
THE JUANITA BROOKS LECTURE SERIES

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The 27th Annual Lecture
Southern Paiute Relations
With Their Early Dixie
Mormon Neighbors

by Edward Leo Lyman

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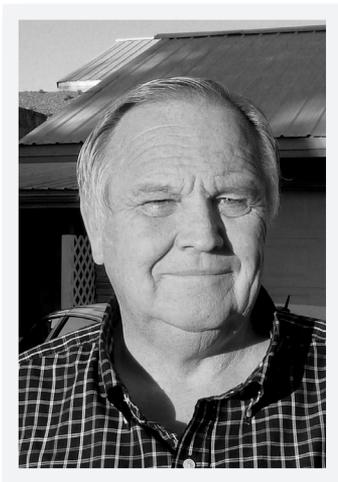
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Juanita Brooks was a professor at [then] Dixie College for many years and became a well-known author.

She is recognized, by scholarly consent, to be one of Utah's and Mormondom's most eminent historians. Her total honesty, unwavering courage, and perceptive interpretation of fact set more stringent standards of scholarship for her fellow historians to emulate. Dr. Obert C. and Grace Tanner had been lifelong friends of Mrs. Brooks and it was their wish to perpetuate her name through this lecture series. Dixie State College and the Brooks family express their thanks to the Tanner family.

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Edward Leo Lyman received a Bachelor's Degree in History from Brigham Young University in May 1966 and a Master of Science Degree in History from the university of Utah, June 1967. He began teaching history at North High School in Riverside, California that year and continued there until 1984, serving ten years as the department chair. In 1982 he began teaching part time at California Polytechnic University and then added a similar assignment at California State

University, San Bernardino, both until 2003. At the same time, he was a full-time instructor at Victor Valley College from 1984 until 2005, also serving as department chairman. In 1981 he completed a Ph.D. at the University of California, Riverside.

Dr. Lyman has published extensively in Western History. In 1986, the University of Illinois Press published his work *Political Deliverance: The Mormon Quest for Utah Statehood*. In 1996, Signature Book published *San Bernardino: The Rise and Fall of a California Community*. With Linda Newell, he published *A History of Millard County* as part of the Utah Centennial Series sponsored by the Utah Historical Society (1999). In 2009 the University of Utah Press published *Amasa Mason Lyman: Mormon Apostle and Apostate, A study in Dedication*. These are four of his nine books and he is working on three more. In addition to books, he has published 30 academic articles and chapters in others' books.

Three awards have been given to Leo Lyman: 1) The Leonard J. Arrington Award for a Distinctive (Lifetime) Contribution to the Cause of Mormon History by the Mormon History Association in 2008, 2) Best article in the Field of Mormon History by MHA in 1989, and 3) the Reese History Award for the Most Scholarly Exposition in the Field of Mormon History (Dissertation) in 1983.

Southern Paiute Relations With Their Early Dixie Mormon Neighbors

By Edward Leo Lyman

This paper will focus primarily on events in local history during the Utah Dixie community's first two dozen years. First we will examine some aspects of the often lesser-known interaction and relations of the early Latter-day Saints in the region with their Native American neighbors. Then we will consider a few of the other developments and episodes of the Dixie area on toward maturity of the settlements, with some of the information being drawn from research for a biography recently written about my great great grandfather, Amasa M. Lyman, who proved more instrumental in the founding of Dixie than has been heretofore known. And finally, I will recount the tragic story of the death of one of the most popular and prominent citizens of the community, Franklin B. Woolley, in 1869.

The Tonaquint band of Southern Paiutes, who had engaged in crop cultivation for years prior to the coming of the Mormons, were some of the first people among whom the famous Mormon missionary, Jacob Hamblin, a literal apostle to the Indians,¹ was called to labor. Some of their headmen had previously requested, through early church explorer of the region, John D. Lee, that Latter-day Saint colonists settle among them.² Hamblin and other members of the Southern Indian Mission commenced their labors at Harmony (where Washington County was also first organized) in 1854.

On a visit not long thereafter, on June 10, 1854, Hamblin, along with the original mission leader, Rufus C. Allen, and Augustus P. Hardy and Thales Haskell, both of whom long remained missionaries among southern Utah Native

Americans, and four other elders, traveled from an initial visit with Chief Toquer and his people near where a town was later named for him, on westward to the Santa Clara River. They were met some seven miles from the river, perhaps near present Washington, by Tutsegabits, the head chief of all Southern Paiutes in the area, and two associates. This headman would be a firm, lifelong friend to the missionaries, serving later Mormon missions himself among the Apache and Navajo. The Latter-day Saint elders soon observed several villages of the Tonaquint band along the Santa Clara, featuring a diversion dam and ditch $\frac{3}{4}$ mile long bringing irrigation water to the series of small wheat, bean and corn fields. The missionaries exchanged indications of friendship with up to 250 Native Americans they encountered within several days (estimates ranged as high as 800 persons then residing along the full length of the Santa Clara). Despite language barriers, which both groups strived to overcome as promptly as possible, the head chief quickly grasped the meaning of the visit and explained its benefits to his Tonaquint fellows in an hour-long speech at a council between his people and the missionaries.³ After a visit of a week, a half dozen missionaries returned to Harmony by way of Mountain Meadows, leaving Jacob Hamblin and William Henefer at the villages along the Santa Clara, continuing to establish what proved to be the Dixie branch of the mission. Hamblin later brought his family from Tooele and with other missionaries, assisted by an often-generous supply of provisions primarily from Cedar City and Parowan, continued to develop this mission station.

