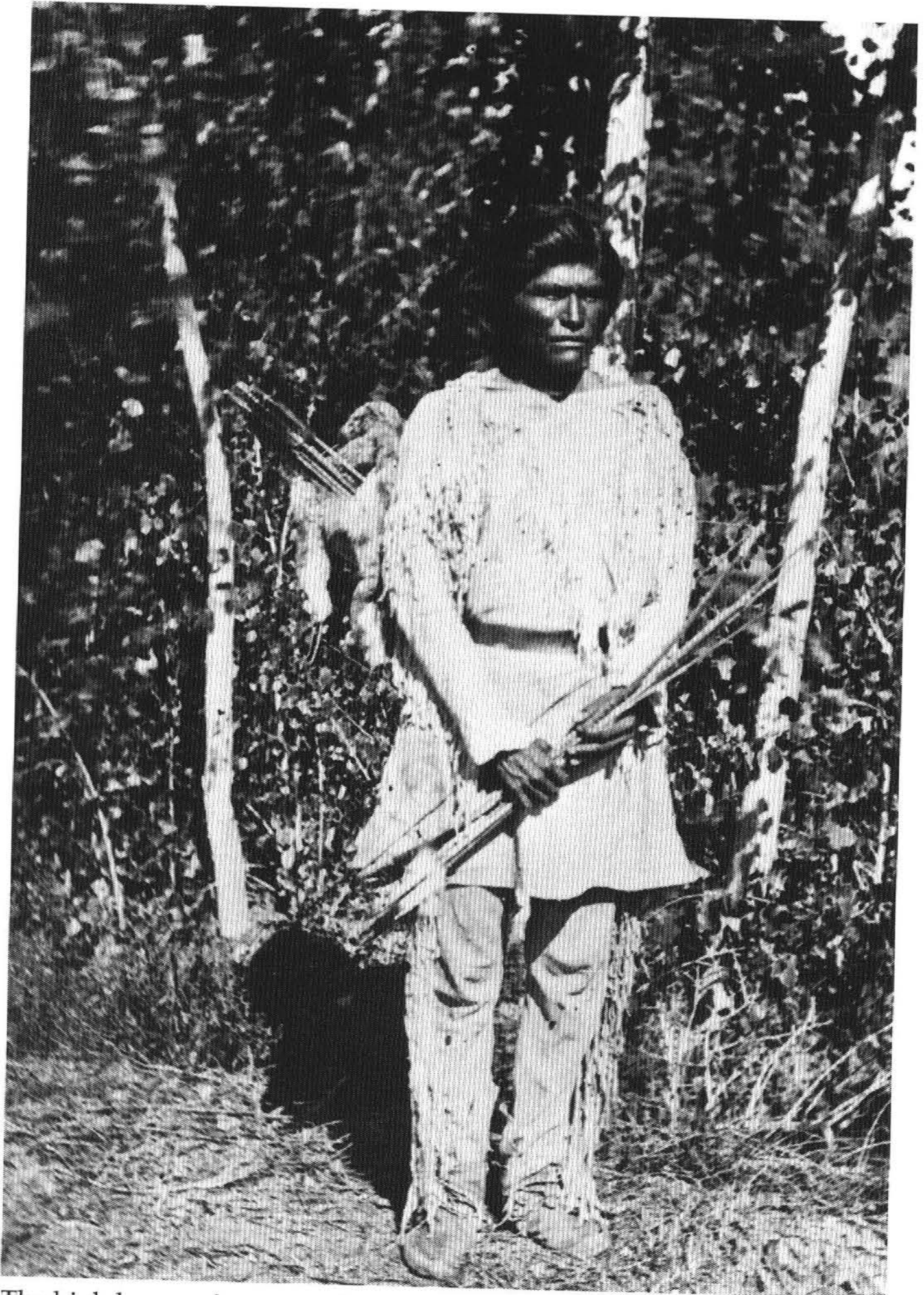
In 1830, annual New Mexican caravans, often consisting of hundreds of traders and thousands of animals, began to traverse the Spanish Trail between New Mexico and California.¹⁴ Although most of the New Mexicans in these caravans were legitimate traders, some capitalized on the relative military weakness of the Paiutes to obtain slaves.¹⁵ Many of these slave traders possessed guns and horses that enabled them to strike quickly, overwhelm small groups of unmounted and bow-armed Paiutes, and leave quickly without retaliation. These raids became quite common, as evidenced by an incident involving Edward F. Beale, superintendent of Indian affairs in California, who was traveling west to assume his post in 1853. While in southwestern Utah, a New Mexi-

can accompanying Beale enthusiastically characterized slave hunting for Paiutes as a common and unobjectionable pursuit, and further urged Beale to assist him to "charge [the Paiutes] like hell, kill the *mans*, and maybe catch some of the little boys and *gals*."¹⁶ The New Mexicans usually hunted slaves on the return trip in early spring, when Paiute food supplies were at their lowest and the tribe was most vulnerable.¹⁷

Militarily overmatched and often outnumbered, the Southern Paiutes commonly sought to avoid slave raiders. Individual groups of Southern Paiutes along the Spanish Trail had little collective military or political organization, so coordinated defensive efforts were not feasible.¹⁸ Although adjacent groups of Paiutes may have warned each other of approaching travelers through the use of smoke signals, hiding was usually the Paiutes' only possible defense.¹⁹ Typically they sent away their women and children, while the male warriors hid and observed strangers as they approached. If the travelers were not slavers, the Paiutes were often friendly and well disposed to trade; otherwise they usually remained concealed.²⁰ But many Southern Paiutes were dependent on the water sites of the Spanish Trail, and slave traders aware of that fact were occasionally able to surprise them. Resource-depleted and hungry, confronted with powerful slaving bands often impossible to avoid, many Paiutes were left with only one reasonable option: the peaceful trading of their children to the slave traders.²¹

Nonviolent sale of their children to slave traders had numerous benefits for the Southern Paiutes, especially in the spring, when they often experienced food shortages. Many slave traders were willing to part with a low-quality horse or gun in exchange for a child. To the Paiutes, the horse was food that could possibly save many from starvation, and the guns could be used to hunt stray animals in passing caravans. By trading children peacefully, the Paiutes avoided a one-sided confrontation in which they could lose many more of their number to battle or slavery, while the slave traders eliminated any risk to themselves in such a battle. Faced with this difficult choice, some groups of Paiutes captured and sold children from other Paiute clans rather than surrender their own children.²²

Slavery had a profoundly tragic effect on the families of the Paiute victims, who often watched helplessly as their children were taken hundreds of miles away to permanent servitude in an alien culture.²³ Although parents who resisted were usually killed, some resorted to desperate acts to save their children from slavery. In one instance, a Paiute woman whose infant was seized recaptured the child from its captors. The slave traders pursued and cornered the woman, whereupon she flung the infant over a cliff rather than surrender him again.²⁴ Fear of slave raids was pervasive near the Spanish Trail.²⁵ In 1853, some passing travelers came upon a Paiute village; the Paiute women fled and hid their children, fearing the strangers were slavers. As the travelers entered one of the huts, they noticed a slight movement inside a wicker basket; lifting



The high losses of women often made it difficult for single males to find wives. (*Nevada Historical Society*)



