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Unidentified man next to monument at Mountain Meadows, circa 1930.

# Problems with Mountain Meadows Massacre Sources

*Richard E. Turley Jr.*

The Church History Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has gradually accumulated what may well be the largest and finest collection of information about the Mountain Meadows Massacre ever assembled. Many complex documentary problems have presented challenges in understanding, digesting, and interpreting this massive collection.

Though many people have written about the Mountain Meadows Massacre, few have appreciated fully the problems inherent in some key sources of information about it. Three sources readily illustrate the nature of these problems: (1) an 1859 report by James Henry Carleton, who investigated the massacre on site; (2) the transcripts of the two trials of John D. Lee; and (3) the 1877 book titled *Mormonism Unveiled; or the Life and Confessions of the Late Mormon Bishop, John D. Lee; (Written by Himself)*. All these sources provide important information about the massacre, but they also have significant problems. Critical analysis can lead to a more thorough understanding of the sources, leading to more accurate history.

## **Carleton's Report**

One of the most frequently used early sources on the massacre is U.S. Army Brevet Major James Henry Carleton's report of his 1859 investigation at Mountain Meadows.<sup>1</sup> The on-site investigation by Carleton and his men, occurring less than two years after the massacre, yields important evidence for modern scholars of the massacre. Yet careful analysis shows that portions of the oft-cited report rest on shaky foundations.<sup>2</sup>

For example, Carleton cites information he received from assistant army surgeon Charles Brewer, who went “up the Platte river on the 11th of June, 1857.” On this northern route, Brewer “passed a train of emigrants near O’Fallon’s Bluffs.” This train he remembered as “Perkin’s train,” being conducted by “a man named Perkins, who had previously been to California.” Brewer saw the train several times along the trail, last observing it “at Ash Hollow, on the North Fork of the Platte.” Relying on Brewer’s testimony, Carleton describes the train in detail, calling it “one of the finest trains that had been seen to cross the plains.” The train had “forty wagons” and “about forty heads of families,” and there were “three carriages along,” one of which had “something peculiar in the construction,” a “blazoned stag’s head upon the panels.” Brewer claimed that this carriage was “now in the possession of the Mormons.” He later concluded, after hearing reports and “comparing the dates with the probable rate of travel,” that “this was the . . . train . . . destroyed at Mountain Meadows.”<sup>3</sup>

The Brewer-Carleton account proves problematic, however, since the weight of evidence suggests that most members of the train massacred at Mountain Meadows traveled on the more southerly Cherokee Trail and could not have been at the places Brewer named.<sup>4</sup> Still, multiple writers from the nineteenth to the twenty-first century have accepted and parroted Carleton’s report, repeating the intriguing but questionable details again and again without further analysis.

For example, in his 1870 volume *Life in Utah; or, the Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism*, John H. Beadle quotes Brewer’s descriptions of the emigrants at O’Fallon’s Bluff, with “forty heads of families” and three carriages, one with the “blazoned stag’s head upon the panels,” of which the Mormons took possession. Beadle also continues Brewer’s assessment that this was “one of the finest trains” crossing the plains.<sup>5</sup> In his 1976 book *Massacre at Mountain Meadows: An American Legend and a Monumental Crime*, William Wise relies on Brewer’s description of the carriage with the blazoned stag’s head on the panels.<sup>6</sup> In the *Utah History Encyclopedia*, published in 1994, Morris A. Shirts writes that the massacred emigrant company was known en route “as the Perkins train.”<sup>7</sup> More recently, Sally Denton’s 2003 book *American Massacre*, though naming the Cherokee Trail in the text, provides a map outlining a route that passes near O’Fallon’s Bluff and Ash Hollow. In her text, she also repeats the description of forty wagons, three carriages, and the blazoned stag’s head.<sup>8</sup>

Whether the Arkansas train was indeed “one of the finest trains that ever crossed the plains” is a subject for a future article. The train unquestionably had property of great economic value.<sup>9</sup> Brewer’s problematic

description of the Perkins train, however, should not be used uncritically as evidence of the Arkansas train's origin, wealth, or composition.

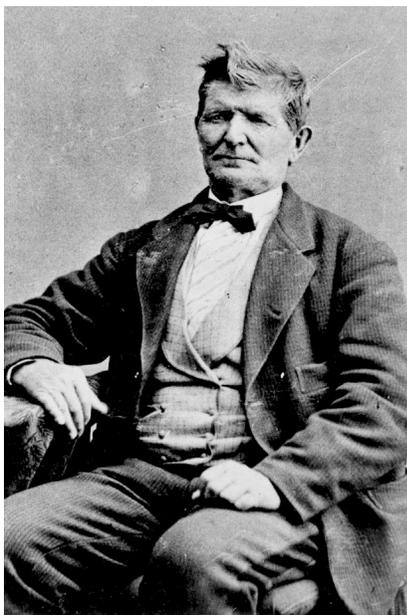
### John D. Lee Trial Transcripts

The transcripts of the John D. Lee trials are another important, misunderstood source on the massacre. Lee was tried twice in the 1870s for his role in the killings; the first trial resulted in a hung jury, the second in a verdict finding Lee guilty. There are two separate transcripts of the trials: the Rogerson transcript in the Church History Library and the Boreman transcript in the Huntington Library.<sup>10</sup> Nearly every scholar who has used the transcripts has accepted them at face value, not really understanding their complex history and nature.

