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CHAPTER 4

THE INDIAN SLAVE TRADE IN UTAH

TO 1852

When Mormon pioneers entered Great Salt Lake Valley in 1847 they found the Indian slave trade between Utes and New Mexican traders along the Old Spanish Trail flourishing. They were dismayed by the practice, but not necessarily because they were abolitionists--some of the earliest pioneers were southern slave holders, and black slaves were among the first settlers to enter the valley. However, Mormon ideology made a distinction between African Americans and American Indians; where forcible servitude was justifiable within Mormon doctrine for the black "sons of Cain," the American Indians were "Lamanites," a chosen remnant of the House of Israel upon whom spiritual and priesthood blessings had been pronounced.

More importantly, though, the slave trade the Mormons saw practiced was, from the beginning, not only morally reprehensible but politically untenable as well. First, the Mormons found themselves in the center of the traditional Mexican/Indian slave route and saw only the uglier aspects of the operation: Indian slavers with cruel and inhuman

methods of acquisition and treatment of their merchandise. Almost as bad, the fate of these slaves was to be enslaved by a Mexican population which 19th century prejudice told them were little better than the Indians themselves. The Indian slavers also tried to foist their excess merchandise onto the Mormon newcomers as well, usually at a price higher than the reluctant purchaser could afford to pay.

Perhaps of even more importance, the slave trade itself threatened the peaceful settlement of the Mormons' promised land. Slave-raiding by Utes stirred up hostility and fear among the tribes they warred with or preyed upon. The Mormons found themselves caught between the warring tribes--each of which they needed as peaceful allies in order to safely settle their far-flung colonies, yet each making demands upon their alliance. To worsen matters, the Mexican trade helped sustain these conflicts with its traffic in arms, ammunition, and horses traded to hostile tribes.

Yet despite their abhorrence of the Indian slave trade, even within months of their entrance into the Great Salt Lake Valley the new Mormon settlers found themselves becoming a party to it. While they never actively sought Indian servants simply for the purpose of acquiring menials to serve them as the Spanish/Mexicans had, Mormons began to purchase Indian children from slavers as well as directly from destitute Indian families. Within a few years they would legalize and

institutionalize its practice, justifying it--as the Spanish had already done--through the need for temporal and spiritual redemption of the Indian. Terminology was managed and in an already familiar pattern in New Mexico, the practice of purchasing Indian children became not slavery, but ransoming into an indenture. Purchase became a form of manumission, the cost for which would be repaid by the indentured Indian through service to his purchaser.

Mormon Cultural Background

Mormon Attitude toward Slavery

The early Mormon church membership was drawn predominantly from the free north: Ohio and upstate New York where it was born. As such, the general attitude of the Church membership toward slavery was negative and most members would originally have qualified as abolitionists. It was due to this, in large part, that Mormon settlers who moved to Missouri in the 1830s found themselves at odds with their non-Mormon neighbors who were slave-holders or had come from southern slave states. Indeed, it was in large part due to the concern over the growing number of abolitionist Mormons, the question of blacks and the Church, and the immigration of free Negroes into Missouri, that sparked

U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Negro Population 1790-1915* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918), pp. 1-6, 33-37, 55-57; Lythgoe, "Negro Slavery," 40-54; Jack Beller, "Negro Slaves in Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 2 (January 1929): 122-125; Stephen G. Taggart, *Mormonism's Negro Policy: Social and Historical*

the first riots and mob action against the Mormons in Independence, Missouri.¹

In response to the need to peacefully integrate the abolitionist Mormons within this southern state (not to mention the desire for converts among southerners), the leadership of the young church was forced to evaluate its stance concerning slavery and blacks. The result was to make a conciliatory stance *against* abolition and forbid abolitionist rhetoric from formal discourses. Some leaders attempted to explain the existence of black slavery by turning to scriptures which decreed that the descendants of Cain (identified as Negroes) should always be servants. Slaves traveled west with the vanguard of the Mormon pioneers in 1847 when southern owners joined the trek west. One man even loaned one of his slaves, Green Flake, to Brigham Young as a teamster. It was Green Flake, according to family tradition, who drove the carriage in which Brigham Young was riding when he entered the valley of the Great Salt Lake. Thus, black slavery arrived in Utah with the first Mormons.²

¹Donna Hill, *Joseph Smith: The First Mormon* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and company, Inc., 1977), 158-161; and Dennis L. Lythgoe, "Negro Slavery in Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 39 (Winter 1971): 50-51.