Agriculture and plant gathering likely suffered from the death of women, who were responsible for these activities. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

the lid, they found within "a little naked fellow, his teeth chattering with fear."²⁶ Adult women were also a frequent target of slavers, as illustrated in the following excerpt from the recollection of a member of a trapping/trading expedition in 1841:

Passing on for five further days, two Indian women were found digging roots. They were seized and forced to join us. They wept silently and one of them pointed to her breasts, saying her child would die if she left him, but our men took no heed of her. Next day her milk was streaming from her dugs and she became seriously sad, sobbing wildly and vehemently for her young, and I was bent on conniving at her escape. We also came upon three forsaken grass tents whose natives fled at our approach except two children, a boy and a girl who had no mother, and their father being out hunting the others left them to their fate. The poor motherless things were much frightened and nearly choked from fear . . . But the poor father, where was he and what a hopeless fire he must have lighted on the night of his return to his dark and grassy home.²⁷

Patterns of Paiute social grouping compounded the tragic impact of slave raids. Small Paiute communities were devastated by losses of up to half their women and children, including the entire families of some men, as illustrated above.²⁸ The high losses of women often made it difficult for single males to find wives, and agriculture and plant gathering likely suffered from the death of women, who were responsible for these activities.²⁹ Fortunately, Southern Paiute social organization was very flexible, and many small groups severely victimized by slaving joined neighboring groups.

To the Paiutes, the most feared and dangerous slave raiders were a band of Western Utes led by Waccara, "The Hawk of the Mountains," who augmented horse raiding and buffalo hunting by demanding children from the Paiutes along the Spanish Trail. Waccara and his band were rarely more than a few days away and were intimately familiar with the Paiute lands, so hiding was not an effective defense for the Paiutes in this case. Usually unable either to resist or to evade Waccara's Utes, the Paiutes often received little or no compensation for the children they seized. By modern standards, Waccara and his band were frequently extremely brutal in their treatment of captives, torturing or even killing the uncooperative, either directly or through extreme neglect and starvation; such treatment did not, however, violate Western Ute cultural values or norms that placed minimal value on the lives of captives.³⁰ Waccara's Utes bartered surviving captive children to New Mexican traders or Navajos for guns, ammunition, and occasionally horses, usually receiving far more in trade than the Paiutes had for their own children.³¹

By the 1840s, Waccara and his band were a major military, political, and economic factor in the Great Basin, partially as a result of their success at the slave trade.³² That success was in turn the direct result of their acquisition of guns and horses, which had brought them military dominance over the Southern Paiutes. But beginning in 1847, a new people also armed with guns and horses began to arrive in Utah, seeking a home in the Great Basin and intent on exerting their will over the native inhabitants of the region.



Waccara, called "The Hawk of the Mountains," led the most feared and dangerous slave raiders, a band of Western Utes who augmented horse raiding and buffalo hunting by demanding children from the Paiutes along the Spanish Trail. (*Utah State Historical Society*)

The members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, commonly referred to as Mormons, arrived in the Salt Lake Valley with mixed attitudes toward American Indians. Brigham Young, leader of the Mormons, selected Salt Lake Valley for the first settlement as it was the site least likely to provoke hostilities with the natives, although he claimed that his people arrived in Utah ready to "kill all [the Utah Indians] if obliged."³³ Of foremost importance to Young and the Mormon leadership was the securing of a safe new home for their people. His intent was not to destroy the Indians but rather, if possible, to bring them "salvation" through assimilation. Central to the views of Young and the Mormon leadership was the belief that the Indians of North America were descendants of a fallen tribe of Israel: the Lamanites. According to *The Book of Mormon* and Mormon theology, the formula for the redemption of the Lamanites involved the resettlement of Lamanite lands by whites, the teaching to the Indians of their true history as recounted in *The Book of Mormon*, and the restoration of the "true church" among the Indians. With all this accomplished, the Lamanites would have the curse of their dark skin removed and once again become a "white and delightsome people," assisting the Mormons in preparing for the second coming of Jesus Christ.³⁴ This belief was integral to official Mormon policy toward the American Indians from the 1830s to the 1860s, and became the basis for the Mormon leadership's ethnocentric paternalism in their relations with the Western Utes and Southern Paiutes. Most Mormon settlers, however, were far more concerned with practical matters than with the salvation of the Lamanites. To these settlers, Indians were a hindrance that necessitated forcible removal. Brigham Young initially yielded to pressure by these settlers in sanctioning military engagements, but the cost of these conflicts was high and eventually Young firmly established an Indian-relations policy based upon the principle that it was more economical to "feed rather than fight" the Indians. This appealed to the settlers, many of whom understood the economic value of Young's policy while remaining dubious of the necessity of saving the Lamanites.³⁵

The Western Utes were divided in their views regarding the Mormon settlement. Grouped into different political units in each area of high resource density, the Utes had no political organization at the "tribal" level.³⁶ Although the first Mormon settlement in Utah was in Salt Lake Valley, an area of dispute between the Western Utes and the Shoshoni, subsequent Mormon settlements extended southward into the heart of Western Ute territory. Sowiette, leader of the Uintah Western Utes, whose hunting grounds in the Uintah Basin of northeastern Utah remained untouched by the Mormons, supported Mormon settlement of western and southern Utah. Many of the Western Utes in the path of Mormon settlement were less supportive, however, including Waccara, who twice resolved to attack the fledgling settlements only to be dissuaded by Sowiette's support of the Mormons.³⁷ Unable to oppose both Sowiette and the Mormons, Waccara eventually ceased efforts to dislodge the Mormons and

began cultivating their friendship, intent on developing a more dependable source of guns and ammunition and a more convenient market for the sale of his horses and captives.

The Mormons were confronted with Indian slavery almost immediately upon arriving in Salt Lake Valley. In the winter of 1847–48, several Indians of unspecified origin came to the Mormon camp demanding that the Mormons purchase two captive Indian girls from them. The Mormons were reluctant to trade for the captives, especially at the required price of a rifle. But the Indians proceeded to torture and kill one of the girls, whereupon the Mormons immediately purchased the other girl for the specified price.³⁸ Though initially unwilling to purchase captives or to supply arms to the Western Utes, Mormons were often pressured into buying children by Ute threats of violence upon these victims. Several other children were purchased by Mormons during that first winter in Utah to prevent perceived cruelty and neglect of captives, as depicted in the following Mormon account.³⁹

One poor little boy, not more than five years old, an emaciated, motherless, little captive, with scarcely one thin dirty rag between his tender flesh and the chilling frosts of early spring, came night after night, close to our homes and built his lonely little campfire, of the chips hewn from the logs, which the settlers had been using. When the earth beneath the fire became sufficiently warmed, he would carefully remove the coals, and with the patient stoicism of his own race, lie down to sleep. It was apparent to all that he was slowly dying of hunger, cold, and neglect. The children of the whites occasionally divided their scanty morsel with him. But one morning, by the lifeless embers of his little campfire, he lay dead.⁴⁰

Although the Mormons did not purchase this child, they increasingly succumbed to Ute attempts to cultivate their sympathies for such children and the market for captives became increasingly important to Waccara's band.