Two court reporters, Josiah Rogerson and Adam S. Patterson, recorded the proceedings of the trials in Pitman shorthand.<sup>11</sup> Each reporter took shorthand notes of the first trial, most of which still exist, but each recorded or omitted slightly different aspects of the trial.<sup>12</sup> Rogerson claimed to have taken limited shorthand notes of the second trial, but the location of most of these shorthand notes, if still extant, is unknown.<sup>13</sup> The majority of Patterson's shorthand notes of the second trial still exist.<sup>14</sup> Together, Rogerson's and Patterson's shorthand notes provide the most accurate record of what was actually said and done during the trials.<sup>15</sup>

Sometime after the trials, Rogerson agreed to make a transcript from his shorthand notes for Latter-day Saint leaders. He began transcribing his notes from the first Lee trial in 1883 and labored at the task for years, editing and condensing as he transcribed.<sup>16</sup> Historiography in the nineteenth century was not what it is today, and trends emerge in Rogerson's edits. A comparison of his shorthand record to his transcript shows extensive alterations.

Rogerson added and omitted negatives, changed numbers, and altered dates. He changed names, often omitting Isaac C. Haight's



John D. Lee

name in an apparent effort to protect him.<sup>17</sup> At the same time, he sharpened the focus on Lee—for example, where the shorthand reads that “white men incited” an Indian attack, his transcript says, “John D. Lee marshalled and led those Indians to the Mountain Meadows.”<sup>18</sup>

Other portions of Rogerson’s transcript expand speakers’ rhetoric. A stark example of these changes can be found in the closing argument of William W. Bishop, Lee’s attorney. In reference to the damaging testimony of witness Annie Hoag, Rogerson’s shorthand records Bishop as saying, “Her statement I think was the most remarkable statement [I] have heard in my life.” In the transcript, however, the text was amplified to include sexist sentiment in an effort to further discount Hoag’s testimony: “Her statements are so monstrous, that, coming from a woman, as they do, we cannot believe them true.”<sup>19</sup>

While Rogerson was laboring on his transcript, Patterson, the other court reporter, moved to San Francisco, where he died in 1886.<sup>20</sup> Meanwhile, presiding trial judge Jacob Boreman decided that he wanted to publish a book about the trials. Since Patterson was unavailable, Boreman commissioned reporter Waddington L. Cook, a former student of Patterson, to make a transcript from Patterson’s shorthand.<sup>21</sup> Cook found Patterson’s shorthand difficult—in places impossible—to read.<sup>22</sup> He therefore contacted Josiah Rogerson and requested his assistance in the project, asking Rogerson to bring his own shorthand notes, which were more decipherable than Patterson’s. The two of them completed the project, often relying on Rogerson’s notes.<sup>23</sup>

While the resulting Boreman transcript more accurately reflects the original shorthand than the Rogerson transcript does, it too contains additions, deletions, and alterations. Some passages in the Boreman transcript have no basis in either the Patterson or the Rogerson shorthand. For example, in a section pertaining to Lee’s negotiations with the emigrants before the massacre, Lee’s attorney, W. W. Bishop, supposedly asks the question “Did Haight make any remark . . . ?” This inserted question, not found in the shorthand, erroneously places Isaac C. Haight at the scene of the killing.<sup>24</sup>

Other passages in the Boreman transcript are amalgamations of both the Patterson and the Rogerson shorthand. Additionally, substantial sections of the Patterson shorthand—legal preliminaries, juror interviews, and many technical legal arguments, including some opening and closing arguments—were never included in the transcript. In short, the Boreman transcript, like the Rogerson transcript, is not a faithful transcription of the original shorthand.

Historians have used the transcripts in various ways, often relying instead upon newspaper reports and other published accounts for most of their information.<sup>25</sup> Juanita Brooks refers to the Boreman transcript in a few notes and in her bibliography, and she also includes the Rogerson transcript in the bibliography. Yet some of her discussion of trial testimony is inconsistent with the transcripts. She generally does not provide citations for her material and may have used secondary sources.<sup>26</sup> Anna Backus includes Philip Klingensmith's testimony from the first trial in *Mountain Meadows Witness*; much of the testimony is apparently reproduced from the Rogerson transcript.<sup>27</sup> In *Blood of the Prophets*, Will Bagley cites the Boreman transcript for the first trial.<sup>28</sup> More often he relies on published accounts, including newspaper articles and Brooks's book.<sup>29</sup>

In the process of writing *Massacre at Mountain Meadows: An American Tragedy*, my coauthors and I determined that we needed a more complete, accurate picture of what was said at the Lee trials. We therefore commissioned new transcripts of both Rogerson's and Patterson's shorthand and compared all versions. Exhaustive examination of these sources has contributed significantly to our understanding of the trials and the massacre itself.

