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Rachel Stuart-Hirschfield March 28, 2015

Life and Death of Albert Hamblin

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Abstract
Life and Death of Albert Hamblin
By Rachel Stuart-Hirschfield

This thesis explores the life and death of Albert Hamblin, the adopted White Knife Shoshone son of Mormon missionary Jacob Hamblin. It seeks to understand Albert Hamblin's navigation of his own complex identity as both of Shoshone descent and Mormon faith. To begin, the thesis outlines important background information about the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-Day Saints, most notably, their beliefs surrounding the "Lamanites" and claims of land in North America. Through the use of primary sources consisting of Jacob Hamblin's journal and autobiography, Jacob's plural wife Priscilla's autobiography, and Brevet Major Carleton's Report on the Mountain Meadows Massacre, this thesis seeks to reconstruct Albert's life. This analysis is also aided by Cuch's *A History of Utah's American Indians* for its use of Utah's tribal oral history, specifically of the Shoshone. Through these sources, this thesis seeks to understand Albert's exchange, Albert's early life with Jacob's family, and Albert's own testimonial in the Mountain Meadows Massacre, in order to ascertain how Albert saw himself and his place in his world.

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Table of Contents

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF ALBERT HAMBLIN

Rachel Stuart-Hirschfield

Chapter One
Introduction

"They were... six hundred and forty persons who were thus lying on the river flats. But the Mormons in Nauvoo and its dependencies had been numbered the year before at over twenty thousand. Where were they? They had last been seen carrying in mournful train their sick and wounded, halt and blind, to disappear behind the western horizon, pursuing the phantom of another home. Hardly anything else was known of them; and people asked with curiosity, 'What had been their fate—what their fortunes?'"[1]

Thomas Kane, abolitionist and Union military leader during the Civil War, published this question in a pamphlet as part of his decades-long advocacy for the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-Day Saints and its adherents.[2] Kane took an exceptional stance during the early half of the 19th century. Most Americans viewed the Latter-Day Saints—called, in brief, "Mormons" or, by their own preference "Saints"—as deviants who were disloyal to the United States.[3] Kane, a Presbyterian and Philadelphian "aristocrat" who was educated in Europe, was the unlikely ally instrumental in helping the Mormons to found the state of Deseret, later known as Utah, in 1847. Having had to abandon their homes first in Ohio, Missouri, and then Illinois the Saints faced persecution and orders of annihilation. Yet the Saints too became oppressors once reaching and

[1] Richard Neitzel Holzapfel and T. Jeffery Cottle, "A VISIT TO NAUVOO: SEPTEMBER 1846," accessed at http://mormonhistoricsites.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/NJ7-1_Holzapfel-Cottle.pdf. See also Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 100-101.

[2] Holzapfel and Cottle, "A VISIT TO NAUVOO: SEPTEMBER 1846."

[3] Some original converts were called "Mormons" by the outside population as an insult or nickname, but the term continued to have resonance for some. The terms "Mormons" and "Saints" are still used interchangeably in colloquial speech, but the LDS Church today formally designates its followers as "Saints." See "Why Is The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Called Mormons or Mormonism?" Accessed April 9, 2015. http://www.mormon.org/faq/why-mormons.

settling in Utah.[4] The Saints used the policies of deprivation, elimination, and forced assimilation of the indigenous people of the Great Basin in order to secure the land for settlement. An assimilation tactic that was widely used among the Saints was adoption or indenture of children bought from the indigenous slave trade. The fine line that separated a child in the 19th century as a domestic servant or a member of a family unit remains ambiguous—as puzzling then as it is now looking back into the history of these domestic arrangements. The lives of these indentured, adopted, or enslaved children varied amongst the families of the Saints: from lives of intense, forced servitude to the experience of genuine love toward and from their adopted family. The interactions in these households, whether as the result of the creation of fictive kinship or not, spanned culture, language, and religion in ways that have deep ramifications in the personal narratives of these figures and the politics of the Great Basin. Moreover, the domestic arrangement of taking a child—either for personal gain or out of charitable impulses—produced a Mormon society complex in culture and religious belief.

This thesis seeks first to explore the adoption of one indigenous child, a White Knife, Northwestern Shoshone boy who was renamed Albert Hamblin, by the prominent colonizer and missionary Jacob Hamblin and his family. Jacob Hamblin, a convert to the LDS faith, became renowned for his "amicable" relationships with the indigenous communities in the Great Basin region. Scholars and folklorists have hailed him as a "peacemaker" and advocate on the behalf of indigenous peoples. Though Jacob certainly leaned toward non-violence in his relationships with native peoples, this thesis shows that Jacob did work to uproot the life ways of Great Basin indigenous peoples while fully cognizant of the consequences of LDS settlement and assimilation. Through analysis of Jacob and Albert's relationship, this thesis attempts to

[4] In this thesis, I will use the term Utah to designate the territory that would become the present day state of Utah, instead of Deseret, for the sake of continuity.

reconstruct Albert's life experience and worldviews.