Later, with Haskell, Ira Hatch, Samuel Knight and others, they built a mission cabin, then helped the Tonaquints construct or rebuild a diversion dam one hundred feet long, fourteen feet high and commenced not only cooperatively farming a hundred acre field with the Native Americans, but commenced building Dixie's first non-Indian town, Santa Clara.⁴ Hamblin noted from the outset being greatly

impressed with the Native American commitment to cooperating and their diligence in performing their share of the labor. After a relatively good harvest in 1855, there was a crisis the next year. As Hamblin recorded in his diary, Tonaquint leaders chided the lead missionary that their corn was dying despite his promises. The Indians affirmed belief that the Mormons could effectively petition to God for rain. Hamblin and others would soon successfully do so, but in the meantime he also requested his "white brethren to let the Red brethren have what [irrigation] water there was to water their corn; to which they readily consented."⁵ However, matters did not go as well the ensuing season. The lumbering industry being developed at Pine Valley loomed as the problem despite Hamblin's "remonstrances." He expressed surprise and disappointment at the course of men who were supposed to be his mission associates in teaching the Indian, who were instead tending to "rob [the Tonaquints] of [their irrigation] water" near the headwaters of the Santa Clara. The mission leader "came out against such a course, which offended them much," but obviously did not alter their selfish behavior.⁶ Indeed, it essentially pointed toward numerous future instances of similar disregard for the interests of the original inhabitants of the valley.

As in other settlements, Brigham Young directed the residents of Santa Clara to erect a fort, which soon resulted in a sturdy rock structure. In the spring of 1857, Apostle Amasa M. Lyman, traveling back to Utah from his completed mission assignment at San Bernardino, followed a Native American guide and one other companion, mail carrier David Savage, from Beaver Dam Wash over Mount Jarvis, reaching the Santa Clara mission the next morning. He preached to the missionary families and probably some Tonaquints, the first Latter-day Saint general authority to do so in Dixie. When he reached Salt Lake City a week later, he lavished considerable praise upon both the missionaries, their Native American companions and their fort, also reporting that "an

excellent feeling existed among the Indians and [that] Brother Hamblin has great influence among them." He contrasted the contented, well-fed and adequately clothed Santa Clara Native Americans with the nearby Las Vegas Paiutes, who had recently rejected a similar mission and were hungry, almost to the point of starvation. The differences were an eloquent tribute to the Dixie elders and to the industry of members of the Tonaquint band.

The day after Elder Lyman's visit to Santa Clara, he also visited the first pioneers to reach what became Washington City. The Samuel Adair company had just arrived on April 15 from Payson. As they had passed through Parowan, Apostle George A. Smith addressed them, probably warning them of the challenging environment they were seeking to tame. Lyman found the group camping in a sandy area on the south bank of Mill Creek, a tributary of the Virgin River, a location that respected city historian Andrew Karl Larson later found mystifying since "it was removed from any good culinary water so necessary in any settlement." Lyman clearly saw matters similarly and promptly directed them to relocate north of the creek, near some good natural springs. The colonists followed his advice and the town of Washington was thus founded and remained where he designated it to be.⁷ Elder Lyman continued to be close to the community, visiting it a half dozen other times in the ensuing three years, even owning property there for a time (from 1860 to about 1863). He later prophesied of the city's ultimate success and high status.⁸

When the second church apostle to visit Dixie, George A. Smith, for whom St. George would soon be named, arrived later in the summer of 1857, he noted thirteen different Tonaquint corn fields along the Santa Clara River. He also commented that Jacob Hamblin and his associates were "doing much for the benefit of Indians." Hamblin later recalled these Native American neighbors had accepted the challenge to work for a living and also "promised to be honest." They indeed agreed to abide by a code which stipulated that anyone

who stole would either pay the full price for the item taken or would be punished by fellow Paiutes — with Hamblin sometimes prescribing the severity. In the first years there was little, if any, stealing. They also appeared to be fully embracing the Latter-day Saint religious instructions and for a time even referred to themselves as “Paiute Mormons.”

However, after a notable attempt to incorporate and follow missionary precepts and live as exemplary church members, Hamblin sadly recalled an occurrence apparently in the winter of 1856-57 when some of his charges among the Tonaquints informed him, “we cannot be good, we must be Paiutes.” They expressed hope that the missionaries would continue to assist them, maintaining friendship and affirming that perhaps some of their children could be as “good” as the Latter-day Saint lifestyle prescribed. In a more telling statement of the extent to which Paiute tradition controlled their lives, they decreed “we want to follow our old customs.” Actually, the Latter-day Saints and most other American missionaries to the Indians were for an extended time quite unrealistic to expect any people to so completely abandon such deeply ingrained traditions and ways of life so promptly.