### ***Mormonism Unveiled***

Another major source that poses problems is *Mormonism Unveiled*, which appeared in print five months after John D. Lee's execution. The book, purportedly written by Lee, includes his personal history and a confession about the massacre. Though the title hints at exposé rather than history, many authors continue to view the book as an accurate primary source. Other massacre scholars have debated the authorship of the book, ascribing a role to Lee's attorney, William W. Bishop.<sup>30</sup>

Juanita Brooks, for example, at first may have accepted Lee's authorship without question, but later she doubted that he was the sole writer. "I should like to determine, if I can," she wrote, "how much was written by Lee himself and what part was filled in by the Attorney, Bishop, from notes and conversations with Lee."<sup>31</sup> More recently, Will Bagley wrote, "Without the manuscript of *Mormonism Unveiled*, there is no way to resolve the question of its authorship, but internal evidence reveals that no one but Lee could have composed it." Yet Bagley also noted "several puzzling errors" in the text that are difficult to reconcile while claiming single authorship.<sup>32</sup>

Evidence indicates that while Lee composed much of the book's underlying text, Bishop added sensationalized and erroneous details to the

manuscript. This is evident both in Lee's personal history, which comprises seventeen chapters dealing with Lee's pre-Utah life, and in his confession.

A clear embellishment by Bishop appears on page 74 of the history. Lee purportedly claims that "after 1844" he began keeping a journal, but that most of his journals written to 1860 were taken by Brigham Young's order and never returned. The account claims that these journals incriminated Church leaders and contained information about the massacre. "I suppose they were put out of the way, perhaps burned, for these journals gave an account of many dark deeds," Lee supposedly wrote.<sup>33</sup> Yet if Lee really believed Young destroyed his journals up to 1860, he gave no hint of it in several letters written in the months preceding his execution. Seventeen letters in the Lee collection at the Huntington Library make reference to Lee's journals without any mention of confiscated, destroyed, or missing journals.<sup>34</sup>

For example, on September 29, 1876, Lee asked his wife Rachel to bring him "all of my Diaries from the time that I came to Iron country with G. A. Smith in 1850." Then he decided that she should just bring all his journals.<sup>35</sup> When Lee did not receive all the volumes as requested, he sent instructions for other family members to send the remaining journals "to Marshal Stokes, who would send them to Col. Nelson."<sup>36</sup> Marshal William Nelson did receive some Lee journals, as did Bishop, including portions that were supposedly destroyed. The Huntington Library now owns original Lee journals, obtained from Bishop's and Nelson's descendants, covering 1846 to 1876, although some volumes and pages are missing.<sup>37</sup>

Bishop referred to the journals in a letter to Lee dated March 9, 1877—just two weeks before Lee's death. Complaining that he had read Lee's manuscript to that point and found that Lee had not written about his life in Utah, he begged Lee to record his Utah experiences, especially concerning "the *Reformation* and the massacre." Bishop was competing in the marketplace with a written confession that Lee had given to prosecutor Sumner Howard in February. The knowledge of Howard's copy was negatively affecting the marketing of Lee's manuscript, said Bishop, "but by giving me your history during your life in Utah I can make the thing work all right yet I think. Send me such other Journals and writings as you have to throw light on the work."<sup>38</sup>

Bishop's additions to Lee's history introduce other inconsistencies. As mentioned, Lee supposedly wrote that he began keeping journals after 1844. Two problems arise from this statement. First, extant journals prove that Lee began keeping a journal well before that date. The journals that fell into the hands of Bishop and Nelson, however, apparently did not include journals that predated 1844, copies or originals of which are now in

family possession, the Huntington Library, the Brigham Young University library, and the Church History Library.<sup>39</sup> Second, other parts of *Mormonism Unveiled* clearly describe Lee writing in a journal prior to 1844. In describing an 1841 missionary journey, Lee writes, “Knowing the danger of being lifted up by self-approbation, I determined to be on my guard, to attend to secret prayer, and reading and keeping diaries.”<sup>40</sup> Continuing his account of this mission, Lee again writes, “I was sitting by a desk writing in my diary.”<sup>41</sup>

Lee’s confession in *Mormonism Unveiled* is more problematic than his history. At first, Bishop did not hide his collaboration with Lee in writing the confession. The *Pioche Daily Record* published an 1875 letter from Bishop in which he wrote, “Lee, aided by myself and associates, prepared a full and detailed account of the case.”<sup>42</sup> Bishop later claimed in *Mormonism Unveiled* that Lee had dictated the confession: “The Confession is given just as he dictated it to me, without alteration or elimination, except in a few cases where the ends of justice might have been defeated by premature revelations.”<sup>43</sup>