Albert too was an important person in LDS mythology. As the adopted Shoshone son of Jacob Hamblin, his story would be told and retold for decades to come as he is featured prominently in Jacob's autobiography, considered a book of religious instruction to the Saints.[5] Thus, an in-depth analysis of Albert demonstrates the role he—and other American Indians—played in LDS history, but more widely, within Great Basin history. The spread of his life story through Jacob's autobiography to the Mormon community would continue to influence their attitudes toward Great Basin indigenous peoples and justify Mormon settlement of indigenous lands.

Converging empires formed the background of Albert's life. The Great Basin of the North American continent was where indigenous groups, Mormons, the Spanish Empire, and the United States negotiated politics, culture, religion, economy, and society. Their disputes encompassed territory, trade, natural resources, and survival. In order to fully understand Albert and his life choices, this thesis will analyze indigenous narratives alongside Mormon ones. Often overlooked, indigenous points of view are necessary in understanding why and how indigenous kin became estranged through violence, destitution, and disease—and how Albert, a Northwestern Shoshone boy, found himself living as a stranger in his own land.

The first chapter surveys who the actors were in the adoption: Jacob Hamblin and the Northwestern Shoshone people and the respective histories that brought them to the interaction of the buying, selling, and adopting of Albert. It reveals how and why Jacob and the Saints came to Utah; we will also look into the histories of the Northwestern Shoshone peoples of Utah who

[5] James A. Little, *Jacob Hamblin: A Narrative of His Personal Experience, as a Frontiersman, missionary to the Indian and Explorer, Disclosing Interpositions of Providence, Severe Privations, Perilous Situations, and Remarkable Escapes* (Freeport: Books for Libraries Press, 1881). See the preface for its role in religious pedagogy.

were Albert's kinsfolk. This chapter will set the stage for what will be a biographical sketch of Albert Hamblin's life. Chapter two focuses on the adoption itself and Albert's childhood amongst the Hamblin family. The third chapter analyzes Albert's role in the Mountain Meadows Massacre, his relationship with the Prophet Brigham Young, and his untimely death. Overall, Albert lived within the cultural and physical borderlands of the Spanish, Shoshonean, Mormon, and United States worlds, and this thesis seeks to understand his navigation of these cultural spaces.

Clarifications about intentions, sources, and reading strategies

This thesis explores how Albert Hamblin constructed his identity and it evaluates his feelings of belonging in LDS society. To make this analysis, this thesis also becomes a case study for how the Saints constructed a narrative about why they have the right to claim indigenous lands. Constructing such narratives of belonging and identity with place are universal and enduring throughout human history; yet, there are practices and beliefs unique to settler colonialism. Settler colonialists dispersed tales of civilization and barbarity which defined who "merited" lands, power, and the right to reproduce. This thesis does not intend in any way to single out LDS settlement as a unique phenomenon (though it does have singular intricacies which will be explored in depth); rather, this thesis presents a close examination of settler colonialism through analysis of LDS and Great Basin history.

A discussion of the major primary sources I used will clarify the analysis found in this thesis. A major primary source is the personal journal entries of Jacob Hamblin, cited through Todd Compton's monograph, *A Frontier Life*: *Jacob Hamblin, Explorer and Indian Missionary*, and referred to in this thesis as Jacob's personal journal or diary. Access to Jacob's diary proved

difficult, as the photocopies of it that I located in Salt Lake City, Utah, were incomplete.[6] I therefore relied heavily on Compton's monograph which was exceedingly helpful because of its very close engagement with Jacob's diary. However, this method left me limited in my information, because I relied on where Compton quoted directly from Jacob's diary. In particular, Jacob would "adopt" a total of seven Indian children, but Compton exclusively discusses Albert, Eliza, and Ellen. If I had had access to his diaries, I may have had more information about the remaining Indian children. That is, of course, if they were indeed written about in Jacob's diary in any substantive detail to begin with. I feel that if they had been written about, Compton would have surely included them as he had incorporated Albert, Ellen, and Eliza into his monograph about Jacob's life.[7]

Another primary source was Jacob Hamblin's published autobiography, edited by James A. Little and entitled *Jacob Hamblin: A Narrative of his personal experience as a frontiersman, missionary to the Indians, and explorer.* This will be denoted as Jacob's autobiography. A third primary source is found in James Henry Carleton's "Report on the subject of the massacre at the Mountain Meadows, in Utah Territory, in September, 1857…"and will simply be mentioned as Carleton's report.