As a result of Mormon settlement in Utah and other external pressures, Waccara's band began to diminish in number, strength, and influence, increasing their reliance on the slave trade. The thousands of Mormons who flooded into Utah in the 1840s and 1850s armed with guns and horses constituted a powerful new force in the Great Basin. They depleted the supply of game and cleared for settlement and agricultural purpose the grasslands that were vital to Waccara.⁴¹ They also inhibited his efforts to trade with non-Mormons for guns and ammunition. At the same time, Euroamerican diseases such as measles began to ravage Waccara's people, incapacitating many of his warriors.⁴² The raiding and hunting effectiveness of Waccara's band was minimal without a significant number of healthy warriors and frequent replenishment of guns, ammunition, and horses.⁴³ By 1850, the buffalo had disappeared from within effective range of Waccara's band, the fur trade had collapsed, and horse raiding had become more dangerous and uncertain as American troops moved to California and New Mexico following the Mexican War in 1846.⁴⁴ When his raids began to fail, Waccara and his band were forced to depend upon the sale

of Paiute children to acquire much needed guns, ammunition, and horses.⁴⁵ To Waccara and his warriors, the hunting-and-gathering subsistence used by the Western Utes, before the horse was not appealing, and in any case it was impractical after Mormon settlement.⁴⁶ New Mexican caravans ceased their yearly trading ventures over the Spanish Trail in 1844, but small groups of traders continued to traffic along the Spanish Trail. With increasing frequency, Waccara directed quick raids on the nearby Paiute tribes and bartered captives to passing traders or to Mormons for the products he and his people needed.

Mormon positions on slavery as an institution were varied. African American slaves were brought into Utah by Mormons, although not in great numbers. The small scale farming practiced by Mormons was not conducive to slave labor, and Mormon doctrines of individual hard work and community assistance for the common good were inconsistent with slavery. But slavery was legally allowed until 1862 in all territories, including Utah, and though Brigham Young's statements on the issue of slavery are conflicting, African American slavery was tolerated in Utah. In this case, Mormon theology dictated policy—African Americans were “the cursed seed of Canaan and should serve the sons of Abraham.”⁴⁷ But “Lamanites,” though also cursed with dark skin, were not relegated to servitude by Mormon doctrine. Ultimately, the Mormon position on Indian captivity was dictated by a combination of pragmatic concerns and theology.

The early reluctance of Mormons to purchase Indian captives changed to their willing and active participation in the slave trade by 1850. Brigham Young greatly coveted friendship with the still influential and powerful Waccara. Young's desire to assimilate and “save” the Lamanites, as well as to appease Waccara, induced him to embrace the concept of Mormon “adoption” of Paiute children. He advised his people “to buy up the Lamanite children as fast as they could, and educate them and teach them the gospel so that many generations would not pass err they should become a white and delightsome people.”⁴⁸ Waccara was given a traveling paper by a Mormon church official that certified him as a friend of the Mormons, and indicated Waccara's intent “to trade horses, Buckskins, and Piede [Paiute] children—we hope them success and prosperity and good bargains.”⁴⁹ In addition to the Mormon–Ute traffic in captives, some Paiute groups raided other Paiutes for children and bartered the captives to Mormons, usually for food.⁵⁰ The Paiutes also occasionally sold or gave their own children to the Mormons - not only would the Paiutes receive food in exchange for the child, but the child would also be well fed in the new home and allowed visitation by the Paiute family. Often, these children left their Mormon home after a period of time, and it is likely that many of the Paiutes who sold their children did not intend it to be a permanent arrangement.⁵¹ Some Paiutes preferred Mormon assimilation of their children to the possibility of starvation or New Mexican slavery.⁵²

Mormons who “adopted” Paiute children had various motivations in addi-



Brigham Young, leader of the Mormons, selected Salt Lake Valley for the first settlement as it was the site least likely to provoke hostilities with the natives. Of foremost importance to Young and the Mormon leadership was the securing of a safe new home for their people. (*Nevada Historical Society*)

tion to a desire to follow the instructions of Brigham Young. Ethnocentric paternalism was a common reason. Through Mormon adoption, Indian children would be "redeemed from the thralldom of savage barbarity, and placed upon an equal footing with the more favored portions of the human race."⁵³ Salvation and conversion of the Lamanites was another stimulus for adoption, especially to missionaries. Lamanite children could be "cleansed of their old ways" easier than the adults, of whom "many of the old ones may continue in their habits and die off."⁵⁴ Mormon doctrine as well as compassion moved many Mormons to adopt Indian children found abused or starving, while other Mormons likely purchased children for their value as laborers; children were valuable assets on small farms.⁵⁵ Intertwined with these motivations for adoption was the Mormon concept of apprenticeship. The Indian "apprentices" would be fed, clothed, and educated—essentially taught how to be "white and delightful," according to Mormon theology.

Native American child adoptees were typically well treated by their Mormon adopters, most of whom were prominent church officials and ministers. The children were generally fed, clothed, and educated in the same manner as other children in the household, and were also expected to work, as were the other children. Many adoptees, especially those procured as infants, shared a mutual bond of affection with their new "parents."⁵⁶ It should be noted that most accounts of the treatment of Paiute children in Mormon homes were written by Mormons, who would have been reluctant to record any abusive or unequal treatment of these children. As a result of disease and problems adjusting to the new diet and lifestyle, about 60 percent of the adoptees died by their early twenties, a mortality rate much higher than that of Mormon children.⁵⁷

Mormon society as a whole was not as accepting of Native American adoptees as were the Mormon adopters. Most of these children were disappointed in their efforts to find a Mormon spouse upon maturation, and many returned to their tribes in the hope of finding a mate.⁵⁸ Although some Native Americans were received into the church, a few even becoming honorary elders, most Mormons did not regard them as their peers. This was difficult for the Paiute adoptees to accept, deeply imprinted with Mormon ideals and values as children, they found that as adults they had no place in Mormon society.⁵⁹ One dying Native American woman, Lucy Meeks, had lived her entire life among the Mormons, felt that it had been a mistake ever to believe she could become a white and that Paiute children should stay among their own people where they could be happy.⁶⁰ Although Paiute adoptees were not usually allowed to assimilate fully into Mormon society, they were not treated as servants or slaves, which, the Mormons believed was the fate of Native American captives in New Mexico. While this was of little solace to mature Paiute adoptees, the distinction was significant to Mormons.