²U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Negro Population 1790-1915* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918), pp. 1-6, 33-37, 55-57; Lythgoe, "Negro Slavery," 40-54; Jack Beller, "Negro Slaves in Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 2 (January 1929): 122-126; Stephen G. Taggart, *Mormonism's Negro Policy: Social and Historical*

However, by 1850 the majority of blacks in Utah were free (including Green Flake and other blacks in Young's service), except for twenty-six who were listed as being on their way to California with their masters, all but one of whom were from southern slave states.³

The political turmoil that surrounded the application of "Deseret" for statehood in 1849-50 was heavily influenced by the ongoing debate between the northern and southern states over slavery and the balance of power between the north and south. Southern states opposed the new state, fearing it would enter as "Free" (though some northern states simply opposed a Mormon state). The request for statehood was disallowed in favor of organizing the Mormon domain as a territory. The 1850 "Compromise Measure" passed by Congress allowed the new Utah and New Mexico territories the right to choose whether to enter the union as either Free or Slave--though it was generally expected that both would

Origins (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1922), 1-73; Newell G. Bringham, "Forgotten Mormon Perspectives: Slavery, Race, and the Black Man as Issues among Non-Utah Latter-day Saints, 1844-1873," *Michigan History* 61 (Winter 1977): 325-370.

³Utah State census, 1850 and 1860, including slave roles; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Negro Population 1790-1915* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918), pp. 1-6, 33-37, 55-57. Green Flake was given to the Church as tithing, and worked for Brigham Young for two years before being manumitted. See Lythgoe, "Negro Slavery," 42.

be Free.⁴ Ironically, the Pedro León court case forced the new territory to examine her own stand on the question of slavery, ultimately determining that slavery was legal; within a month the state legislature would pass laws regulating black slavery--specifically the treatment of slaves--until its abolition in 1862. As a result, Utah became the only slave "territory" in the far west.⁵

And yet, the judicial and legislative recognition of slavery did not reflect the attitude of the majority of the people nor its leaders. Brigham Young addressed the legislature in early January of 1852, following the conviction of León and company, and the determination of the court that black slavery was legal. Giving his personal opinion on the matter of slavery, he said,

It is unnecessary perhaps for me to indicate the true policy for Utah in regard to slavery. Restrictions of law and government make all servants; but human flesh to be dealt in as property, is not consistent or compatible with the true principles of government. My own feelings are that no

different from the American norm. The Mormon scripture, *The Book of Mormon*, keystone in their religion, purported to be a religious history of

⁴Richard E. Poll, ed. *Utah's History*, Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1978, 156-158; Milton R. Hunter, *Utah in Her Western Setting* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1943), 421-422.

⁵Prior to March 1852, there had been no laws either allowing or prohibiting slavery in Utah. Orson Hyde attempted to clarify the church's stand on slavery to British members in 1851 by claiming they neither forced a slave to remain in his master's possession nor forced the master to free them because national law allowed slavery. Hyde quoted from *Millennial Star* XIII (1851), 63 in Lythgoe, "Negro Slavery," 50.

property can or should be recognized as existing in slaves, either Indian or African.⁶

Nevertheless, black slavery remained legal. Yet, despite being a slave territory, the number of slave owners in Utah between 1847-1862 remained in the great minority, practiced almost exclusively by families who had grown up in the south and had brought their slaves west with them (in many cases, slaves coming willingly). But the vast majority of the Mormons deplored slavery, recognizing its legality only grudgingly.⁷

They did not recognize the right of Indian slavery at all and were deeply shocked at the examples of cruelty exhibited by Indian slavers to their captives. Thus the legislature would legalize the indenturing and manumission of Indians in order to retrieve them from the hands of slavers, but allow the continuing ownership of black slaves.

Mormons and Indians

The Mormon attitude toward the American Indian was vastly different from the American norm. The Mormon scripture, *The Book of Mormon*, keystone to their religion, purported to be a religious history of the ancestors of the American Indian; these Indians, known as

"Lamanites," were considered to be the "fallen" descendants of a portion

⁶Brigham Young, legislative address January 5, 1852, published in *Deseret News Weekly*, January 10, 1852.