Lastly, my fourth source is the autobiography of Jacob Hamblin's fourth wife Priscilla, edited by Colleen Arrott Carnahan, and entitled "Life Story: Sarah Priscilla Leavitt Hamblin: A Pioneer Midwife" and cited as Priscilla's autobiography.[8] Compton had a longer, more detailed

[6] I later found out that Jacob Hamblin's complete archives were located in California, and I was unable to obtain direct copies of his papers.
[7] Compton mentions these other "adopted" children in Todd Compton, *A Frontier Life: Jacob Hamblin, Explorer and Indian Missionary* (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 2013), 487-8.
[8] Though written by her great grand-daughter, she had considerable notes from her own mother who lived with her "Grandmother Hamblin" during high school. While Compton calls this a "semi-autobiography" I cite it here as an autobiography because these seem to be the stories that Priscilla told about her life to her own children and grandchildren, who later wrote them down.

version of this life story in his possession. At times I refer to his copy's information which was more complete. Though I found my time in Utah's archives was pleasant and productive, many of the sources I would have liked access to required special permission of which I was not granted. Special permission was required for certain documents in the BYU Harold B. Lee Archives. Thus, I made do with the sources that I had, and drew conclusions and analyzed my data accordingly.

Informed speculation characterizes my reading strategy. Through my readings of secondary literature, I aimed to analyze the primary sources that construct this thesis. Albert did not leave many documents, or rather, those in possession of his papers after his death did not feel it was important to keep them. As he remained illiterate until the last two to three years of his life, he also may not have had many documents to leave. Further, the sources I have are primarily those written *about* him by the Mormons and non-Mormons who came in contact with him. It is therefore necessary to tease their language to speculate about the writer's own viewpoint and what Albert's viewpoint may have been. Educated possibilities compose this history of Albert Hamblin's life.

A Brief Exploration of Early Mormon history and Jacob Hamblin

To begin the exploration of Albert Hamblin's history, one must first understand how Jacob and the Saints arrived in what would soon be known as Utah. Moreover, an exploration of LDS religious doctrine remains fundamental to pinpointing how Albert constructed his identity as a devout Mormon. This section focuses both on Jacob Hamblin's personal history as well as the beginnings of the Mormon Church.

Joseph Smith, Jr. was the founder and first prophet of the LDS religion. His grandfather,

Asael Smith, was an adherent of the Universalist Church.[9] Asael Smith believed that the American Revolution would bring the new millennium under which the human world would be directed closely by God.[10] Joseph Smith Sr., the father of Prophet Smith, was a deeply religious man who refused to join the local congregational church in Smyrna, New York because he viewed it as a false church. In a dream recorded by his wife, a spirit told Smith Sr. that the field in which the dream took place represented "the world, which now lieth inanimate and dumb, in regard to the true religion."[11]

Joseph Smith, Jr. became the prophet of the American Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-Day Saints in 1827. When living in Palmyra, New York, he claimed to have found two "Golden Tablets" in what he deemed to be the wilderness. He "translated" them into what became the Book of Mormon, a foundational religious text for the Saints.[12] Influenced by the Second Great-Awakening, Joseph Smith Jr., and his followers were among numerous in the Burned-Over District in Upstate New York. The Burned-Over District describes both a time and a place: the movement started during the turn of the 18th century and into the early three decades of the 19th century, in which settlers in this region joined or founded new religions or utopian communities. The settlers here followed the Protestant tradition of analyzing and studying the Christian Bible through personal revelation and spiritual connection with a higher being. In particular, the Mormon doctrine of the "Lamanites" is essential to this story, as well as the Church's belief that Mormons had "inherited" the land as believers of the LDS religion.

Some of the first Mormon converts were descendants of religious radicals within the

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[9] Val D. Rust, *Radical Origins: Early Mormon Converts and Their Colonial Ancestors* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2004), 142-148. See also Leonard Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-Day Saints* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 4-5.
[10] Rust, *Radical Origins*, 142-128.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid.