Despite the Mormon rhetoric, however, Mormon "adoption" of Indian chil-

dren had shared striking similarities to New Mexican enslavement. In both cases, the salvation, redemption, and civilization of the child were the most commonly cited motivations for the purchase of Native American children. Both Mormon and New Mexican promised to care for, “educate,” and Christianize their wards, and both proceeded to rename and baptize the children. In neither Utah nor New Mexico were the adoptees allowed to assimilate fully or marry into the dominant culture; thus they became a permanently separate and distinct class of people outside of both Indian and Euroamerican societies.⁶¹

Although there were similarities between New Mexican servitude and Mormon adoption, there is evidence to support that the Mormons were more benevolent than New Mexicans. In New Mexico, 40 percent of Native American children purchased were specifically identified as slaves; only 33 percent were identified as adoptees. Regardless of terminology, there appears to have been little difference in the status of slaves and adoptees in New Mexico; all purchased or captured Native Americans were collectively referred to as *genízaros*. In New Mexico, *genízaros* had a separate and subordinate niche both within their “families” and in the greater New Mexican community because of lack of good breeding, status, and honor — the defining characteristics of Spanish New Mexican society. In Utah, though Native American adoptees were distinct from other Mormons, they were not viewed with the same disdain as in New Mexico. Although both societies purported to educate and care for their wards, the Mormons fulfilled these promises with more zeal than did the New Mexicans. Ethnocentric paternalism characterized the perceptions of both Mormons and New Mexicans, but among Mormons it was hoped that one day the Lamanites would be “redeemed” and become “white and delightsome” while the Spanish New Mexicans had no such aspirations for their wards.⁶²

As the Mormons expanded their domain into Southern Paiute lands in southwestern Utah, their leaders re-evaluated the Ute and New Mexican slave trade. In contrast to their own concepts of adoption and apprenticeship, Mormons began to view Ute capture of Paiute children, and their subsequent New Mexican enslavement as harsh and cruel. Increasingly lurid and exaggerated Mormon accounts of the slave trade were a by-product of increased Mormon interaction with the victims of slavery, the Paiutes, as well as the Mormons’ negative racial attitudes toward the New Mexicans, compounded by the recent war with Mexico. The Mormon leadership was also deeply concerned about guns and ammunition that were flowing from the New Mexicans to the Western Utes as a result of the slave trade: Armed New Mexicans and Utes in Utah were a possible threat to Mormon sovereignty.⁶³ In 1851 Young and the Mormon Church leadership began a series of efforts to suppress the slave trade, culminating in the dispatch of a thirty-man militia force to arrest and deport New Mexicans in Utah.⁶⁴ Young’s order effectively ended the New Mexican involvement in the slave trade, and acquiring Paiute children directly from the Paiutes in exchange

for food, rather than purchasing them from the Utes for guns or ammunition, became the preferred method of Mormon adoption.

Waccara responded to Young's order by raiding Mormon settlements in a confrontation that became known as the Walker (Waccara) War. Many other Utah Indians, aggrieved over a variety of issues, joined Waccara in rising up against the Mormons.⁶⁵ Waccara's limited goals were to seize Mormon cattle with which to feed his people and to force the Mormons to agree to perpetually purchase all the Paiute children he captured.⁶⁶ The Waccara War was very costly to the Mormons, but ended after just one year, when Brigham Young visited Waccara, presented him with gifts of food, guns, and ammunition, and, ironically, purchased an Indian child from him.⁶⁷ Although Young's action essentially acknowledged Waccara's right to engage in the slave trade, the Mormons had effectively eliminated the market for captives in Utah.

The slave trade began a gradual decline in the decade following the Waccara War. Waccara died in 1855, but other Western Utes continued to seize Paiute children, selling them to any Mormons still willing to purchase captives, or traveling to New Mexico to trade the children to Navajos or New Mexicans. But the Utes found fewer targets each year, as the Paiutes had discovered an effective defense against slave raids: Mormon settlement on their land.⁶⁸ The Paiutes initially began inviting Mormons to settle among them in 1850, and despite Ute protests by 1860 there were numerous Mormon settlements and missions among the Paiutes. The Utes found it far more difficult to raid Paiutes living under Mormon protection, and abandoned the slave trade in the early 1860s.⁶⁹

Although Mormon settlement of Paiute lands provided protection from slave raiders, it eventually became just as destructive as the slave trade had been. Contemporary Mormon accounts describe widespread Paiute starvation and rapidly decreasing Indian populations, and while many of these accounts should be dismissed as ethnocentric misunderstandings of Paiute subsistence, it is apparent from the more reliable sources that Paiutes increasingly experienced disease and shortages of resources following Mormon settlement.⁷⁰ Southern Paiute population on or near the Spanish Trail in 1859 was approximately 2,200, while in 1873, after extensive Mormon settlement, it had dropped to 1500. Considering that populations of these sizes likely produced between fifty and a hundred babies each year, it is apparent that approximately a hundred Paiutes were lost each year from all causes combined.⁷¹ There are no concrete data on Paiute losses to slavery, but clues on the frequency of raids, numbers of captives taken in raids, and known numbers of Paiute captives at various locations after sale suggest an estimate ranging between thirty and forty women and children per year. Losses to slavery, though significant, were therefore no greater than losses to the starvation and disease that followed Mormon settlement. Although Euroamerican importation of the slave trade, horses, and guns into the Great Basin had a tremendous and tragic cost for Southern Paiutes,

Mormon settlement eventually resulted not only in more horrendous loss of life but also in dispossessing the Paiutes' land and resources.

The Western Ute presence in the southern Great Basin rapidly declined in the 1860s. In the face of ever-increasing numbers of Mormons and diminishing resources, and the slave trade or any other effective economic options, many Western Utes began a migration northeastward into the Uintah Basin. Starvation and disease exacted a severe toll on those who remained in Utah. A few remaining bands of Utes fought with the Mormons in the Blackhawk War of 1865-1866, but Mormon defensive measures eventually forced them to abandon their raids. By 1873, nearly all surviving Western Utes were on reservations.⁷²

Indian slavery and the slave trade in New Mexico were terminated in the 1860s, when the Union Army in New Mexico began to search for and return to their original people both Indian and New Mexican captives. The exchange of captives was initiated by the United States government in response to abolitionist pressures after the Civil War, but was also seen as an important step in a lasting peace in the region following the bloody campaign against the Navajos in 1863-1864. Although many Indians were returned to their tribes as a result of U. S. government efforts, no Paiutes were documented as being returned. Southern Paiute captives were fewer in numbers, far less politically important, and more difficult to return home than Navajo captives.⁷³

Mormon adoption of Paiute children gradually slowed in the 1860s, and by the 1870s had all but ceased. Mormons were weary of attempting to "save" the Lamanites, and the paucity of natives surviving in Western Utah combined with the rapid growth of Mormon population removed the necessity of continued efforts at assimilation.⁷⁴ Admitting the failure of his assimilation policy, Young declared in 1871 that "You need never fight the Indians, but if you want to get rid of them try to civilize them."⁷⁵ Referring specifically to Mormon adoption of Paiute children, he further stated that "We brought their children into our families and nursed and did everything for them it was possible to do for human beings, but die they would." As Paiute adoptees returned to their tribes to find mates or died from disease, all who remained among the Mormons were the few who found Mormon spouses. As they intermarried with whites over the generations, their descendants eventually appeared to the Mormons to be "white and delightsome" and were accepted into Mormon society.⁷⁶

NOTES

¹Daniel W. Jones, *Forty Years among the Indians: A True Yet Thrilling Narrative of the Author's Experiences Among the Indians* (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1960), 50-51.

²For Domínguez's journey to the Great Basin, see Silvestre Velez de Escalante, *The Domínguez-Escalante Journal*, ed. Ted J. Warner, trans. Fray Angelico Chavez (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1976). The term *slavery*, as used in this essay, refers to enforced captivity of individuals and the vesting of property status on these individuals by their "masters" and the dominant society. Navajos, fur trappers, and travelers on the Spanish Trail are also known to have engaged in the slave trade, but their participation in the Utah slave trade was minimal and will not be considered in detail here.