There were other reasons for the dramatic changes as well. After the fateful Mountain Meadows Massacre later in the year, 1857, Mormon participants agreed among themselves to place the blame for the tragedy on their Native American associates. As one of the Santa Clara area sub-chiefs, Jackson, later informed a U. S. Army investigator, Major James H. Carleton, that he personally held some ill feeling and resentment toward his former allies not only for blaming his people so much for the tragedy but also for keeping more than their share of the loot, formerly promised to the Native Americans.⁹ Later, Apostle George A. Smith candidly reported to Brigham Young “I have been told that since the transaction [meaning the massacre] many of the Indians who had previously learned to labor have evinced determination not to work, and that the moral influence of the event upon

the civilization of the Indians has been very prejudicial." Under the circumstances, there are good reasons to have expected this.

The settlement of St. George in 1861, and a simultaneous lessening of missionary activity among the Tonaquints seemed to have, in Hamblin's words, further influenced "the feelings of the Indians toward the Saints [to become] more indifferent and their propensity to raid and steal returned." (About this time, Hamblin became preoccupied with missionary labors among the Arizona Hopi Indians, although others remained assigned with the Tonaquints.) He also attributed the decline of the formerly hospitable relationship with the Tonaquints to the "great number of animals brought into the country by the settlers." Their cattle and horses, he reported, "devoured most of the vegetation that had produced nutritious seeds [on] which the Indians had been accustomed to subsist." Ethnobotanists later established that this had been their most essential food source.¹⁰

Consequently, when Paiute children went hungry in the ensuing winters, the Indians spent much time discussing with Hamblin and other missionaries these disastrous changes, displaying increasingly greater resentments. Mormon livestock men usually did not understand that almost in a single year their cattle essentially destroyed the grass seed supply that had been the staple of the diet for many of the native inhabitants. The Dixie pioneers also had difficulty making a living and adding to their burden, they found themselves besieged by the begging of their impoverished Indian neighbors. Both the good early chronicler, James G. Bleak, and the equally respected more recent historian, Andrew Karl Larson, completely reflected the Dixie Mormons' seeming indifference to this problem and never voiced much empathy with the Native American viewpoint on the question. But Jacob Hamblin had naturally been more sympathetic and earlier noted that "those who had caused the troubles were completely oblivious to what had occurred." He confessed

having grieved many times to see the Indians with their little ones “glaring upon” the plenty enjoyed by the settlers. He attempted to raise the sensibilities of the Latter-day Saints on the matter and encouraged more generosity toward the neighboring Native Americans, but lamented that he had experienced little success.¹¹

On another equally crucial matter, Hamblin also complained to Apostle George A. Smith that it appeared Brigham Young had acted to “deprive the original settlers on the Santa Clara, or the Indians [there] of the water” of the river and to “build up St. George at the sacrifice of [Santa Clara and Tonaquint].” Indeed the new settlement, backed by local Apostle Erastus Snow, did initially make claims on that same stream, utilizing it on fields near the confluence with the Virgin (which they could not yet use successfully). Smith assured Hamblin that this allegation of bias against Santa Clara farmers was untrue, but promised to discuss the concern with the church leader. It is doubtful if the situation was resolved or even improved before Hamblin was transferred to the Kanab-Pipe Springs area. Already, the church had directed a relatively large group of Swiss converts to settle at Santa Clara, requiring an even larger share of the already-scarce irrigation water. The Southern Paiutes were clearly not the major concern of President Young in this course of events.¹² Whatever remained of the original Native American village of Tonaquint, on the lower Santa Clara, and probably much of the farmland there was destroyed in the devastating flood of 1862, as was the fort, and likely the former Indian residents never again resided at or farmed that area, although they did so farther up the river.¹³

With many of their familiar food resources destroyed by pioneer cattlemen, some Native Americans of the area felt justified in butchering and eating some of the livestock ranging on their traditional lands. Even before Hamblin’s move farther east to Kanab, he noted that those Indians who were innocent of wrong doing and still “desired to be friends,”

were almost invariably “the ones to suffer” and mainly blamed for cattle that were stolen. The guilty were “on the alert, and have got out of the way.”¹⁴

Jacob Hamblin had been absent at Salt Lake City, taking a plural wife, during the time of the Mountain Meadows Massacre, of which he afterwards proved quite critical. In fact, when on the way home he heard that area Native Americans were threatening the Turner-Dukes emigrant party with a similar fate, as they struggled down Black Ridge and through the so-called Peter’s Leap area (and thus through future St. George), to avoid the Mountain Meadows. Hamblin dispatched fellow Indian missionaries, Dudley Leavitt and Samuel Knight, to prevent this. It developed that the only manner through which this was possible was to offer all of the company’s non-draft cattle and horses to the Moapa Paiutes at the Muddy River, which thereby assured that no human lives would be lost. Although the emigrants were thereafter furious with the Mormons for allowing this outcome, in fact it had been the only means of saving their lives. Later, Hamblin received a letter from Brigham Young directing him to help assure future emigrants’ safety as they passed through that region.