The confession returned to the destroyed-diary story. On page 260, Lee purportedly wrote, “I could give many things that would throw light on the doings of the Church, if I had my journals, but as I said, nearly all of my journals have been made way with by Brigham Young; at least I delivered them to him and never could get them again.”<sup>44</sup>

Several Lee confessions exist in addition to the one in *Mormonism Unveiled*, none of which is entirely reliable. Careful comparison of the confessions shows progressive embellishment, culminating in *Mormonism Unveiled*.<sup>45</sup> Like the trial transcripts, the embellishments show distinct trends. For example, Bishop amplified what the southern Utah settlers supposedly said about the emigrants. In the Howard version of the confessions, Lee says, speaking of the emigrants, “that *one of them* had said he had helped to kill old Joe Smith and his brother Hyrum.”<sup>46</sup> In the later *Pioche Weekly Record* version of Bishop’s abstracted manuscript, the statement reads “that *some of the emigrants* claimed to have been participants in the murder of the prophets at the Carthage Jail.”<sup>47</sup> In *Mormonism Unveiled*, this assertion is further generalized: “that *these vile Gentiles* publicly proclaimed that they had the very pistol with which the Prophet, Joseph Smith, was murdered, and had threatened to kill Brigham Young and all of the Apostles.”<sup>48</sup>

Moreover, as time passed, Bishop sought to expand responsibility for the massacre to include Apostle George A. Smith and Brigham Young. All versions of Lee’s confession record a pre-massacre conversation between Lee and Smith. However, where the Howard confession has no comparable



The original Cedar City plan was to ambush the emigrant company near the confluence of the Santa Clara River and Magotsu Creek.

text, Bishop's version in the *Pioche Weekly Record* has Lee assert that Smith, during that conversation, "never intimated to me that he desired any emigrants to pass in safety."<sup>49</sup> In *Mormonism Unveiled*, this statement grows to the following accusation:

General Smith did not say one word to me or intimate to me, that he wished *any emigrants* to pass in safety through the Territory. But he led me to believe then, as I believe now, that he did want, and expected every emigrant to be killed that undertook to pass through the Territory while we were at war with the Government. I thought it was his *mission* to prepare the people for the bloody work.<sup>50</sup>

Similarly, where the Howard version is silent, the Pioche paper has Lee say, "I have always considered that George A. Smith visited Southern Utah at that time to prepare the people for exterminating Captain Fancher's train of emigrants."<sup>51</sup> *Mormonism Unveiled* repeats this statement but changes the word "considered" to "believed" and adds the condemnation "I now believe that [Smith] was sent for that purpose by the direct command of Brigham Young."<sup>52</sup> These supposed assertions by Lee seem incredible given that prosecutors had offered Lee his life if he would just charge Young with ordering the massacre.<sup>53</sup> Lee went to his death instead. Is it not curious, then, that such indictments suddenly appear in *Mormonism Unveiled*?

Perhaps the *Ogden Junction* editor in 1877 was not far off. After examining Lee's confession in *Mormonism Unveiled*, he judged it "a Little Lee and a Little Lawyer."<sup>54</sup>

## Conclusion

Historians must rely on evidence, and histories can be no more reliable than their underlying sources. None of the sources reviewed here—the James Henry Carleton report, the John D. Lee trial transcripts, and *Mormonism Unveiled*—can be taken at face value.

This brief article provides only a glimpse of the difficulties historians have faced in trying to reconstruct the complicated history of the Mountain Meadows Massacre. Much time and attention are required to deal competently with the evidence and to discern the truth from the faulty memories, myths, and deceptions associated with that tragic week in September 1857.

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An early draft of this paper was presented at the Mormon History Association Annual Meeting, Provo, Utah, May 22, 2004.

1. James Henry Carleton, *Report on the Subject of the Massacre at the Mountain Meadows, in Utah Territory, in September, 1857, of One Hundred and Twenty Men, Women and Children, Who Were from Arkansas* (Little Rock, Ark.: True Democrat Steam Press, 1860). Will Bagley wrote, “While biased, the report James Carleton wrote at Mountain Meadows remains one of the earliest and most accurate sources of information on the massacre.” *Blood of the Prophets: Brigham Young and the Massacre at Mountain Meadows* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), 230. For information on Carleton and his investigation of the Mountain Meadows Massacre, see David A. White, “James H. Carleton, 1855” and “James H. Carleton and William C. Mitchell, 1860,” in *News of the Plains and Rockies, 1803–1865: Original Narratives of Overland Travel and Adventure Selected from the Wagner-Camp and Becker Bibliography of Western Americana* (Spokane, Wash.: Arthur H. Clark, 1998), 4:153–55, 213–28; Robert A. Clark, introduction to *The Mountain Meadows Massacre: A Special Report by J. H. Carleton, Bvt. Major U.S.A., Captain 1st Dragoons, 1859* (Spokane, Wash.: Arthur H. Clark, 1995), 5–7; Chad Flake, “Carleton’s Report on Mountain Meadows,” *Friends of the Brigham Young University Library Newsletter* 13 (Fall 1975): 1–5.