⁷Lythgoe, "Negro Slavery," 46, 54.

of the House of Israel and entitled to the birthright blessings due the descendants of the Biblical patriarch, Abraham. It was the responsibility of the Mormons to redeem the Indians, both physically and spiritually, so that they would become a white, delightsome, and industrious people, worthy to receive that blessing.⁸ Prominent Mormons preached that

The Lord has caused us to come here [Utah] for this very purpose, that we might accomplish the redemption of these suffering degraded Israelites. . . . It is a great privilege indeed . . . that we enjoy being associated with them in the accomplishment of so great a work.⁹

Therefore, unlike common Anglo or Hispanic attitudes towards Indians, they were not (at least in theory) considered to be either exploitable, destroyed, or ignored. Mormons felt that part of their religious duty included caring about and for Indians; their scriptures prophesied of these Indian descendants that one day the gentiles should "bring thy sons in their arms, and [carry] thy daughters . . . upon their shoulders."¹⁰

It is not surprising, then, that the first Mormon settlers were appalled at the cruel practices of the Indian slave trade in Utah.

⁸The Doctrine and Covenants (D&C) (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints), July 1828, sec. 3:16-20.

⁹Orson Pratt, July 15, 1855, *Journal of Discourses* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints), 9:179.

¹⁰Nephi 21:22-23, *The Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints).

Indian Slave Trade in Utah
before 1852

The ongoing market for Indian servants in New Mexico had bred an active trade in captives along the Old Spanish Trail in Utah. These children could be purchased directly from families, be the captives of more powerful bands of Indians (such as the Utes) who had learned to prey on weaker tribes, or occasionally be taken captive by the Mexicans themselves.

Fortunes were to be made by the enterprising Hispanic or Indian who grasped the opportunities to be found along the trail. Several Utah chiefs acquired great wealth and renown based upon their slaving and horse raiding activities. Wakara (also known as "Walker" or "Devil Walker" by the Mormons), most prominent and intelligent of these Ute raiders, arrogantly ranged throughout Utah south of "Point of the Mountain," which separated the Salt Lake and Utah valleys, and the Shoshone-Ute territories. He referred to central and southern Utah as "his country," and, with his heavily armed and mounted warriors, controlled and tolled the trade on the Old Spanish Trail. John C. Fremont remembered meeting him in 1844,

journeying slowly towards the Spanish Trail to levy their usual tribute upon the great California caravans. . . . They

⁸The Doctrine and Covenants (D&C) (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints), July 1828, sec. 3:18-20.
⁹Orson Pratt, July 18, 1825, Journal of Discourses (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints), 9:179.
¹⁰Nephi 21:22-23, The Book of Mormon (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints).

conducted their depredations with form and under the color of trade and toll for passing through their country.¹¹

Walker was also the scourge of the weaker "Piede" Indians and was seldom seen without his having captive children to trade.¹² His desire to have a ready market for captives nearby may have prompted his invitation to Mormon leaders to settle in his home territories leading to the establishment of Manti (in San Pete Valley), Parowan (sixty miles south), and along the Sevier River--the central locations for his trading rendezvous.¹³

¹¹As quoted in B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1930), vol. 3, 463.

¹²Brigham Young, Testimony given in First District Judicial Court, January 15, 1852, United States v. Pedro León, et al., in *Minutes of the First Judicial Court*, Salt Lake City, Utah, located in the Utah State Archives, and as Document #1533, pp. 11-13, microfiche.

Walker was more particularly noted for his horse-raiding skills, being infamous in southern California where he, his band, and a couple of mountain men made it a practice to steal large herds of horses which they drove back to trade with both Indians and American immigrants on the Oregon/California trails. Slaving was a product of local raiding enterprises against the more destitute Shoshonean tribes of Utah and Nevada. For more information on Wakara, see, Paul Bailey, *Wakara, Hawk of the Mountains* (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1954); Gustive O. Larsen, "Wakara's half Century." *Western Humanities Review*, 6 (Summer, 1952), 235-259; and Conway B. Sonne, *The World of Wakara* (San Antonio: Naylor Co., 1962).

¹³The subsequent settlement was Manti, established in 1849. June 13, 1849, *Journal History of the Church* (The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: Archives Division, Historical Department), hereafter cited as JH.