³Several monographs examine Indian slavery in other regions and serve to place the Utah slave trade in a larger context. Among the Native American tribes in the Northwest, there was an extensive precontact slave trade; see Robert H. Ruby and John A. Brown, *Indian Slavery in the Pacific Northwest*, with a foreword by Jay Miller (Spokane: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1993). The Comanche and other Southern Plains Indian tribes began an extensive slave trade with Euroamericans in the eighteenth century; see Russell Mario Magnaghi, "The Indian Slave Trader: The Comanche, a Case Study" (Ph.D. diss., Saint Louis University, 1970). Many Northern Plains tribes, while not engaging in a slave trade, did take large numbers of captives in intertribal conflicts, usually integrating these captives into their tribe; see Anthony McGinnis, *Counting Coup and Cutting Horses: Intertribal Warfare on the Northern Plains, 1738-1889* (Evergreen, Colorado: Cordillera Press, Inc., 1992). The Mojave Indians of California had experiences with slavery similar to the Southern Paiutes; see Gerald A. Smith and Clifford J. Walker, *Indian Slave Trade along the Mojave Trail* (San Bernardino: San Bernardino County Museum, 1965). Also see William Christie MacLeod, "Economic Aspects of Indigenous American Slavery," *American Anthropologist*, 30 (1928): 632-50.

⁴Joseph J. Hill, "Spanish and Mexican Exploration and Trade Northwest from New Mexico into the Great Basin, 1765-1853," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 3:1 (January 1930), 17-19.

⁵The illegality of the New Mexican slave trade with the Utes unfortunately leaves historians with few records of such activity during the years between Domínguez's expedition in 1776 and the opening of the Spanish Trail to caravan traffic in 1830. Records of the Arze-García expedition exist only because the group was caught by New Mexican officials upon their return to New Mexico for violating a 1778 law against trade with the Indians and an 1812 law against Indian slavery. These laws were commonly ignored; see LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, *Old Spanish Trail: Sante Fe to Los Angeles, With Extracts From Contemporary Records and Including Diaries of Antonio Armijo and Orville Pratt*, The Far West and the Rockies Historical Series, 1820-1875, vol.1 (Glendale, Calif.: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1954), 262-64; S. Lyman Tyler, "The Spaniard and the Ute," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 22:4, (October 1954), 349-61; John R. Alley, Jr., "Prelude to Dispossession: The Fur Trader's Significance for the Northern Utes and Southern Paiutes," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 50:2 (Spring 1982), 107-13; Hill, *Spanish and Mexican Exploration and Trade*, 17-19.

⁶Slavery in various forms existed in New Mexico for centuries prior to the Arze-García expedition. The *encomienda* and *repartimiento* were systems of enforced Indian labor that the Spanish used to exploit Indians from early in their colonization of New Mexico. After the *Reconquista* of New Mexico in 1692, the Spanish began reaching into the deserts and plains past their New Mexican settlements for slaves to fuel their labor needs and expand their empire. Captives from "wars" with the Navajos and other Indians were used by the Spanish as mining and manufacturing laborers. Although enslavement of Indians other than captives of war was illegal in New Mexico, this restriction was rarely enforced, and wealthy New Mexicans often sought Indians as domestic servants under the guise of "apprenticeship." By 1813, when Arze and García traveled to the Great Basin, Indian women and children sold for several dollars each in Santa Fe. For the slave market in New Mexico, see Magnaghi, "Indian Slave Trader," Lynn Robinson Bailey, *Indian Slave Trade in the Southwest* (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1966); Frank McNitt, *Navajo Wars: Military Campaigns, Slave Raids, and Reprisals* (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1972); and Ramon A. Gutierrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500-1846* (Stanford: Stanford University

Press, 1991).

⁷Joel Clifford Janetski, "The Western Ute of Utah Valley: An Ethnohistoric Model of Lakeside Adaptation" (Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1983), 35-75.

⁸See Alley, "Prelude to Dispossession;" also Hafen and Hafen, *Spanish Trail*, 261. Even after the fur traders' Rocky Mountain rendezvous were established and traders no longer returned to New Mexico on a regular basis, Utah still continued to be trafficked heavily by trappers/traders.

⁹For band development and its effects, see Elliot West, *The Way to the West: Essays on the Central Plains* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), 19-27; Julian Haynes Steward, "Aboriginal and Historical Groups of the Ute Indians of Utah: An Analysis and Supplement," in *Ute Indians 1*, Garland Series, American Indian Ethnohistory: California and Great Basin Plateau Indians, ed. David Agee Horr (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1974).

¹⁰For examples of early Ute bands, see Jedediah S. Smith, *The Southwest Expedition of Jedediah Strong Smith. His Personal Account of the Journey to California, 1826-1827*, ed. and with an introduction by George R. Brooks (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1977), 42-4; Warren Angus Ferris, *Life in the Rocky Mountains, 1830-1835*, ed. J. Cecil Alter and Herbert S. Auerbach (Salt Lake City: Rocky Mountain Book Shop), 219-20.

¹¹Isabel T. Kelly and Catherine S. Fowler, 1940, "Southern Paiute," in *Handbook of the North American Indians Vol.II, Great Basin*, ed. Warren D'Azevedo (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1986), 370-71; Hafen and Hafen, *Spanish Trail*, 281.

¹²Robert C. Euler, *Southern Paiute Ethnohistory*, in University of Utah Anthropological Papers no. 78 (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 1973), 103; Demitri B. Shimkin, *The Introduction of the Horse*, in D'Azevedo, *Handbook*, 521.

¹³George Douglas Brewerton, *Overland with Kit Carson, A Narrative of the Old Spanish Trail in '48*, with an Introduction by Stallo Vinton (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1930), 80, 95; Hafen and Hafen, *Spanish Trail*, 281; John C. Frémont, *Narratives of Exploration and Adventure*, ed. Allan Nevins (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1956), 404.

¹⁴Hafen and Hafen, *Spanish Trail*, 155-194; Eleanor Lawrence, "The Old Spanish Trail from Santa Fe to California" (thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1930), passim; for an excellent first-hand description of a New Mexican caravan on the Spanish Trail in 1845, see Brewerton, *Overland with Kit Carson*, 58-60; for examples of small parties of trappers and traders on the trail in 1841, see Winona Adams, ed., "An Indian Girl's Story of a Trading Expedition to the Southwest about 1841," *The Frontier* (May 1930), 338-67. En route to and from California, the massive New Mexican caravans ravaged the Southern Paiute ecosystem, destroying crops, depleting game, and consuming grasslands. Small grasslands along streams and springs common to Paiute territory along the Spanish Trail were especially vulnerable to damage from overgrazing. When the caravans returned to New Mexico in the spring with large herds of horses acquired in California, they overgrazed the Paiute lands at precisely the worst time of year for such action. Consistent overgrazing in the spring decreased the ability of these grasses to recover; see West, *Way to the West*, 32-37; Brewerton, *Overland with Kit Carson*, 58; Adams, "An Indian Girl's Story," 346.