2. Some persons have questioned the report’s authorship, attributing it to Judge John Cradlebaugh. Thomas L. Kane to Jeremiah Black, November [14?], 1859, Jeremiah S. Black Papers, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.; George Q. Cannon to Brigham Young, December 13, 1859, Incoming Correspondence, Brigham Young, Office Files, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah. I personally believe Carleton authored the report, though he does cite Cradlebaugh indirectly. See Carleton, *Report of the Massacre*, 10.

3. Carleton, *Report of the Massacre*, 3–4, italics in original. On Brewer’s profession as surgeon, see Charles Brewer to R. P. Campbell, May 6, 1859, in U.S. Congress, Senate, *Message of the President of the United States, Communicating, in Compliance with a Resolution of the Senate, Information in Relation to the Massacre at Mountain Meadows, and Other Massacres in Utah Territory*, 36th Cong., 1st sess., 1860, S. Doc. 42, 16–17.

4. See Ronald W. Walker, Richard E. Turley Jr., and Glen M. Leonard, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows: An American Tragedy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 74–86; Bagley, *Blood of the Prophets*, 67; Patricia K. A. Fletcher, Jack Earl Fletcher, and Lee Whiteley, 1850 *Another New Route to the California Gold Fields*, vol. 2, *Cherokee Trail Diaries* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, [2001]), 303–4.

5. John H. Beadle, *Life in Utah; or, the Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism: Being an Exposé of the Secret Rites and Ceremonies of the Latter-Day Saints, with a Full and Authentic History of Polygamy and the Mormon Sect from Its Origin to the Present Time* (Philadelphia: National Publishing, 1870), 179–80.

6. William Wise, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows: An American Legend and a Monumental Crime* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1976), 163.

7. Morris A. Shirts, “Mountain Meadows Massacre,” in *Utah History Encyclopedia*, ed. Allan Kent Powell (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994), 384.

8. Sally Denton, *American Massacre: The Tragedy at Mountain Meadows, September 1857* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003), xii–xiii, 100–101. The map does not name O’Fallon’s Bluff or Ash Hollow but runs between “Fort Kearney” and

“Fort Laramie.” Denton’s route, largely on the north side of the Platte and North Platte, is curiously titled “The Southern Trail to Mountain Meadows.”

9. See Walker, Turley, and Leonard, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows*, 104–5, 251–54.

10. Rogerson’s shorthand notes and transcript are in Josiah Rogerson, *Transcripts and Notes of John D. Lee Trials, 1875–85*, Church History Library. Patterson’s shorthand notes and the Boreman transcript are included in the Jacob S. Boreman Papers, Huntington Library, San Marino, California. The Library of Congress has a carbon duplicate of the Boreman transcript; it is missing Baskin’s closing argument from the first trial and has been edited separately. It is in the W. L. Cook Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

11. Josiah Rogerson to the First Presidency, March 9, 1905, First Presidency, *Miscellaneous Documents, 1887–1918*, Church History Library; W. L. Cook, affidavit, May 1, 1947, Cook Papers; F. L., July 12, 1875, in “Lee’s Trial,” *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, July 15, 1875, 4.

12. Patterson shorthand books 6, 8–10, and 13 of the first trial are not extant.

13. Josiah Rogerson to the First Presidency (Joseph F. Smith, Anthon H. Lund, and J. R. Winder), April 5, 1905, First Presidency *Miscellaneous Documents*. The only known extant Rogerson shorthand from the second trial is a single legal plea dated September 18, 1876. The Rogerson transcript of the second trial is almost a verbatim copy of the partial transcript of the second trial published by Lee’s attorney, W. W. Bishop, in *Mormonism Unveiled; or the Life and Confessions of the Late Mormon Bishop, John D. Lee; (Written by Himself): Embracing a History of Mormonism from Its Inception down to the Present Time, with an Exposition of the Secret History, Signs, Symbols and Crimes of the Mormon Church: Also the True History of the Horrible Butchery Known as the Mountain Meadows Massacre*, ed. William W. Bishop (St. Louis: Bryan, Brand and Co., 1877), 302–78.

14. The first Patterson shorthand book for the second Lee trial, which would contain interviews with the jurors and opening arguments of the attorneys, is not extant.

15. LaJean Purcell Carruth has prepared new transcripts of all extant shorthand from both Lee trials. Janiece Johnson has constructed a matrix for comparative analysis of the sources. The primary sources of information for this portion of the article come from their work.