The source of these captives were the weaker, pedestrian tribes such as the Paiute and Gosiute "Digger" Indians. For some of the weaker tribes, however, the selling of children was sometimes a means of simple survival. Some parents sold their children because food was so scarce that if they kept them they would starve anyway. These Utah and Nevada desert Indians, for example, were so poor they often subsisted on whatever food they could find, including grubs, ants, grasshoppers, lizards and snails, and had even been known to resort to cannibalism. Their clothing was practically nonexistent, and their shelters were brush enclosures or even holes in the ground. Following harsh winters they might be seen foraging among the frozen remains of their families, eating only grass. Early chroniclers described them as "degraded," "depraved," "least intellectual," and "les Dignes de pite" ('the people deserving of pity').¹⁴ Hopi traditions recall Paiutes trading children for food at their

¹⁴Howard Louis Conard, *Uncle Dick Wootton: The Pioneer Frontiersman of the Rocky Mountain Region*, Milo Milton Quaife, ed. (1890: reprint, Chicago: R. R. Donnelley and Sons Company, 1957), 64; P. J. DeSmet, *Letters and Sketches: A Narrative of a Year's Residence among the Indian Tribes of the Rocky Mountains* (Philadelphia, 1843, in Thwaite, *Western Travels*, 165-167; Thomas D. Brown, "Journal of the Southern Indian Mission: Diary of Thomas D. Brown," Juanita Brooks, ed. (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1972), 75; T. J. Farnham, *Travels in the Great Western Prairies*, 1843, vol. 28, in *Early Western Travels*, Reuben Gold Thwaite, ed. (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1906), 249; *Deseret News Weekly* (Salt Lake City), July 3, 1854; Leroy Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, *Old Spanish Trail: Santa Fe to Los Angeles* (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1954), 261-262, for examples.

pueblos,¹⁵ and they were known to trade them to Mexican or Ute traders, and later to the Mormon settlers, too. There are even reports that in order to stave off starvation in times of great stress these impoverished Indians may have eaten human flesh, sometimes even eating their own children.¹⁶

By the mid 19th century Paiute women and children had become fearful of any mounted riders. At the approach of any such strangers Paiute women would take their children to hide, fearing both the raider and the trader, for even their own husbands could be tempted to barter them away for the price of a horse or a gun.¹⁷ As one old Paiute

¹⁵Ernest Beaglehole, "Notes on Hopi Economic Life," *Yale University Publication in Anthropology*, no. 15 (1937), 83, in Tyler, "Before Escalante," 93.

¹⁶In 1765 Colorado Utes told Juan de Rivera, leader of an expedition seeking a way to cross the Colorado River, that across the river "there is a species of people who because of the lack of food for their sustenance, they eat their own children." In Austin Nelson Leiby, "Borderland Pathfinders: The 1765 Diaries of Juan Maria Antonio de Rivera" (Ph.D. diss., Northern Arizona University, 1985), 212. Earlier Spaniards had also heard rumors of "cannibals" living beyond the Colorado River. In the mid 1800s one mountain man reported that one of his party of trappers fell behind the rest and was set upon by "Pah-Utes;" "the miserable cannibals cut off nearly all the flesh from his bones and carried it away to eat." In Howard Louis Conard, *Uncle Dick Wootton: The Pioneer Frontiersman of the Rocky Mountain Region*, Milo Milton Quaife, ed. (1890; repr. Chicago: R. R. Donnelley and Sons, Co., 1957), 64.

¹⁷Jacob Hamblin, "Journal," December 17, 1854, quoted in Juanita Brooks, "Indian Relations on the Mormon Frontier," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 12 (January-April, 1944): 14; James G. Bleak, "Annals of the Southern Utah Mission," 1928, Typescript, Brigham Young University

explained, "they could make more children but they had nothing else to trade for horses and guns."¹⁸ So frequently were these poor Indians raided, or traded, that they were in danger of dwindling into extinction as it was their child-bearing women and children who were lost to them.

Garland Hurt, Utah Indian Agent in 1860, reported that "scarcely one-half of the Pyeed children are permitted to grow up in the band; and, a large majority of those being males, this and other causes are tending to depopulate their bands very rapidly."¹⁹

When the Mormon settlers entered the region they did not seek the Indian slave trade; nevertheless, they quickly found that it would be thrust upon them. Within months of entering the Valley of the Great

Special Collections, Provo, Utah, 17.

¹⁸William R. Palmer, from oral interviews, mss., in possession of W. R. Palmer, quoted in Hafen and Hafen, *Spanish Trail*, 281-283.