¹⁵Orville C. Pratt, *Diarist: The Journal of Orville C. Pratt, 1848*, ed. with an introduction by LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, in Hafen and Hafen, *Spanish Trail*, 352-353; Thomas J. Farnham, *An 1839 Wagon Train Journal: Travels in the Great Western Prairies, the Anahuac and Rocky Mountains, and in the Oregon Territory* (New York: Greeley and Mc Elrath, 1843), 55; Pierre-Jean de Smet, *Life, Letters and Travels of Father Pierre-Jean de Smet, S. J, 1801-1873*, vol. 4, ed. Hiram Martin Chittenden and Alfred Talbot Richardson (New York: Francis P. Harper, 1905), 990; Howard Louis Conard, *Uncle Dick Wootton: The Pioneer Frontiersman of the Rocky Mountain Region*, The Lakeside Classics, ed. Milo Milton Quaife (Chicago: The Lakeside Press, 1957), 65; Adams, "An Indian Girl's Story," 344-351, 367; Thomas J. Farnham, *Travels in California and Scenes in the Pacific Ocean* (New York: Saxton and Miles, 1844), 377-379; Jones, *Among the Indians*, 48-49; Brewerton, *Overland with Kit Carson*, 58-61, 80; James P. Beckwourth, *The Life and Adventures of James P. Beckwourth*, ed. T. D. Bonner (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1931), 349; H. S. Brown, "Account By Judge H. S. Brown" in LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, *The Far West and Rockies General Analytical Index to the Fifteen Volume Series and Supplement to the Journals of 'Forty-Niners, Salt Lake to Los Angeles*, The Far West and the Rockies Historical Series, 1820-1875, vol. 15 (Glendale, Calif.: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1961), 26; Gwinn Harris Heap, *Central Route to the Pacific, from the Valley of the Mississippi*

to California: *Journal of the Expedition of E. F. Beale, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in California, and Gwinn Harris Heap, from Missouri to California, in 1853*, The Far West and the Rockies Historical Series, 1820-1875, ed. with an Introduction by LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, vol. 7 (Glendale, Calif.: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1957), 235.

¹⁶Heap, *Central Route*, 235.

¹⁷Hafen and Hafen, *Spanish Trail*, 271; Farnham, *1839 Wagon Train Journal*, 55; Kelly and Fowler, *Southern Paiute*, 370-71.

¹⁸Euler, *Southern Paiute Ethnohistory*, 103; Ronald L. Holt, *Beneath These Red Cliffs: An Ethnohistory of the Utah Paiutes*, with a Foreword by Floyd O'Neil (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1992), 6-11.

¹⁹For smoke signals, see De Smet, *Life, Letters, and Travels*, 989-90; Brewerton, *Overland with Kit Carson*, 82-83, 94; Beckwourth, *James P. Beckwourth*, 349; Heap, *Central Route*, 236-37; Smith, *Jedediah Strong Smith*, 50-51.

²⁰Brewerton, *Overland with Kit Carson*, 74-76, 82-83; Beckwourth, *James P. Beckwourth*, 348-49; Heap, *Central Route*, 234-36; Smith, *Jedediah Strong Smith*, 33-67; De Smet, *Life, Letters, and Travels*, 989-90; Adams, "An Indian Girl's Story," 344-51; Hafen and Hafen, *Spanish Trail*, 352-55; Pratt, *Diarist*, 352-55.

²¹De Smet, *Life, Letters, and Travels*, 990; Brewerton, *Overland with Kit Carson*, 80; Garland Hurt, "Indians of Utah," in James Harvey Simpson, *Report of Explorations across the Great Basin of the Territory of Utah for a Direct Wagon Route from Camp Floyd to Genoa, in Carson Valley, in 1859*, Vintage Nevada Series (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1983), 461-62; Annie Heloise Abel, ed., *The Official Correspondence of James S. Calhoun while Indian Agent at Sante Fe and Superintendent of Indian Affairs in New Mexico* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1915), 536-37; Jones, *Among the Indians*, 48-49; Heap, *Central Route*, 235; Juanita Brooks, *John Doyle Lee: Zealot - Pioneer Builder - Scapegoat* (Glendale, Calif.: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1979), 163, 172; Thomas D. Brown, *Journal of the Southern Indian Mission: Diary of Thomas D. Brown*, Juanita Brooks, ed. (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1972), 104-5; *Deseret News* (Salt Lake City), 4 April 1855. It is unknown how the children to be sold were selected. Paiute chiefs traditionally did not exercise much power, although after Euroamerican contact there is evidence this power increased. Whether children to be sold were selected by the chief, or whether sick or orphaned children were chosen, or whether there was some other method of selection, is unknown.

²²Isabel T. Kelly, *Southern Paiute Ethnography*, in *Paiute Indians 1*, Garland Series, American Indian Ethnohistory: California and Great Basin Plateau Indians, ed. David Agee Horr (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1976), 91.

²³William R. Palmer, "Pahute Indian Government and Laws," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 2:2 (April 1929): 38-40; Farnham, *Travels in California*, 378; Adams, "An Indian Girl's Story," 344-51; Juanita Brooks, "Indian Relations on the Mormon Frontier," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 12:1-2 (January-April 1944), 14; William L. Knecht and Peter L. Crawley, eds., "History of Utah," in *History of Brigham Young, 1847-1867* (Berkeley: Mass Cal Associates, 1966), 129-30; *Deseret News*, 7 August, 1852.

²⁴Palmer, "Pahute Indian Government and Laws," 40.

²⁵*Ibid.*, 38-39; Pratt, *Diarist*, 352-53; Elizabeth Wood Kane, *Twelve Mormon Homes Visited in Succession on a Journey through Utah to Arizona*, with an Introduction by Everett L. Cooley (Salt Lake City: Tanner Trust Fund, University of Utah Library, 1974), 40; Hafen and Hafen, *Spanish Trail*, 281; Adams, "An Indian Girl's Story," 344-51; Andrew Jensen, ed., *History of Las Vegas Mission*, in *Nevada State Historical Society Papers, 1925-1926* (Reno: Nevada State Historical Society, 1926), 183; Brooks, *John Doyle Lee*, 172; William L. Manly, *Death Valley in '49*, The Lakeside Classics, ed. Milo Milton Quaife (Chicago: The Lakeside Press, 1927), 150-51; Bailey, *Slave Trade*, 163.

²⁶Heap, *Central Route*, 235.

²⁷Adams, "An Indian Girl's Story," 344-45.

²⁸Holt, *Red Cliffs*, 20; Hurt, "Indians of Utah," 462.

²⁹For women's responsibilities in Western Ute culture, see Holt, *Red Cliffs*, 20; Kelly and Fowler, *Southern Paiute*, 370. It is possible that the violent competition rituals between male Southern Paiutes over courtship rights of females as witnessed by Mormons evolved from a dearth of women in some areas as a result of the slave trade; see James A. Little, *Jacob Hamblin: A Narrative of His Personal Experience, as a Frontiersman, Missionary to the Indians and Explorer, Disclosing*

Interpositions of Providence, Severe Privations, Perilous Situations and Remarkable Escapes (Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1971), 34-36.