Among the Moapas, Hamblin encountered his associate Indian missionaries, Perry Liston and Jahiel McConnell, who usually resided at Cedar City. Hamblin attempted to explain to them that whatever orders they thought they had received to encourage killing and taking the spoil of the Turner-Dukes party, had been superceded by President Young’s directive to allow the emigrants to pass safely through. However these other missionaries continued to assert “there was [sic] secret instructions that had been taken.” Hamblin concluded that a “local conspiracy existed among a few fanatics to destroy the caravans that were going through to California.”¹⁵

One of the small groups leaving Salt Lake City thereafter included William Clark, future mayor of Ames, Iowa, who at the Mormon capital had received a safe passage document to travel on toward southern California. One of his travel

companions was Jim Williams, a veteran mail carrier over the Southern Route, who had reportedly experienced difficulty on his recent northward mail carrying trip. Elder Amasa M. Lyman was at that time assigned to raise volunteer wagon teamsters from the southern Utah settlements to travel with him to California to help evacuate the few remaining San Bernardino Mormons who had no resources to make the move back to Utah on their own. On that same trip, both Williams and Clark learned that Lyman had also disapproved of the murders that had recently occurred at Mountain Meadows, or any other such violence advocated in the region.

In fact, the apostle traveled ahead of the company moving southward and at Cedar City on December 19, 1857, the then-popular Lyman addressed the Latter-day Saints at a specially called Saturday meeting. At that time he spoke “at some length [about] not encouraging the Indians to shed the blood of strangers and passers by.” As stated earlier, the white participants in the massacre had taken an oath of secrecy about their part in the tragedy and laid the entire blame for the affair on the area Native Americans. Lyman, Brigham Young and other church leaders would later learn of the involvement of over-zealous church members, but at this time the visiting church leader, Lyman, reflected the assumption that associated Mormons had simply encouraged the Indians to attack the emigrant train. The Cedar City discourse, delivered among several dozen men who had actually participated in the murders, was significant as the first public discussion — and subtle criticism — of this most unfortunate event.¹⁶

Not waiting for the wagon company, Amasa Lyman went on ahead to Santa Clara to further assure safe passage for the travelers who followed. He engaged Ira Hatch, influential missionary to the Tonaquint Paiutes, to translate for him as he spoke to members of that band, specifically requesting them to allow the coming emigrants to pass safely through their domain. As he journeyed on along the Southern Route, he carried the same message and also asked each local headman

to convey the same instructions to each neighboring chief ahead on the trail. Because Lyman had previously traveled that route at least five other times, and had earned the trust and friendship of most Paiute tribal leaders, they mainly heeded his directive.

Later, when the company with which Williams and Clark traveled reached the Muddy River, the mail carrier was informed by Indian missionary, Jahiel McConnell, that on his recent trip northward, he and his associates had a difficult task in keeping the then-aroused Native Americans from killing the mail carrier and presumably his partner. But at that juncture, according to Clark, who later recorded the incident, a young Moapa man interrupted him saying that on the contrary, McConnell had been the one who advocated the killing of the non-Mormon. It became clear to the interested observer, Clark, that the Moapas liked Williams, whom they called "Pushupa" because of his heavy eyebrows, and who had generously shared food and tobacco with the Native Americans on each mail trip. The chagrined McConnell walked away without reply. The party passed on to California with no further incidents. No corroboration exists of Clark's account except for Jacob Hamblin's previous conversation with the same missionary, but there seems to be no reason to discount any part of it.

Williams later gratefully acknowledged Lyman's crucial role in pacifying the Indian threat on this journey. Roy McBride, the son of Lyman's friend and by then British mission associate, Reuben McBride of Fillmore, subsequently had occasion to converse with Williams in California. In a letter to his father, then on his mission in late 1861, he mentioned a conversation with the former mail carrier, who then held an important California penal institution position. When Amasa Lyman's name came up in their exchange, Williams asserted "God bless him forever, if the prayers of a Gentile will avail anything [and] he thinks they will." This was certainly referring to the church leader's pacification

journey and appeals to Paiute tribal leaders for good treatment of travelers along the road to southern California.¹⁷

Elder Lyman spent most of the ensuing year supervising the evacuation of San Bernardino, reconnoitering the Colorado River and Southern Route to assure that no invading army was moving toward Utah from those directions, and establishing a friendly relationship with the Mohave Indians on the lower Colorado. He also ushered Col. Thomas L. Kane over the Southern Route to Salt Lake City. There he helped negotiate a peace between the Latter-day Saints and the recently-arrived United States Army troops headed by General Albert Sidney Johnston. Lyman also preached on several other occasions at both Cedar City and Parowan, as well as at Washington and Santa Clara.