early Puritan settlements. Followers of the LDS Church continue to promote histories of ties to radical religious groups of this era. According to Val D. Rust, author of *Radical Origins: Early Mormon Converts and Their Colonial Ancestors* and a member of the LDS Church today, for instance, traced his line of descent to his ancestors Anne Hutchinson and Roger Williams, among others.[13] His book documents the many ties that early LDS converts had to radical religious sects, but could have done more to underline many early converts' who strayed from comparatively ordinary religious denominations. Either way, those that he documents in his book, he frames as early radicals. They and their descendants remained on the fringe of British, and then later US society. The descendants of New England "deviants" were often forced out of New England settlements into western, upstate New York, where men and women fostered their own religious and social communities.[14] "In other words," says Rust, "migration out of New England from 1790 to 1835 consisted mainly of those who had embraced 'the spiritual power of dreams, visions, and inner voices'" which were heretical practices and beliefs to the orthodoxy of the Pilgrims of New England and the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay.[15]

Jacob Hamblin's family reflected these roots, too. Jacob, the first son of his father, Isaiah, inherited his father's penchant for deep introspection and piety in religious belief, but also his wariness for the organized, mainstream, religions of their contemporaries.[16] The Hamblin family's roots was in the town of North Hero, Vermont, after which they moved several times into the "frontier," really, on indigenous lands. Finally they settled in Salem, Ohio by the time

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[13] Ibid., 8.
[14] See James W. Darlington for New Englander settlers moving into "Upstate New York." Though this article doesn't cite religious reasons for moving to the region, it does show that New Englander settlers formed the majority of those who settled this area, although these migrations were not just for religious deviancy exclusively. Much of these migrations were also to claim lands as speculators and squatters. James W.Darlington, "Peopling the Post-Revolutionary New York Frontier" *New York History* v. 74, no. 4 (October 1993):
[15] Rust, *Radical Origins*, 17.
[16] Todd Compton, *A Frontier Life: Jacob Hamblin, Explorer and Indian Missionary* (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 2013),1.

Jacob was born.[17] Through what Jacob considered signs from dreams and visions before and after he was visited by Mormon missionaries Lyman Stoddard and Elisha Groves, Jacob found spiritual truth in the LDS religion. On March 3rd, 1842, at the age of twenty-two, Jacob converted to Mormonism and encouraged his father to follow suit, who would do so after some years of criticism.[18]

One distinct part of the doctrines that Jacob came to accept may have been strategically incorporated into Mormon beliefs: the idea that American Indians were essential to salvation. Smith, and the settlers he targeted for conversion to his religion, wanted to claim the continent of North America as their own. They wanted to believe that it was given to the colonists by God. Claiming American lands as given by God was not a unique want on the part of Euro-American settlers.[19] Yet the ways through which the LDS Church approached this desire and its justification *was* unique. Many of these settlers who hailed from New England had been exposed to the process of writing the native peoples of New England out of existence, as "relics of the past," even while they were engaging with native peoples in their own towns.[20] They ascribed to a narrative in which "indigenous peoples are represented as hopelessly backward," inevitably predisposed to "vanish" as time went on.[21] But the "frontier" settlers found that these narrations were untrue, as they often came into contact with the indigenous peoples through trade and while settling native peoples' lands.[22] For example, James Fenimore Cooper's *The Last of*

[17] Ibid., 1-2.
[18] Ibid., 8, 16.
[19] See Jill Lepore, *The Name of War: King Phillip's War and the Origins of American Identity* (New York: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2009). Lepore writes in the second part of her book about how the colonists justified this war through casting the Algonquin peoples as "savage" and "demonic" while the colonists were chosen by God.
[20] Jean O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting:Writing Indians out of existence in New England* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press).
[21] Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 41.
[22] See Peter C. Mancall, *Valley of Opportunity: Economic Culture along the Upper Susquehanna, 1700-1800* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991) for more information about trade exchange in "frontier" New York.

the Mohicans, a widely popular novel published in 1826, highlights beliefs found in the settler population of Upstate New York that indigenous people were "disappearing" even while they interacted.[23]

To satisfy the cognitive dissonance that the settlers of "the frontier", as well as those who settled the surrounding regions, may have felt, as well as to validate the continuous campaigns to displace indigenous North Americans, Smith adopted Native Americans into his belief system. In other words, the LDS Church co-opted American Indians. They pulled their doctrine settler-state paradigm in which settlers continuously strive to find ways to delegitimize native claims to indigenous lands. Mormon faith dictates that American Indians of the United States were part of the Lost Tribes of Israel, descendants of the Lamanites, a group of people who had fallen from righteousness after receiving direct wisdom from Jesus Christ.[24] Historian Jennifer Lindell provides powerful insight into Mormon ideas of the "Lamanites," and those ideas changed over time due to interactions with the Shoshone, Ute, Paiute, Navajo, and other Native American groups. She writes about Mormon beliefs:

> "A colony of Israelites from Jerusalem had arrived on the American continent almost four millennia prior to the discovery of the golden plates. The initial colony eventually divided into two groups, the Nephites and Lamanites, who were locked in an almost continuous war... The Nephites were originally righteous followers of the Lord whom the Lamanites had rejected. The Book of Mormon traces their internecine conflict until 'the Lamanites have hunted my people, the Nephites, down from city to city and from place to place, even until they are no more'."[25]

Mormon doctrine held that the American Indians were descendants of these "Lamanites," fallen from grace and yet essential to Mormon faith. The Mormons thus made it a prevalent goal to

[23]James Fenimore Cooper, *The Last of the Mohicans* (New York: Barnes and Noble Classics, 2003). First published in 1826.
[24] Jennifer Lindell, "Mormons and Native Americans in the Antebellum West," Phd diss. (San Diego State University), 21.
[25] Ibid., 21-22.

minister to and convert American Indians in an effort to bring about the millennial age, the time in which Jesus Christ would return to Earth and govern the righteous in his Kingdom of God.[26] In the *Articles of Faith,* written by Joseph Smith to an inquirer about the LDS religion, a Mr. Wentworth asked what the essential beliefs of the LDS church were.[27] Joseph Smith responded with thirteen articles which were meant to summarize what Mormons believe to those who they considered "Gentiles" or non-Mormons. The 10th article says that, "We believe in the literal gathering of Israel and in the restoration of the Ten Tribes; that Zion (the New Jerusalem) will be built upon the American continent; that Christ will reign personally upon the earth; and, that the earth will be renewed and receive its paradisiacal glory." The "gathering of Israel" refers to these aforementioned Lamanites who were descendants of the "original colonizers" of North, South, and Central America, who would be "gathered" once they fully committed to the "restored" Mormon Church.[28]

It is helpful to refer to theories on settler colonialism by Lorenzo Veracini to understand this phenomenon. Veracini is a foremost scholar of settler-colonial studies, and in his book, *Settler Colonialism: An Overview* he shows how settler-states seek to justify their claim to land through several methods. Settler colonialism distinguishes itself as separate from colonialism because settlers *found* new colonies, *reproduce* their societies, *and declare their own sovereignty* as opposed to the metropole from which they hail.[29] These societies thus aim to claim lands for their own political and sociological reproduction to the detriment of native populations. To better understand the settler-colonial constituencies in these societies, Veracini created the concept of

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[26] Leonard Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A history of the Latter-Day Saints* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 36-37.
[27] "Lesson 36: Joseph Smith Writes the Articles of Faith" www.mormon.org, accessed 12/28/14, https://www.lds.org/manual/primary-5-doctrine-and-covenants-and-church-history/lesson-36-joseph-smith-writes-the-articles-of-faith?lang=eng.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 2-3.

the population economy. It is divided between "Native" and "Non-natives." The settler body politic forms along the basis that the settler society is the morally upright, "righteous" society, while natives are not righteous, but "degraded." In other words, "it is the settler that established himself as normative."[30] Bringing the Gospel to native peoples of North America, would "raise" the Indigenous from "degradation" and have them join the "righteous," settler society. This language of "raising" or "uplifting" indigenous peoples does not stop with this type of non-settler. In fact, language of "uplifting" was applied to justify the escalating Atlantic trade in African slaves, too.[31] Slave traders and buyers justified slavery because they brought "African heathens" to civilization and Christianity.[32] These manufactured beliefs in racial difference would find their way into LDS theological literature and doctrines, including the restriction of "the priesthood", or the religious authority accorded to Mormon men, from African American men into the 20th century.[33]

Veracini outlines methods of "transfer" that settler societies use to abolish the indigenous sovereignty.[34] He writes that "transfer" of the indigenous could occur through physical movement in space (through forced relocation, genocide, or warfare) or through theoretical paradigms that remove the *indigenous* from the indigenous population.[35] The

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[30] Ibid., 18.
[31]Barbara J. Fields, "Ideology and Race in American History," found in Ed. J. Morgan Kousser and James M. McPherson, *Region, Race, and Reconstruction: Essays in Honor of C. Vann Woodward* (New York / Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 153.
[32] Marcus Rediker, *The Slave Ship: A Human History* (New York: The Penguin Book, 2007), 46.
[33] Elijah Abel was one of the Seventy in the Melchizedek Priesthood, but after him a precedent was set that men of African descent would no longer qualify for the priesthood. See W. Kesler Jackson, *Elijah Abel: The Life and Times of a Black Priesthood Holder* (Springville, Utah: Cedar, Fort, Inc., 2013), Kindle edition, introduction. See also the life story of an African American woman, an early convert to the Mormon church, Jane Elizabeth Manning James, who never succeeded, after twenty-five years of attempts, to secure endowments during her lifetime. Ronald G. Coleman, "Is There No Blessing for Me?: Jane Elizabeth Manning James, A Mormon African American Woman," in Quintard Taylor and Shirley Ann Wilson Moore, ed. *African American Women Confront the West: 1600-2000* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003), 144-157.
[34] Veracini, *Settler Colonialism*, 33-52.
[35] Ibid., 33-52.