¹⁹Bleak, "Southern Utah Mission," 17; Garland Hurt, in Appendix O, "Indians of Utah," (May 2, 1860), in J. H. Simpson, *Report of Explorations Across the Great Basin, etc.* (Washington: 1876), 461-462, quoted in Hafen and Hafen, *Old Spanish Trail*, 278; Utah State, *Acts, Resolutions, and Memorials, passed at the several sessions of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1855), Chapter 24 (passed January 31, 1852, approved March 7, 1852). In times of great distress Indians sometimes killed their children in favor of the survival of the group. For example, during the "Posey" war in southeastern Utah in 1914 a woman threw her crying child over a cliff so that a white posse would not hear it; or, in 1854 Apaches fleeing a fight with the army drowned a "large number" of their children in the river they were crossing to enable them to escape (Carson to Messervy, April 14, 184, New Mexico Indian Superintendency, Brigham Young University Microfilm #970.1 T21 roll 1).

Salt Lake they were approached by an Indian named Baptiste who offered two teen-aged captives for sell. This is not surprising since the Indians had been selling captives to Mexicans and mountain men for decades. But the new settlers were not interested in purchasing any Indian captives, even though Baptiste threatened to kill their captives if they didn't. However, after he carried out his threat by killing one, Brigham Young's son-in-law purchased the second for a gun. She was taken and raised in Brigham Young's home where she "fared as [Young's] children, and [was] as free."²⁰

In another incident that summer two other small children captured in a battle with Shoshonis were being tortured to death when Mormons sought to intervene. The seven-year-old daughter of a prominent chief was still alive, but had already been turned into

the saddest looking piece of humanity I have ever seen. They had shingled her head with butcher knives and fire brands. All the fleshy parts of her body, legs and arms had been hacked with knives, then fire brands had been stuck into the wounds. She was gaunt with hunger and smeared from head to foot with blood and ashes.²¹

²⁰Young, "Testimony."

²¹John R. Young manuscript, L. D. S. Church Archives, 45, as quoted in Peter Gottfredson, *History of Indian Depredations in Utah* (Salt Lake City: Skelton Publishing Company, 1919), pp. 16-17.

She was also purchased by Charles Decker, given to Brigham Young, and raised with his other children.²² On another occasion Wakara's kin-brother, Arapeen,²³ offered several children for sale to settlers in Utah Valley. When his offer was refused he grabbed a child by the heels and smashed its head on the hard ground. After throwing the lifeless body at the feet of the horrified Mormons, he blamed them for the child's death, saying they "had no hearts, or [they] would have bought it and saved its life."²⁴

²²John R. Young manuscript, L.D. S. Church Archives, 45, as quoted in Peter Gottfredson, *History of Indian Depredations in Utah* (Salt Lake City: Skelton Publishing Company, 1919), pp. 16-18. Purchased from Wanship after a battle with Shoshone chief, Lone Wolf. This girl, Sally, lived with the family until Brigham Young strongly urged her to accept the marriage proposal of Pahvant chief, Kanosh. This she did, although she was apparently not happy with her new situation. See also in Madoline C. Dixon, *These Were the Utes: Their Lifestyles, Wars and Legends* (Provo, Utah: Press Publishing, 1983), 103-109,

²³Arapeen has been identified as Wakara's brother. Most writers have misunderstood the Ute kinship system and have erroneously identified as brothers to Wakara a number of his contemporary chiefs, such as Arapeen and Sanpitch. The fluid marriage practices of the Utes allowed for the existence of numerous half-brothers, and, the Ute kinship system called all male siblings and cousins "brothers" if they were of a similar age. Consequently in the Ute language all of Wakara's brothers, cousins, or half-brothers would have been identified by the single term translated into English as "brother." I have here simply referred to him as a kin-brother, that is, a male kin of the same generation. Arapeen was probably a half-brother or cousin. See John Wesley Powell, "Uintah Ute Relationship Terms," mss. 831-Ute, Anthropology Archives, Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 1873.

²⁴D. W. Jones, *Forty Years among the Indians* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1890), 53. The Arapeen incident took place in 1852 after the Mexicans traders had been expelled.