Early the next year, Elder Lyman was called back to Dixie to help curb another outbreak of violence by Native Americans. Late in 1858, several hundred civilian teamsters and other employees connected with the invading army in northern Utah were discharged from government employment. Some two hundred of them were noted passing through Cedar City heading toward southern California at the end of the year, many on foot, occasionally traveling with a single wagon or pack mule. These men were described as rather lawless, stealing whatever they could find as they moved along. Apostle Lyman had also noted at the time "some considerable [ill] feelings between the passing teamsters and the Indians." Near Santa Clara, Tonaquint men reportedly stole some of the travelers' cattle. The Americans naturally started in vengeful pursuit but were themselves "waylaid" by the Indians. In the fracas, the teamster leader was wounded and, when Lyman arrived to investigate, he reported in his typically vivid language, the teamster party's "boasted courage cosed [sic, meant coursed] out at the ends of their fingers." According to Jacob Hamblin, writing the previous month, the Indians on the California road "killed seven of the discharged teamsters [who] had stolen horses and killed cattle

belonging to the brethren living on the Santa Clara." Early in January 1859, Lyman, who appealed again to the Tonaquints about maintaining peace, reported much lower fatality figures, and differed in some other details of the incidents. But both were doubtless referring to the same general chain of events involving the same persons, with the Indians probably acting partly, on occasion, for the benefit of area Latter-day Saints.¹⁸

During the ensuing spring, President Brigham Young assigned Lyman and his second cousin, Elder George A. Smith, to make an extended tour of all of southern Utah settlements to encourage their people to conserve foodstuffs and not trade with Gentile merchants.¹⁹ On this occasion, while in Dixie and Iron County, Amasa Lyman spoke at least five times specifically against actions and beliefs related to some of the likely motivations for the Mountain Meadows Massacre. On March 6, 1859, at Parowan, stake clerk James H. Martineau recorded him saying, "Some have thought it right to steal from the Gentiles," but "[i]t makes no difference what a person's religion may be, it is not right to steal from him. You cannot build up the Kingdom of God by stealing." On a slightly different theme, he then stated "some have supposed that to avenge the blood of the prophets is to kill all those that killed the prophets, but [might it not have been better to] convince them of the truth of the gospel?" He then posed the question: "Suppose some [of] those that once opposed the prophets and even helped kill them, should repent and wish to receive the gospel and its ordinances, would you kill them? No." Amasa then offered his major doctrinal redefinition: "How shall we avenge the blood of the prophets? I answer by exterminating those wicked principles that caused the death of the prophets off the earth. This will be a far greater triumph than to kill a few of those that act upon these exact principles and still suffer those principles to exist." Later at Washington and Santa Clara, John D. Lee and his wife, Rachael Woolsey, were among those sufficiently interested to record that the apostle expressed similar sentiments there. This effort looms significant in likely

helping encourage some who had embraced doctrines fraught with hostility to temper their feelings and possible actions. It is also known that later, Lyman encouraged some of the men whose consciences were most wracked by guilt over the murders, to come to him for counsel and quiet confessions regarding these matters. All of this may have distanced Lyman to an extent from other general church leaders who had apparently concluded it was best not to discuss any aspect of the tragic massacre. It may have been a step toward the apostle's later being severed from his priesthood office and church membership, although those were more likely directly caused by other matters of preaching false doctrine and association with the apostate Godbeite movement.²⁰

Later that spring, Lyman traveled up the Virgin River and probably helped his longtime associate, Nathan Tenney, to plan the future colony of Grafton, which name was doubtless adopted from the name of the apostle's home county in New Hampshire. Then in July, Lyman and Smith made yet another speaking tour mainly through the same southern region, including celebrating an extended Pioneer Day holiday with both Iron County and Dixie Saints (at least 70 wagon loads) at Pine Valley. Smith, then the church historian, later recorded that he had preached 21 times on the trip, with Lyman delivering 19 sermons. Lyman made one more such tour in the spring of 1860, prior to his assuming the presidency of the European missions. Thus for three years, from early 1857 through the spring of 1860, Amasa Lyman stood as the most visible general church leader in the southern sector of Mormondom and did much to assist the settlements there to flourish.²¹ Because he was later considered an apostate, he has not always been granted the recognition due him for this important contribution.

Between 1865 and 1870, there was a later, almost forgotten, war between the Dixie Mormons and raiding Navajo livestock thieves from across the Colorado River in which at least six well-liked area settlers were killed. If Kane, Iron and Beaver

counties and the Nevada Muddy River settlements are also included, up to a million dollars worth of sheep, cattle and horses were lost. Many local histories and some contemporary observers have implicated the southern Paiutes, and one chief named Patnish, a San Juan Paiute who had long associated with Navajos, was indeed a prime instigator, assisted by some members of his band.²² However, it is quite clear that Native Americans residing closer to the Mormon settlements were consistently friendly and helpful to the Latter-day Saint militiamen.²³ They not only watched the two crossings of the Colorado to warn of the enemy's approach, but guarded the homes and fields of the smaller outlying settlements which were temporarily abandoned during that crises, and also on occasion actually fought the invaders themselves and sometimes even retrieved stolen livestock. Several Native Americans from Long Valley are known to have been killed by Navajos, apparently partly for being overly friendly to the local settlers.

Eventually the Federal government Indian agents sent presents, which were offered to Washington and Kane County Native Americans, whom many had eventually come to recognize had so heroically assisted them during this literal war.²⁴ Paiute friendship continued to be a main policy throughout the ensuing years, led by friends of the upcoming generation, such as Anthony W. Ivins, more than the current dominant leaders such as Erastus Snow and James G. Bleak. One of the greatest tragedies to local Native Americans went virtually unmentioned by the mainstream leaders, at least in their extant records, and will be discussed later.