³⁰See Jones, *Among the Indians*, 50-51; "Utah Laws against Indian Slavery," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 2:3 (July 1929), 84; Hafen and Hafen, *Spanish Trail*, 271; Solomon Nunes Carvalho, *Incidents of Travel and Adventure in the Far West with Colonel Fremont's Last Expedition across the Rocky Mountains: Including Three Months' Residence in Utah, and a Perilous Trip across the Great American Desert, to the Pacific* (New York: Derby and Jackson, 1859), 194; Brooks, *John Doyle Lee*, 163; "Reminiscences of the Early Days of Manti," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 6:4 (October 1933), 119; Peter Gottfredson, ed., *History of Indian Depredations in Utah* (Salt Lake City: Skelton Publishing, 1919), 84, 319-20; Palmer, "Pahute Indian Government and Laws," 38; John Williams Gunnison, *The Mormons, or, Latter-Day Saints, in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake: A History of their Rise and Progress, Peculiar Doctrines, Present Condition, and Prospects, Derived from Personal Observation during a Residence among Them* (Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1972), 149. When a prominent Ute died, captive children were often buried alive with the corpse, a practice apparently new to Western Ute culture; see Carling Malouf and A. Arline Malouf, "The Effects of Spanish Slavery on the Indians of the Intermountain West," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, 1:3 (1945), 388.

³¹For slave raiding and trading by Waccara's band, see McNitt, *Navajo Wars*, 442-46; Gottfredson, *Indian Depredations*, 318-19; Jones, *Among the Indians*, 48; Daniel H. Wells, "Daniel H. Wells' Narrative," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 6:4 (October 1933), 130; Hurt, "Indians of Utah," 461; Palmer, "Pahute Indian Government and Laws," 38-39; "Reminiscences," 119-20; Knecht and Crawley, *History of Utah*, 129; *Deseret News*, 19 March, 1853, 4 April, 1855; Brown, *Southern Indian Mission*, 104-105; Brooks, *John Doyle Lee*, 163, 172; Carvalho, *Travel and Adventure*, 194.

³²Despite his success at the slave trade, horse raiding was Waccara's most successful and profitable enterprise. Between 1849 and 1853, Waccara's band stole approximately 2000 horses, often in large raids with other Indians or destitute American trappers. They retained the best horses and traded the remainder for guns, ammunition, and other European products. The effects of Waccara's slave raids on the Paiutes were compounded by further decimation of the Paiute ecosystem by the vast herds of stolen horses Waccara drove across the Spanish Trail from California; see Jones, *Among the Indians*, 39; Hafen and Hafen, *Spanish Trail*, 227-57; Lawrence, "Old Spanish Trail," 86-100.

³³Floyd O'Neil and Stanford J. Layton, "Of Pride and Politics: Brigham Young as Indian Superintendent," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 46:3 (Summer 1978), 237; Howard A. Christy, "Open Hand and Mailed Fist: Mormon-Indian Relations in Utah, 1847-1852," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 46:3 (Summer 1978), 218-19.

³⁴The theory that Native Americans were descendants of a tribe of Israel was not originated by the Mormons. As early as the seventeenth century, the theory was popular in Europe; see Brooks, "Indian Relations," 2; O'Neil and Layton, "Of Pride and Politics," 238-39; Holt, *Red Cliffs*, 22-25; Lawrence George Coates, "A History of Indian Education by the Mormons, 1830-1900" (Ph.D. diss., Ball State University, 1969), 28-62; Julina Smith, "A Discussion of the Inter-Relations of the Latter-Day Saints and the American Indians" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1932), 8-29. Indian affairs in Utah throughout this period were dictated by Young and the Mormon leadership.

³⁵See Christy, *Open Hand*, 217-33.

³⁶Steward, *Groups of the Ute*, 17-18, 29-30, 46-47, 67-70; horse culture and band development often increased social and political division; see West, *Way to the West*, 20.

³⁷William L. Knecht and Peter L. Crawley, eds., "Early Records of Utah," in *History of Brigham Young*, 22-23, 57-59, 63; "Reminiscences," 122; J. Marius Jensen, *Early History of Provo, Utah* (Provo, Utah: J. Mains Jensen, 1924), 59-60

³⁸Solomon F. Kimball, "From Thrilling Experiences," in Gottfredson, *Indian Depredations*, 15-17.

³⁹Coates, *Indian Education*, 83-84. In early battles at Utah Lake between the Mormons and Utes, a number of women and children were taken captive by the Mormons, and some were taken into Mormon homes. Most were allowed to leave their Mormon homes soon thereafter, however; see Wells, "David H. Wells' Narrative," 126; Knecht and Crawley, "Early Records," 72.

⁴⁰"Reminiscences," 119.

⁴¹Richard W. Stoffle and Michael J. Evans, "Resource Competition and Population Change: A Kaibab Paiute Ethnohistorical Case," *Ethnohistory*, 23:2 (Spring 1976), 180-81; O'Neil and Layton, "Of Pride and Politics," 247-48; H. Bartley Heiner, "Mormon-Indian Relations as Viewed through the Walker War" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1955), 26; *Deseret News*, 19 March 1853. Native Americans and Euroamericans competing for and exhausting riverside grasslands, such as those near Utah Valley, was a consistent theme of American westward expansion; see West, *Way to the West*, 25-27.

⁴²Gottfredson, *Indian Depredations*, 318-320; Heiner, "Mormon-Indian Relations," 13, 26.

⁴³Native Americans were dependent on Euroamerican traders for ammunition and replacements for malfunctioning guns; without this resupply, guns quickly became worthless. Horses also required replenishment of losses due to disease, theft, and weather. Bands of the Central Plains maintained between five and thirteen horses per person for this purpose; see West, *Way to the West*, 21-22.

⁴⁴For the northeastward retreating buffalo frontier, see West, *Way to the West*, 57; Steward, *Groups of the Ute*, 9-10, 14; Smith, *Jedediah Strong Smith*, 41, 46-47; Adams, "An Indian Girl's Story," 345; Hurt, "Aboriginal and Historical Indians of Utah," 460-61; Ferris, *Life in the Rocky Mountains*, 69; "Some Source Documents in Utah Indian Slavery," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 2:3 (July 1929), 75. For decline of fur trade, see Alley, "Prelude to Dispossession," 113. American soldiers were more numerous, better armed, and more organized than their Mexican predecessors. During the Mexican War, the Mormon Battalion guarded Cajon Pass in California, effectively preventing horse raiding into that region. Thus the Mormons began affecting Ute subsistence efforts even prior to their arrival in Utah. For increased danger of horse raids, see Hafen and Hafen, *Spanish Trail*, 248-57.

⁴⁵Howard A. Christy, "The Walker War: Defense and Conciliation as Strategy" *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 47:4 (Fall 1979), 396; Coates, "Indian Education," 88.

⁴⁶For Waccara's Utes and other similar bands, the numerous advantages and powerful allure of horse culture generated dependency on that way of life; see Shimkin, *Introduction of the Horse*, 521-23.

⁴⁷See Jack Beller, "Negro Slaves in Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 2:3 (July 1929); Newell G. Bringham, "An Ambiguous Decision: The Implementation of Mormon Priesthood Denial for the Black Man - A Reexamination," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 46:1 (Winter 1978); and Stephen G. Taggart, *Mormonism's Negro Policy: Social and Historical Origins* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1970).

⁴⁸Brooks, "Indian Relations," 6.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*

⁵⁰Priddy Meeks, "Journal of Priddy Meeks," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 10:3-4 (May-August 1942), 146.

⁵¹John Doyle Lee, *A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee, 1848-1876.*, ed. Robert Glass Cleland and Juanita Brooks (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983), 168, 238; Malouf and Malouf, "Effects of Spanish Slavery," 186.