16. Rogerson to First Presidency, March 9, 1905, First Presidency *Miscellaneous Documents*. On December 8, 1883, Rogerson wrote to President John Taylor, “Am carrying out your instructions in making digest or synopsis of Lee trial, and think, am half through.” Rogerson to Taylor, December 8, 1883, John Taylor Presidential Papers, 1877–87, Church History Library. By February 1884, Rogerson still had not finished but wrote, “I have brought the transcript down to less than one third—in the number of words, that there are in the shorthand notes.” Josiah Rogerson to John Taylor, February 27, 1884, Taylor Presidential Papers.

17. See John W. Bradshaw, testimony, *United States v. John D. Lee*, first trial, Rogerson shorthand 5:29; Rogerson transcript 2:259. Rogerson wrote “Haight” in shorthand and then in longhand above the shorthand, and he used the pronoun *he* in reference to Haight. In the transcript, however, he omitted “Haight” and used the pronoun *they* instead of *he*.

18. J. G. Sutherland, in Philo T. Farnsworth's testimony, *United States v. John D. Lee*, first trial, Rogerson transcript 4:438; Rogerson shorthand 8:27.

19. William W. Bishop, closing address, *United States v. John D. Lee*, first trial, Rogerson transcript 5:12; Rogerson shorthand 11:25. The source of these alterations may be Rogerson or Bishop, but the transcript was obviously modified from the original shorthand record.

20. "A. S. Patterson Dead," *Deseret Evening News*, August 23, 1886, [3].

21. Rogerson to First Presidency, April 5, 1905, First Presidency Miscellaneous Documents; W. L. Cook to Juanita Brooks, February 9, 1946, Juanita Brooks Correspondence, Institutional Archives (HIA 31.1.7.1-3), Huntington Library; W. L. Cook, affidavit, May 1, 1947, Cook Papers.

22. W. L. Cook, note regarding Wells Spicer's closing argument, *United States v. John D. Lee*, second trial, Boreman transcript, 3:22: "Following this speech come Judge Spicers address to the jury. Part of whi of the first of which is not reported & the remainder is so illegible that it is impossible to make an intelligent transcript of it."

23. Rogerson to the First Presidency, April 5, 1905, First Presidency Miscellaneous Documents; W. L. Cook, note regarding E. D. Hoge's address to the jury, *United States v. John D. Lee*, first trial, Boreman transcript, 7:1. Cook repeatedly maintained that he typed the Boreman transcript; he did not acknowledge Rogerson's help. Cook to Brooks, February 9, 1946, Brooks Correspondence; Cook affidavit, May 1, 1947, Cook Papers. Evidence on the documents themselves, however, supports Rogerson's assertion that he assisted Cook on the Boreman transcript: Rogerson's longhand appears in numerous places above Patterson's shorthand, many of the question marks are in Rogerson's hand, and Rogerson's "hand" symbol appears numerous times on Patterson's shorthand, often at the same place in the proceedings as it appears in Rogerson's shorthand. Occasionally, passages from Rogerson's shorthand were inserted into Patterson's shorthand. In addition, large portions of the Boreman transcript are actually based on Rogerson's shorthand, not on Patterson's.

24. W. W. Bishop in William Matthews, testimony, *United States v. John D. Lee*, first trial, Boreman transcript, 4:56; Patterson shorthand 5:41; Rogerson shorthand 4:30.

25. In his 1976 book *Massacre at Mountain Meadows: An American Legend and a Monumental Crime*, William Wise briefly mentions the trials, citing Juanita Brooks's work on the massacre and J. P. Dunn Jr., *Massacres of the Mountains: A History of the Indian Wars of the Far West, 1815-1875* (New York: Archer House, 1958), 280-81. Sally Denton in *American Massacre* uses Robert Fielding's collection of *Salt Lake Tribune* reports, other *Salt Lake Tribune* articles, and Brooks's work. Although she mentions the Boreman transcript, her direct quotations come from newspapers and Brooks. See Robert Kent Fielding and Dorothy S. Fielding, eds. and comps., *The Tribune Reports of the Trials of John D. Lee for the Massacre at Mountain Meadows, November, 1874-April, 1877* (Higginum, Conn.: Kent's Books, 2000).

26. Juanita Brooks, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre*, 2nd ed. (1962; repr., Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 151-53 n. 11, 192 n. 3, 294, 300. Brooks adeptly summarizes the testimony of the first three witnesses in the first trial and then briefly summarizes the remainder of the trial without naming any

of the remaining witnesses. Her summary includes events that were not mentioned in the trial. She omits any mention of James Haslam's testimony in the second trial and confuses testimony given in the first and second trials. See Brooks, *Mountain Meadows Massacre*, 191–98.