Franklin B. Woolley had been city recorder and a member of the Salt Lake City high council prior to being called in the original companies to settle St. George. He became a charter member of the high council, as well as a St. George city councilman. Being one of the most promising members of the younger generation in the territory, he proved active in several aspects of colony building. In 1863 he became an incorporator

of the first St. George public library and was also the director of some of the extensive city public works projects, such as the Tabernacle. Soon after Brigham Young launched the United Order, first in Dixie, Woolley became one of the directors of the Southern Utah Cooperative Mercantile Association (the St. George Z.C.M.I.). By the beginning of 1869, this body concluded that they needed to procure a lot of manufactured goods not yet available in southern Utah and sent Woolley as their purchasing agent to San Francisco by the almost-completed transcontinental railroad (which would be finished late that spring). There he purchased the needed goods and had them shipped to Wilmington harbor in Southern California where up to a dozen Dixie teamsters loaded their wagons with the merchandise to haul over the all-weather route back to Utah.

The slow trip was uneventful until the night of March 16, when camped at the first way station on the Mojave River, three draft horses that Frank Woolley had recently purchased, strayed away and could not be located in a search the following morning. Concluding that the horses had returned to San Bernardino, where they had been obtained, he sent the wagons on down the river while he started on a mule searching for the missing animals. After spending that night at a way station at the foot of Cajon Pass, he went on to San Bernardino to see if his horses had returned to the man who had sold them to him. Not finding them there, he was informed that they had been pastured the previous season at a ranch not far from the top of Cajon Pass, where he next continued his search. Again unsuccessful, during a rainstorm he decided to sleep in a nearby haystack, drawing a cabin door over him for protection. According to the silent evidence of the footprints, Frank Woolley was awakened next morning to find himself surrounded by some twenty Indians, who engaged in a war dance. At some point in this terrifying ordeal, he was either allowed to pass through the circle or made a desperate break and was immediately killed by arrows.

After waiting three days at the Mojave Forks Station, on March 20 the other teamsters concluded they needed to embark across the desert before their provisions were exhausted. Young Edwin D. Woolley, Jr., brother of Franklin, alone resolved to remain, but the following day he became too apprehensive to wait longer and started back up the Mojave in search of his missing brother. When he reached Burton's Station, at present Victorville, operated by Charles and William Burton, who were fellow Latter-day Saints, Edwin inquired for any word about Frank. At that juncture, Mrs. Burton burst into tears and hurried into her house, leaving one of the freighters standing nearby to inform him of his brother's fate.

Earlier, when the searcher for the missing horses failed to return to the way station from which he had headed toward the ranch pasture, concerned men at the station started toward the upper Mojave rangelands to look for him. They soon found other horses pastured there slaughtered by Indians and finally discovered Frank's body stripped of clothing and mutilated by coyotes. The remains were taken down Cajon Pass and buried near the lower way station. After the brother Edwin arrived, one of the discoverers of the murder assisted him to disinter the wooden casket containing the body. This they took to San Bernardino where Edwin secured a zinc coffin purchased with borrowed funds. Thereafter, the surviving Woolley brother, with the sealed metal casket, crossed the desert with another freighting party.

After Edwin Woolley and his lamented cargo arrived at St. George, a memorial service was held on April 17, probably in the just-completed basement portion of the yet-unfinished Tabernacle. The large funeral procession to the cemetery was led by the surviving St. George City Council members, followed by other former Woolley associates of the high council and employees of the city public works department. Frank Woolley was reinterred and his loss much mourned by his family, numerous local friends and citizens throughout Utah territory.²⁵

A significant insight into the cause of Woolley's death was later offered (publicly for the first time 45 years after the event) by St. George church leader and historian, Anthony W. Ivins. He explained that several years earlier, three young Paiute Indians had been killed in the same Mojave headwaters ranch vicinity²⁶ and he reported that "because of this barbarous act members of the Paiute tribe had declared that white men should never again occupy the place, and had made Franklin B. Woolley the innocent victim of their revenge." Ivins was much more likely than anyone residing in the San Bernardino area during the ensuing decades to be on sufficiently friendly terms with knowledgeable Paiutes to hear the Indian explanation for the killing. At this point, there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of his explanation. Thus the senseless act of some ruthless San Bernardino County citizens cost the life of one of Utah's most promising men.²⁷

At a St. George stake priesthood meeting February 2, 1878, at which Apostle Wilford Woodruff presided, longtime Indian missionary and interpreter, Augustus P. Hardy, reported on the condition of the local Native Americans. He stated that some twenty-five families of the Shivwits Paiute band, whose traditional homeland was near the northwest rim of the Grand Canyon of the Colorado, had recently located in and near St. George, with many subsisting through begging, although some worked for their livelihood. Hardy then offered one of the most shocking reports ever uttered in southern Utah, that only two Tonaquint Paiute men still resided near the Santa Clara River, where the missionary recalled there had been some three or four hundred persons when the Southern Indian Mission was founded just over twenty-three years earlier in 1854. He also reported that the formerly extensive cultivated land had been reduced to about a dozen acres.²⁸