ancestors of the earliest Mormon converts were well versed in many of these methods. New England settlers attempted to usurp native land rights through treaty negotiation (when the terms were not explained fully to the indigenous), violent subdual of native peoples, assimilation of natives, moving the location of natives with force, among other methods.[36] Mormons would later adopt these methods of transfer when settling Utah. The centrality of the "Lamanites" to LDS Doctrine shows that Smith and his followers were using "Civilization Transfer," a strategy by which settler-colonial states seek to de-legitimize native people's claims of indigeneity by asserting that indigenous peoples were just the "first wave" of settlers to establish themselves in the land that they were found in by the "second wave" of settlers (the first being the "Lamanites" and the second being the Saints).[37] Within the *Doctrine and the Covenants,* for example, Joseph Smith declared that "the Lamanites might come to the *knowledge of their fathers*, and that they might know the promises of the Lord, and that they may believe the gospel and rely upon the merits of Jesus Christ, and be glorified through faith in his name, and that through their repentance they might be saved."[38] Or, in other words, their ancestors—the first settlers—were "enlightened" and believed in the messages of Jesus Christ, but the present "Lamanites" were depraved until they "re-convert" to the Mormon religion.

The 10th article of *Articles of Faith,* the document produced by Joseph Smith to explain Mormon beliefs to outsiders, also holds that Mormons are entitled to American lands, as the Book of Mormon declared the American continent as a "New Jerusalem," or "Zion." This was an attempt for the Church's followers to legitimate the settler-state's paradigm that they were the

[36]Veracini, *Settler Colonialism.* See also Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 4 (December 2006), 387-409.
[37] Veracini, *Settler Colonialism*, 36.
[38] "The Doctrine and Covenants, Section 3" www.mormon.org, accessed 12/28/14, https://www.lds.org/scriptures/dc-testament/dc/3.6-7?lang=eng.

correct inheritors of indigenous peoples' lands.[39] In another scriptural example, found in the Book of Mormon, Nephi 12:1, one sees these sentiments expressed explicitly: "And it came to pass that the angel said unto me: Look, and behold thy seed, and also the seed of thy brethren. And I looked and beheld the United States (land of promise); and I beheld multitudes of people, yea, even as it were in number as many as the sand of the sea."[40] Again, scripture was a means of justifying Mormon claims on the "promised land" of North America, as Mormons were given a validation of indigeneity by the religious text.

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Jacob Hamblin followed the Latter-Day Saints through their several moves to escape persecution and to carve out what they saw as their "heavenly kingdom on Earth." As the Church grew bigger and gained supporters, it moved from Ohio, to Missouri, to Illinois, and then to Utah Territory. Many of these moves were preceded by wars or skirmishes with local governments, including the Missouri Mormon War in 1838 and the Illinois-Mormon War from 1844-46.[41] Conflicts erupted from fear on both sides: the non-Mormons' wariness of Mormons, as well as the Mormons' suspicions of violence and intimidation by the non-Mormons. The Saints had well founded fears, as, for example, the Governor of Missouri proclaimed that the Mormons must leave the state at pain of extermination of their entire religious group.[42] At this point, the LDS Church declared itself as its own state, and the people considered themselves a nation.[43] With a

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[39] Compton, *A Frontier Life: Jacob Hamblin, Explorer and Indian Missionary*, Book Release video. From Youtube. 1 hour, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l4LBI81yf44

[40] *The Book of Mormon: An Account Written by the Hand of Mormon upon Plates Taken from the Plates of Nephi*. Salt Lake City, UT: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1986.

[41] The federal government sent the US Army to confront Mormon forces in 1857-1858 but there was no real fighting. "1857-1858 Utah War" Utah Division of State History, accessed December 5, 2013, http://www.ilovehistory.utah.gov/time/stories/utah_war.html

[42] Richard Kitchen, "Mormon-Indian relations in Deseret: intermarriage and indenture, 1847-1877" (Ph.D. dissertation, Arizona State University, 2002), 12. Arrington and Bitton, *The Mormon Experience,* 58.