27. Backus quotes directly and extensively from the trial but does not provide footnotes. Craig L. Foster, who interviewed Backus, reported that she said she relied primarily on the Rogerson transcript, filling in gaps with text from the Boreman transcript and Beaver County court records. See also Anna Jean Backus, *Mountain Meadows Witness: The Life and Times of Bishop Philip Klingensmith* (Spokane, Wash.: Arthur H. Clark, 1995), 290.

28. Bagley uses the carbon copy of the Boreman transcript at the Library of Congress. He cites the transcript for the first trial at least sixteen times: 402 n. 76; 405 n. 62; 406 nn. 80, 82, 97; 409 nn. 30, 35; 411 n. 3; 412 n. 29; 413 n. 47; 415 nn. 11, 37; 433 nn. 26, 31, 36, 37. He does not appear to cite the transcript for the second trial.

29. See, for example, Bagley, *Blood of the Prophets*, 404 n. 35; 409 nn. 16, 19, 21; 412 n. 20; 413 nn. 39, 54; 415 n. 13; 417 nn. 4, 32; 433 nn. 25, 27, 32, 38, 39, 41, 42, 43; 434 nn. 72, 74, 80, 84, 87; 435 nn. 89, 90, 93.

30. *Mormonism Unveiled*. This analysis, which is merely an introduction to the myriad problems with *Mormonism Unveiled* as a source, is dependent upon the work of Chad Orton. His research reveals a pervasive pattern of inconsistencies, contradictions, and modified vocabulary in the book. See Chad M. Orton, "W. W. Bishop Unveiled: An Analysis of John D. Lee's Confessions," unpublished manuscript presented at the annual Mormon History Association Conference, Sacramento, Calif., May 23, 2008, copy in possession of the author.

31. Juanita Brooks to Leslie E. Bliss, May 26, 1946, Juanita Brooks Correspondence, Huntington Library. Bagley maintains that Brooks accepted Lee's testimony unequivocally. Bagley, *Blood of the Prophets*, 318–19.

32. Bagley, *Blood of the Prophets*, 318, 437 n. 61. Other examples include Charles W. Penrose, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre: Who Were Guilty of the Crime?* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1884), 38, who writes, "This confession [*Mormonism Unveiled*] is supposed to be the 'only true and genuine one.' Whether it is or not I cannot say. My opinion is from what I have read that John D. Lee furnished particulars and data to Mr. Bishop, who worked them up with some of his own notions and fabrications into this book." See also Nels Anderson, *Desert Saints: The Mormon Frontier in Utah* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942), 295, 305 n. 21.

33. *Mormonism Unveiled*, 74. Earlier on the same page, the manuscript reads, "Most of my private writings and journals have been heretofore delivered to the agents of Brigham Young, and all have been destroyed, or at least kept from me." *Mormonism Unveiled*, 74.

34. See John D. Lee to Rachel Andora Lee, September 29, 1876, HM 31219; John D. Lee to Emma B. Lee, October 10, 1876, HM 31212; John D. Lee to Rachel Andora Lee, October 12, 1876, HM 31220; John D. Lee to Emma B. Lee, October 26, 1876, HM 31213; John D. Lee to Joseph and Helen Wood, October 26, 1876, HM 31228; John D. Lee to Sara Jane Lee, November 16, 1876, HM 31227; John D. Lee to Emma B. Lee, December 9, 1876, HM 31214; John D. and Rachel A. Lee to "My Children at the Mow-E-Yabba," December 15, 1876, HM 31230; John D. and Rachel A. Lee to Lehi and Amarah Smithson, December 25, 1876, HM 31229; Nancy Lee Dalton

to John D. Lee and Rachel A. Lee, January 27, 1877, HM 31240; Emma Lee to John D. Lee, February 1, 1877, HM 31243; Lehi and Amarah Smithson to John D. Lee, February 9, 1877, HM 31247; William W. Bishop to John D. Lee, February 23, 1877, HM 31234; John D. Lee to Joseph H. Lee, February 24, 1877, HM 31217; Sarah J. Lee to John D. Lee and Rachel A. Lee, February 24, 1877, HM 31241; John D. Lee to William W. Bishop, March 2, 1877, HM 31210; William W. Bishop to John D. Lee, March 9, 1877, HM 31235, all in John Doyle Lee Papers, Huntington Library.

35. John D. Lee to Rachel Andora Woolsey Lee, September 29, 1876, Lee Papers. See also John D. Lee to Emma B. Lee, October 10, 26, 1876, Lee Papers; John D. Lee to Emma B. Lee, December 9, 1876, Lee Papers.