It is absolutely incredible that there are no known local historical records of the presumed recent devastating disease epidemic, probably smallpox, among the Native Americans along the Santa Clara River, to which such people possessed

virtually no immunity.²⁹ James G. Bleak, called specifically to chronicle the history of the region, although he recorded the Hardy report, had not made it his responsibility to include much about the Tonaquints (though he did do better in regard to Native Americans thereafter). Hopefully some mention of the situation will yet be discovered in one of the relatively numerous personal diaries and journals still extant in the area. I am presently searching the Bureau of Indian Affairs reports, mainly from Moapa, Nevada and Salt Lake City, but would certainly appreciate any relevant leads that can be discovered from any source. It would help exonerate the earlier generation of our community for having appeared to be far too calloused toward the situation among their “Lamanite” neighbors. It is indeed lamentable to recount how completely the citizens of the region, in less than two dozen years, had strayed so completely from what had clearly been their primary initial purpose for settling Dixie — the physical, then spiritual uplift and improvement of the Native Americans there.

Although the precise local documentation is yet lacking, I hypothesize that a smallpox epidemic wreaked almost total decimation among members of the Tonaquint band.³⁰

There was such an epidemic at that time in the huge San Bernardino county, California area including some Southern Paiutes and their cousins, if not full members of the same tribal group, the Chemehuevis along the lower Colorado River in 1877. Native Americans showing the tell-tale body sores were abandoned in panic by their own people and essentially ignored by most neighboring citizens sometimes as they lay dying in the streets of some towns. In that area, this was probably the fourth such epidemic of what some Native Americans called the “viruelas” in that one generation, along with at least one of measles.³¹ These depleted much of the formerly substantial Native American population of the Mojave Desert region. Traditionally there had been amazingly frequent and extensive interaction among tribal members along the entire six hundred mile extent of Southern Paiute

homelands comprising the western half of the historic Old Spanish Trail and nearby (from Beaver, Utah to Victorville, California). Few Americans of that era had any understanding of how disease spread during such epidemics. It is simply another portion of the absolutely tragic four-century history of Europeans and the deadly micro-organisms they carried with them to the Western Hemisphere. Perhaps the general lack of such understanding helps excuse the seeming absence of concern devoted to the similar sufferings which doubtless beset the Indians in Dixie during their horrible ordeal of the same period.

An afterward note is appropriate regarding a great man of the younger pioneer generation, who proved as committed to Southern Paiute well-being as Jacob Hamblin had been. Anthony W. Ivins, who later served in the Latter-day Saint First Presidency, led out in persuading most of the Shivwits band members to move from the rather inhospitable environment of the Arizona strip adjacent the northwest rim of the Grand Canyon to occupy the lands left mainly vacant by their departed Tonaquint tribesmen in 1891. The Santa Clara vicinity has subsequently been the Shivwits Reservation now for more than a century. Some have suggested that Ivins made the move for selfish reasons, but the Native Americans involved frequently affirmed that he was among their best friends — ever.³² When he died, they performed their (hitherto mainly unknown to whites) sacred “cry” ceremony for him, in the presence of Cedar City Stake President, William R. Palmer, who also had that ceremony performed after his own death, as did the long-time Kanab Stake President, Edwin D. Woolley, Jr. Both had also proved devoted friends to the Southern Paiutes. These sacred ceremonies, initiated by the Native Americans, are eloquent testimonials that not all southern Utah Latter-day Saints turned their backs on their Native American neighbors.

Endnotes

- 1 Richard E. Turley, Jr., editor and director, *Selected Collections from the Archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, vol. I, (DVD set) 19. James G. Bleak, "Annals of the Southern Utah Mission," circa 1898-1907 (MS 11500), vol. 1872-4:82. Here Hamblin was again set apart by Brigham Young as a missionary to the Indians. In other places this is referred to specifically as an apostle to them.
- 2 Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, L.D.S. Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah, August 7, September 4, 1852; *Deseret News*, same dates.
- 3 Juanita Brooks, ed., *Journal of the Southern Indian Mission: Diary of Thomas D. Brown* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1972), 50-59.
- 4 Andrew Karl Larson, *I Was Called to Dixie, The Virgin River Basin: Unique Experiences in Mormon Pioneering* (St. George: Dixie College Foundation, 1961, 2nd printing 1979, 3rd printing 1992), 38.
- 5 *Ibid.*, 38-40.
- 6 *Ibid.*, 41, quoting Hamblin's journal, 33.
- 7 *Ibid.*, 67. See also Andrew Karl Larson, *Red Hills of November: A Pioneer Biography of Utah's Cotton Town* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1957, reprint St. George, 1992, 2, 4, 313. The latter page for Lyman's prediction.
- 8 Edward Leo Lyman, *Amasa Mason Lyman, Mormon Apostle and Apostate: A Study in Dedication* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2009), 245-297, 341-350, 364. See also Harold P. Cahoon and Priscilla J. Cahoon, comps., *Utah's "Dixie" Birthplace* (St. George: Washington City Historical Society, second ed., 1996), 95, for reference to Lyman's original ownership of block 35, lot 8.
- 9 Will Bagley, *Blood of the Prophets: Brigham Young and the Massacre at Mountain Meadows* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), 158, 227-228.
- 10 Robert A. Bye, Jr., "Ethnobotany of the Southern Paiute Indians in the 1870s: With a Note on the Early Ethnobotanical Contributions of Dr. Edward Palmer," in Don D. Fowler, *Great Basin Cultural Ecology Symposium*, Social Science No. 8 (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1972): 88-91.
- 11 James A. Little, *Jacob Hamblin: A Narrative of His Personal Experiences as a Frontiersman, Missionary to the Indians and Explorer* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1881), later republished by Preston Nibley, comp. *Three Mormon Classics: Leaves from my Journal [by] Wilford Woodruff; My First Mission [by] George Q. Cannon; Jacob Hamblin [by] James A. Little* (Salt Lake City: Stevens & Wallis, Inc., 1944), 290. See also Angus M. Woodbury, "A History of Southern Utah and its National Parks," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 12 (July-October 1944), 167.