Such coercive salesmanship was not unusual for the Utes. In 1813 a Mexican party of fur-traders under the leadership of Mauricio Arze and Lagos García had returned to New Mexico with a similar tale of the forcible sale of captives. Although the Spaniards were apparently seeking to trade for furs, the Timpanogos Utes in Utah Valley wanted to trade horses for children instead. When they were refused the angry Indians slaughtered a number of the traders' horses; after another hostile encounter with Sanpitch Indians the Spaniards cut their trek short and headed home. On the Green River they met another chief (Guasache) waiting, "as was his custom," for traders with whom he could barter. When he, too, demanded horses for children the traders acquiesced, fearful of another attack similar to that of the Timpanogos Utes.²⁵

²⁵Testimony given at a trial for illegally trading with the Ute Indians for Indian captives, Rio Arriba, September 1813 in R. E. Twitchell, ed., *Spanish Archives of New Mexico* (Cedar Rapids, 1914), vol. 2, 478, document #1881 no. 7, in Hafen and Hafen, *Spanish Trail*, 85-86.

The testimony noted the disappointingly small number of pelts obtained on the trip, implying that this may have been the major purpose of the expedition; the fur trade in the Rocky Mountains was just getting underway and there was still a lot of excitement about the potential. Other fur trading expeditions went into the Colorado Rockies during this period as well. Unlike eastern or Canadian Indians, Utes and Shoshones were noted for *not* participating as trappers in the fur trade, helping to give rise to the Anglo trapper and the mountain man tradition in the Rockies. Apparently Arze and García early found the Utah Utes more interested in the profits of the slave trade than the fur business. Fred R. Gowans, personal communication, Brigham Young University, 1993. For more in depth studies of the impact of the fur trade on Utah Indians, see LeRoy R. Hafen, ed., *The Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West*,

Apparently the Utes had long practice in selling their captives to willing or unwilling traders. Thus the entrance of the Mormons into the center of Ute territory may have at first have seemed like the market coming to the seller. Their initial reluctance to purchase Indian captives posed no real problem for the Indian slavers. Wakara needed only to threaten to sell them to Mexican slavers or Navajos (another active market for domestics and herders)--or to kill them.²⁶ Brigham Young testified that

Indian Walker has been in the habit for years in trafficking in Indians. He has never been here with his band without having a quantity of Indian Children as slaves--he offers them for sale, and when he has an offer that satisfies him in the price, he sells them, and when he cannot get what he thinks they are worth, he says he will take them to the Navahoe Indians, or Spaniards, and sell them, or kill them which he frequently does.²⁷

vol. 1 (overview) (Glendale, California: Arthu H. Clark Co., 1965), and David J. Weber, *The Taos Trappers: The Fur Trade in the Far Southwest, 1540-1846* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971).

²⁶Young, "Testimony"; Utes took captives and sold them to Mexicans or Navajos--Indian captives were sold to Mexicans and Mexican (and apparently Paiute) captives were sold to Navajos. Wealthy Navajos owned many slaves that could be inherited as property; the most prominent recorded example was Hoskinini (Has-hkêneini) of the Monument Valley Arizona/Utah region who left thirty-two slave women in his estate. See in David M. Brugge, "Navajos in the Catholic Church Records of New Mexico, 1694-1875," Research Report No. 1, Navajo Tribe Parks and Recreation Department, Window Rock, Arizona, 1968, 76 and Collier, 1971, 160 and 150.

²⁷Young, "Testimony."

The cruel and abusive treatment of the Indian captives was an added incentive to the Mormon settlers to attempt to redeem the children and save them from further abuse or even death. Young testified that,

I have seen Walkers slaves so emaciated they were not able to stand upon their feet. He is in the habit of tying them out from their camps at night, naked and destitute of food, unless it is so cold he apprehends they will freeze to death. In that case he will give them something to sleep on, lest he should lose them.²⁸

And the Utah legislature noted that,

It is a well established fact that women and children thus obtained, or obtained by war, or theft, or in any other manner, are by them frequently carried from place to place packed upon horses or mules; lariatied out to subsist upon grass, roots, or starve; and are frequently bound with thongs made of rawhide, until their hands and feet become swollen, mutilated, inflamed with pain and wounded, and, when with suffering, cold, hunger and abuse they fall sick so as to become troublesome, are frequently slain by their masters to get rid of them; and

. . . . They do frequently kill their women and children taken prisoners, either for revenge, or for amusement, or through the influence of tradition, unless they are tempted to exchange them for trade, which they usually do if they have an opportunity; . . .

. . . . When the inhabitants do not purchase or trade for those so offered for sale, they are generally doomed to the most miserable existence, suffering the tortures of every species of cruelty, until death kindly relieves them²⁹

Because the Mormons saw the physical redemption and spiritual salvation of the Indian as part of their religious and humanitarian

²⁸Young, "Testimony."

²⁹Utah legislature, *Acts and Resolutions*.