[43] Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience,* 40-41.
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"President" Joseph Smith, and a governing structure through the Apostles and the Seventy, the Mormon people believed they fully distinguished themselves from the US government and population. In doing so, the US government and the non-Mormon population believed that the Mormons had fallen from "righteousness," and became a group that merited retribution for challenging the status quo.[44]

The deep animosity felt between the Mormons and the surrounding non-Mormon population resulted in the murder of their prophet Joseph Smith in 1844. Smith had ordered the destruction of a newspaper that was critical of Mormons and their beliefs and customs, the *Nauvoo Expositor*.[45] This set off the Illinois-Mormon War and the eventual expulsion of the Mormons from Illinois, after which they began their trek west to what was to become Utah Territory. This war and many other conflicts with the outside population led to a chronic distrust of those who continuously sought to bring Mormon society back to the norms of US society by criticizing their religious beliefs and practices.

LDS doctrine challenged the specificities of US patriarchy. US patriarchy stipulated that parents and children composed the nuclear family. This nuclear family formed the basis of the settler-state through the power of the patriarch. Through laws and cultural taboos, the patriarch, and by extension, the settler-state, controlled colonizing efforts.[46] Fathers oversaw the labor of wives, children, and servants toward a goal of amassing wealth, which was only his to distribute to his "dependents." Through the nuclear family, settler-colonial societies are able to become "resettlement" in nature, that is, a state of conducting affairs to focus on biological and cultural

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[44] Ibid., 46.
[45]George G. Gaylor, "Governor Ford and the Death of Joseph and Hyrum Smith," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* (1908-1984), Vol. 50, No. 4 (Winter, 1957), 391.
[46] Richard Phillips, "Settler Colonialism and the Nuclear Family" *The Canadian Geographer* v. 53 n. 2 (June 2009): 239-253.

reproduction.[47] This means that nuclear families become the extension of the settler colony. Through having more children and teaching them the settler-state culture, beliefs, and political structure, and through the patriarch's hold on his "property," the settler state expands into indigenous territory.

The addition of polygamy to the Mormon retinue of beliefs in the 1840s generated newfound hostility between the diverging societies, as the mainstream saw this as a clear violation of mores of monogamous marriage.[48] These tensions existed not just between Mormons and non-Mormons, but within households. In Jacob's household, his monogamous marriage to his first wife Lucinda Taylor was fraught with challenges from the beginning. Not only had they married too young (in Jacob's opinion),[49] but Jacob converted to the LDS Church without the approval of Lucinda and her relatives. The marriage suffered because of Lucinda's struggles with the Mormon faith before her conversion. It was after she had had a revelation through a dream on her own that Lucinda embraced the Mormon Church. But their relationship reached a breaking point just as they were about to make the journey to Utah. The introduction of the doctrine of "plural marriage" and its popularization in the 1840s among the Saints became a rift between Jacob and Lucinda that could not be mended.[50] Because she could not accept plural marriage, Lucinda left her children and Jacob in Iowa, their last settlement before making the trek to Utah.[51] Church authorities determined that Jacob would take charge of their children.[52]

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[47] Ibid.
[48] Amy Patterson & Sara Hoyt, "Mormon Masculinity: Changing Gender Expectations in the Era of Transition from Polygamy to Monogamy, 1890-1920." *Gender & History*; Vol. 23 Issue 1 (2011): p72-91, 20p.
[49] Todd Compton, *A Frontier Life,* 5.
[50] Smith's first wife, Emma Hale Smith, also did not accept the doctrine of plural marriage. Their marriage ended as Joseph moved onward to Nauvoo, and eventually, Utah. In the *Doctrine and Covenants,* section 132, the doctrine of celestial or plural marriage was revealed by Smith, in which Emma was heavily criticized for not accepting the doctrine. See Linda King Newell, *Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale Smith* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1994), xvi. Also see Arrington and Bitton, *The Mormon Experience*, page 194-5.
[51] Compton, *A Frontier Life,*18-19.
[52] Ibid.

Fortuitously for Jacob, a widowed woman named Rachel Judd seemed like a good match for him: she was an unfaltering Mormon, who had grown up in the church, and was prepared to make the arduous journey west.

Arriving in Utah in 1850, the Hamblin family was called by church leadership to establish a new town, Tooele, where Jacob was recruited into the settlement's militia and had his first intimate experiences with native peoples, specifically the Goshute.[53] Dream-visions that became pivotal to his time in Tooele would also effect his beliefs in later life: he dreamt that he was amongst Indians that "we had been trying about three years to destroy," but the friendly mood in his vision conveyed a different sentiment. Jacob picked up "a bright substance" that "stuck to [his] fingers, and the more [he] endeavored to brush it off the brighter it became."[54] Jacob reconciled this as a call for him to live amongst the Goshute of Tooele, to "make friends" with them and proselytize among them. A few days later, while hunting game with the Goshutes, Jacob would first encounter his future adopted son, Albert, a Shoshone boy living under impoverished conditions with his mother, whose name was not recorded.