⁵²For instances of Mormon "adoption," see Israel Bennion, "Indian Reminiscences," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 2:2 (1929), 44-45; Brooks, *John Doyle Lee*, 163-64, 172, 238; Palmer, *Pahute Indian Government and Laws*, 38, 40; Wells, "Daniel H. Wells' Narrative," 126; Brown, *Southern Indian Mission*, 11, 27, 60, 105, 111, 135; Lee, *Mormon Chronicle I*, 168, 215, 238; Little, *Jacob Hamblin*, 30; Brooks, "Indian Relations," 5-9; Heap, *Central Route*, 223-24; Abel, *Correspondence of James S. Calhoun*, 536; Hafen and Hafen, *Spanish Trail*, 271; Juanita Brooks, *On the Ragged Edge: The Life and Times of Dudley Leavitt* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1973), 106-7; Jensen, *Early History of Provo*, 56; Coates, "Indian Education," 84-85; Kate B. Carter, "Indian Slavery of the West," *Daughters of Utah Pioneers* (May 1938), 13-17; Knecht and Crawley, "Early Records," 72; Heiner, "Mormon-Indian Relations," 40; Carvalho, *Travel and Adventure*, 194.

⁵³*Deseret News*, 10 January 1852.

⁵⁴Brown, *Journal of the Southern Indian Mission*, 35.

⁵⁴West, *Way to the West*, 93-94, 97; O'Neil and Layton, "Of Pride and Politics," 240; Coates, "Indian Education," 153-54; Carter, "Indian Slavery," 4, 15-19; "Utah Laws," 84-86.

⁵⁶Kane *Twelve Mormon Homes*, 39-40; Palmer, "Pahute Indian Government and Laws," 38, 40; Carvalho, *Travel and Adventure*, 194; Little, *Jacob Hamblin*, 30, 86-87; Coates, "Indian Education,"

155-156; Kimball, "Thrilling Experiences," 16-18; Brooks, *On the Ragged Edge*, 93, 103, 106-107; Bennion, "Indian Reminiscences," 44-45; Lee, *Mormon Chronicle*, 279; Brooks, *John Doyle Lee*, 238, 251; Brown, *Journal of Southern Indian Mission*, 135; Brooks, "Indian Relations," 33-48; Carter, "Indian Slavery," 13-19; Heap, *Central Route*, 223-24; Meeks, "Journal," 146; Wells, "Daniel H. Wells' Narrative," 126, 130. For an exception to benevolent treatment of adoptees, see Carter, "Indian Slavery," 17.

⁵⁷The estimate of 60 percent is based upon an examination of all documented accounts of adoptees cited in this essay.

⁵⁸Brooks, *John Doyle Lee*, 238, 251.

⁵⁹Kane, *Twelve Mormon Homes*, 71-72; Palmer, "Pahute Indian Government and Laws," 38, 40; Little, *Jacob Hamblin*, 86-87; Coates, "Indian Education," 155-56; Kimball, *Thrilling Experiences*, 16-18; Brooks, *On the Ragged Edge*, 94-95, 106-7; John Doyle Lee, *Mormon Frontier*, 214; Brooks, "Indian Relations," 33-41, 46-47; Bennion, "Indian Reminiscences," 44-45; Carter, "Indian Slavery," 14-19.

⁶⁰Brooks, "Indian Relations," 37-38.

⁶¹For fate of Indian child captives in New Mexico, see Gutierrez, *When Jesus Came*, 180-88, 304-05; Abel, *Correspondence of James S. Calhoun*, 537; DeSmet, *Life, Letters, and Travels*, 990; Jones, *Forty Years Among the Indians*, 48; Beckwourth, *James P. Beckwourth*, 349; Hafen and Hafen, *Spanish Trail*, 273-74; "Government Inquiry into Condition of Indians," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 2:3 (July 1929), 87-90; Bailey, *Slave Trade*, 73, 128-30, 187.

⁶²*Ibid.*

⁶³Coates, "Indian Education," 87-88; Heap, *Central Route*, 206.

⁶⁴"Utah Laws," 84-86; *Deseret News*, 15 November 1851, 10 January 1852, 30 April 1853; Coates, "Indian Education," 86-87; Abel, *Correspondence of James S. Calhoun*, 51, 531, 536-37.

⁶⁵Heiner, "Mormon-Indian Relations," 26-42, 80-81; Christy, "Walker War," 395-420; Christy, "Open Hand," 227-28; Carvalho, *Travel and Adventure*, 191-93; *Deseret News*, 29 November 1851, 19 March 1853.

⁶⁶Coates, "Indian Education," 90; Heap, *Central Route*, 224.

⁶⁷For details of war, see Heiner, "Mormon-Indian Relations," 43-79; Christy, "Walker War," 398-416; Knecht and Crawley, "History of Utah," 131-44. For cost of war, see Heiner, "Mormon-Indian Relations," 92-6. For the ending of the war and Brigham Young's visit to Waccara, see Heiner, "Mormon-Indian Relations," 85-88; Carvalho, *Travel and Adventure*, 188-194; Christy, "Walker War," 417.

⁶⁸Protection from the Utes was not the principal reason for Paiutes inviting Mormons onto their lands. Devastation of their land on the Spanish Trail, as well as disease, slaving, and warfare, had ravaged these people, and by the mid 1850s, the Paiutes were desperate for assistance in any form. See Martha C. Knack, "Nineteenth Century Great Basin Indian Wage Labor in Native Americans and Wage Labor:" *Ethnohistorical Perspectives*, eds. Alice Littlefield and Martha C. Knack (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), 145-46; Holt, *Red Cliffs*, 25; Kelly and Fowler, *Southern Paiute*, 386-87; *Deseret News*, 4 September 1852, 4 April 1855.

⁶⁹Lee, *Mormon Chronicle*, 167, 215; Jensen, *Historical Las Vegas Mission*, 183; Brooks, "Indian Relations," 9-13; *Deseret News*, 13 December 1851, 7 August 1852, 7 December 1852, 16 February 1854, 4 April 1855; Euler, *Southern Paiute Ethnohistory*, 55-56.

⁷⁰Stoffle and Evans, "Resource Competition," 180-92; Holt, *Red Cliffs*, 30; O'Neil and Layton, "Of Pride and Politics," 241-42; Kelly and Fowler, *Southern Paiute*, 387.

⁷¹Simpson, *Report of Explorations*, 34; Joy Leland, *Population*, in D'Azevedo, *Handbook*, 609.

⁷²Eli F. Taylor, "Indian Reservations in Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 4:1 (January 1931), 29; Steward *Groups of the Ute*, 27-29; Leland, *Population*, 609.

⁷³Bailey, *Indian Slave Trade*, 128-37, 183-87; McNitt, *Slave Raids*, 441-46.

⁷⁴Brooks, "Indian Relations," 25, 33. Low fertility and high mortality rates by Native Americans countered by high fertility and low mortality rates of Euroamericans was a dominant theme of the American westward expansion, resulting in a Euroamerican "generational juggernaut." See West, *Way to the West*, 90-93.

⁷⁵O'Neil and Layton, *Of Pride and Politics*, 241-42.

⁷⁶Brooks, "Indian Relations," 39, 48.