36. John D. and Rachel Lee to Lehi and Amarah Lee Smithson, December 25, 1876, Lee Papers; John D. and Rachel Lee to “My Children at the Mow-E-Yabba,” December 15, 1876, Lee Papers. For information on Rachel’s trip to visit Lee with the journals, see Emma B. Lee to John D. Lee, November 12, 1876, HM 31242, Lee Papers; John D. Lee to Sarah C. Lee, December 8, 1876, HM 31224, Lee Papers; John D. Lee to Emma B. Lee, December 9, 1876, HM 31214, Lee Papers. For information on Lehi Smithson gathering Lee’s documents, see Emma B. Lee to John D. Lee, February 1, 1877, Lee Papers; Lehi and Amarah Smithson to John D. Lee, February 9, 1877, Lee Papers; John D. Lee to Joseph Hyrum Lee, February 24, 1877, Lee Papers; Sarah Lee Dalton to John D. and Rachel Lee, February 24, 1877, Lee Papers; John D. Lee to William W. Bishop, March 2, 1877, Lee Papers.

37. In 1938, when Charles Kelly edited and published Lee’s journals for 1846–47 and 1859, he did so for Rolla Bishop Watt, a grandnephew of William Bishop, who inherited the journals in a chain of possession going back to William Bishop himself. Watt later gave these journals to the Huntington Library. Charles Kelly, ed., *Journals of John D. Lee, 1846–47 and 1859* (Salt Lake City: Western Printing, 1938), 13–14. Later, Robert Cleland and Juanita Brooks published five other Lee journals covering the period from 1848 to 1876, with notable gaps, which the Huntington Library obtained from the family of William Nelson. Robert Glass Cleland and Juanita Brooks, eds., *A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee, 1848–1876* (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1955), 1:xx–xxi.

38. William W. Bishop to John D. Lee, March 9, 1877, HM 31235, Lee Papers, emphasis in original.

39. Perry Special Collections has an original Lee diary for 1840–41, available to view online at Mormon Missionary Diaries, <http://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/cdm4/document.php?CISOROOT=/MMD&CISOPTR=32437&CISOSHOW=32303> (accessed September 13, 2008). The Huntington Library has a typescript of a Lee journal for January–July 1841. It was obtained from Juanita Brooks, who made the typescript in May 1949 from the original owned by a Lee descendant, Mozelle Bickley. In 1995, the Church Archives obtained John D. Lee’s journal for March 1842–August 1843 from Mark R. Bickley, one of Lee’s descendants. A photocopy of this journal was located at the Huntington Library prior to 1995.

40. *Mormonism Unveiled*, 117–18.

41. *Mormonism Unveiled*, 130.

42. W. W. Bishop, July 21, 1875, in “The Lee Trial,” *Pioche Daily Record*, July 25, 1875.

43. *Mormonism Unveiled*, 212.

44. *Mormonism Unveiled*, 260. The account continues, “I have delivered to my Counsel, Wm. W. Bishop, such journals as I have, and shall leave the one that I am now keeping in prison, when I am released by death from the necessity of writing down my thoughts from day to day, and he can make such use of it as he thinks best.” As shown above, the journals received by Bishop and Nelson included ones that Young supposedly destroyed or sequestered.

45. Bishop explained the greater length of the confession in *Mormonism Unveiled* by writing, “Extracts from this Confession have heretofore been given to the press, but the entire Confession has not been published anywhere except in this book.” *Mormonism Unveiled*, 212. That explanation, however, cannot account for the contradictions and other problems introduced by the embellishments.

46. “Lee’s Confession,” *Sacramento Daily Record-Union*, March 24, 1877, 3–4, italics added.

47. “Execution of Lee!” *Pioche Weekly Record*, March 24, 1877, 2, italics added.

48. *Mormonism Unveiled*, 218–19, italics added.

49. “Notes from ‘Life of John D. Lee,’” *Pioche Weekly Record*, April 21, 1877. In all versions of the confessions, Lee purportedly told Smith to have Young issue passes to all emigrants he wanted to pass safely, a questionable claim by itself since Young did not declare martial law until after Smith returned to Salt Lake. Although scholars once debated whether Young issued two martial law proclamations—one in early August 1857, the other in September—evidence shows that the purported August document was actually a September document with a typesetting error. See Everett L. Cooley, ed., *Diary of Brigham Young, 1857* (Salt Lake City: Tanner Trust Fund/University of Utah Library, 1980), 80–81 n. 80; Will Bagley, “If the Document Is Authentic, How Can We Explain Weird Dates?” *Salt Lake Tribune*, August 10, 2003, B2.

50. *Mormonism Unveiled*, 225, italics in original.

51. “Notes from ‘Life of John D. Lee.’”

52. *Mormonism Unveiled*, 225.

53. See Lee’s journal entries for the dates August 31; September 20, 23, 24; October 16, 31, 1875, in *Mormon Chronicle*, 2:352, 364–65, 368–69, 462 n. 14, 378, 382; LeGrand Young to Brigham Young, March 23, 1877, Incoming Correspondence, Brigham Young, Office Files, Church History Library. See also the journal entries for August 25 and September 11, 1875, in *Mormon Chronicle*, 2:350, 361.

54. “Reported Confession of John D. Lee,” *Ogden Junction*, March 26, 1877, 1.