- 12 George A. Smith to Jacob Hamblin, November 3, 1863, copy in Historian's Office Letterpress Copybook, 2, 9, L. D. S. Church Archives.
- 13 Larson, *I Was Called to Dixie*, 59.
- 14 Little-Nibley, Jacob Hamblin, 44.
- 15 Lyman, Amasa Mason Lyman, 252-255.
- 16 *Ibid.*, 254-255.
- 17 *Ibid.*, 257.
- 18 *Ibid.*, 276-277.
- 19 *Ibid.*, 259-275.
- 20 *Ibid.*, 283-286.
- 21 *Ibid.*, 289-297.
- 22 Edward Leo Lyman, "Caught in Between: Jacob Hamblin and the Southern Paiutes During the Black Hawk-Navajo Wars of the Late 1860s," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 75 (Winter 2007), 11-41.
- 23 It is true that some Paiute men, probably Kaibabs, were compelled to assist the Navajos in stealing sheep from Dr. James M. Whitmore's new ranch near Pipe Springs in 1866. He and his son-in-law, Robert McIntyre, were killed when reaching that area to investigate. Angry militiamen, including two brothers of the dead McIntyre, shot at least seven Paiute men. The most knowledgeable investigators, including Jacob Hamblin, determined that the wrong persons had been punished for the crime, and so explained later to the highest Navajo chiefs.
- 24 Lyman, "Caught in Between," 11-41.
- 25 Bleak, "Annals of the Southern Utah Mission," I: 450-454.
- 26 Edward Leo Lyman, *The Overland Journey From Utah to California: Wagon Travel from the City of Saints to the City of Angels* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2004), 196-198.
- 27 *Deseret Evening News*, March 20, 1869, *Journal History*, same date; *San Bernardino Guardian*, March 27, May 8, 1869; Anthony W. Ivins, "Traveling Over Forgotten Trails: Indian Revenge and a Brother's Devotion," *Improvement Era* 19 (May 1916): 603-607. See also Bleak, "Annals of the Southern Utah Mission," I: 447-457.
- 28 Bleak, "Annals of the Southern Utah Mission," vol. 1878, 2.
- 29 Norman Tom, a Moapa Paiute, long a rancher in the Mesquite, Nevada area, and others have some oral tradition of the tragedy. The current author will certainly do more work to document this.
- 30 It may be possible that a few of the band members had moved to Moapa, Nevada, where a sort of Indian reservation was being established. However, that endeavor was not progressing well and the two bands had often evidenced tension, if not open hostility, toward each other. And there are no known records of Tonaquints moving there or eastward to reside among the Kaibab band with whom they

usually had maintained more cordial relations. Certainly the question of such moves is not entirely impossible and requires further research.

- 31 John P. Harrington Papers, in the Smithsonian Institution, 1907-1957, vol. 3: "Native American History, Language and Culture of Southern California Basin," (White Plains, New York: Kraus International Publications, 1986), cited in David D. Earle, "Indians of the Upper Mojave River and Victor Valley: The Historical Period" (unpublished paper given September, 1991, 19). See also San Bernadino *Times*, January 23-25, February 12-13, 1877. The epidemic continued for at least a month in the community and probably spread northward into the desert and beyond where no newspaper items would ever record the horrible outcomes of decimation there. See also Carobeth Laird, *The Chemehuevis* (Banning, California: Malki Museum, 1976), xxi, for her husband and his family suffering from smallpox that year.
- 32 Nellie Cox and Helen B. Russell, *Footprints on the Arizona Strip* (St. George, 1973), 4, states that the Shivwits were relocated to the Santa Clara River in 1891. The authors learned from old Arizona Strip cowboy, James Guerrerro, that "Tone" Ivins went to the band headman, "Old Shem," and asked him if he would be willing to move his people to the farm out along the Santa Clara. Shem nearly had a fit, he was so tickled. So Tone took an option on the land, and in six weeks had the Indians settled there. Ivins certainly worked with the U. S. Indian Bureau for the financing of this transaction. See also Anthony W. Ivins Journal, Stanley Ivins typescript, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah, 47. Historian Will Bagley has often accused Ivins of selfish motives in the Shivwits move. Paul W. Reeve has also made the allegation in his recent monograph, *Making Space on the Western Frontier: Mormons, Miners, and Southern Paiutes* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 101.