A brief history of the Northwestern Shoshone people

When he arrived in Utah, Jacob thought he had come to "the wilderness"—a place "devoid" of politics, geography, and technology. He and other Mormons soon realized through extensive contact with indigenous peoples of the Great Basin that it was, in fact, a region of entangled alliances, trade, and distinct cultures.[55] This section will give necessary cultural, economic, and societal background of the Northwestern Shoshone, which will reveal information

[53] Ibid., 29.
[54] James A. Little, Jacob Hamblin: *A Narrative of his personal experience, as a frontiersman, missionary to the Indians and Explorer* (Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1881), 30.
[55] See Ann Hyde, *Empires, Nations, and Families: A History of the North American West, 1800-1860* (New York: University of Nebraska Press, 2011) for the history of family alliances and trading empires.

about Albert's kin, the White Knife Shoshone.

Albert and his mother[56] were members of the Northwestern Shoshone White Knife band, a group that is considered to be also intimately tied to the Goshute of Tooele.[57] As Numic-speakers in the Uto-Aztecan language family, the Great Basin tribes—the Ute, Paiute, Shoshone, and Goshute—were in fact all related in many aspects of their cultures and life-ways.[58] The Navajos, another Great Basin tribe, were distinct from this group in their language and culture, yet their close proximity brought them into contact with the other Great Basin tribes in trade and warfare.

The wider ethnographic and historiographical understanding of Utah's American Indians found here is furnished by Forrest Cuch's *A History of Utah's American Indians.* A seminal publication, it reveals the histories of indigenous peoples of Utah from their own perspective. The book, divided into separate chapters by each tribe—the Goshute, the Northern Ute, the White Mesa Ute, the Paiute and the Navajos—includes their creation stories, traditional cultural practices, and a history of their nations until the present. In consultation with tribe members and drawing on oral histories as well as archival methodologies, the book is essential to an analysis of Albert's indigenous family and Albert himself: the historical and sociological reasons behind their side of the adoption transaction. Mae Timbimboo Parry, a descendent of Chief Sagwitch, provided the oral history described in the text about the Northwestern Shoshone life-ways, culture, and historical events.[59]

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[56] According to Compton, Albert's indigenous name meant "Hungry." Compton cited Carelton's Report on the Mountain Meadows Massacre for this information, but I could not find this in the report myself, which is why I hesitate to include this information in my analysis. No name was given for Albert's mother.
[57] Compton, *A Frontier Life*, 29.
[58] Forrest Cuch, ed. *A history of Utah's American Indians (*Salt Lake City: Utah State University Press, 2000),14-15.
[59] Ibid., 25.

The Ute, Paiute, Goshute, and Shoshone call themselves "the People," or *Newe* (the exact pronunciation varies in their respective languages). These indigenous groups shared many common stories about their origins in the world, in addition to their religious beliefs. McPherson writes in the first chapter of *A History of Utah's American Indians* that the indigenous tribes of Utah have

> "…a religious worldview that ties the people of Utah to a living, sentient creation…filled with holy beings…the Indian worldview sees the land as an interconnected whole—with rocks, trees, animals…in a circle of life. Human relationships exist with non-human entities, bonded by a mutual respect for the role each plays as a part of nature….The territory [was given]…by the holy beings…A covenant based upon mutual respect for these unseen powers, coupled with an intimate knowledge of the land, motivated the People to live within the guidance given to them during the time of the myths…"[60]

The indigenous peoples of Utah used the knowledge of generations—as spread through myths, oral histories, and parent-to-child relationships—to make the several different biomes found in Utah habitable for human life. The Northwestern Shoshone believe that they have "always lived in Northern Utah and southeastern Idaho" and that these lands were given to them by holy beings or gods for their safe-keeping and stewardship.[61] They expertly derived from the lands all that was needed to allow their society to thrive by gathering, fishing, and hunting. Men and women split the labor of gathering food and resources. Women would often collect seeds from "sunflowers, wild rice, mustard" and dug up vegetable roots from potatoes, cactus, and more, in social groupings, chatting and exchanging stories and advice as they worked.[62] Fishing provided an essential area of their diet, but hunting meat was the most vital, because it provided food, shelter, clothing, and insurance against hunger during wintertime.[63] Men would hunt large

[60] Ibid., 4.
[61] Ibid., 25.
[62] Ibid., 28.
[63] Ibid., 28-29.

game, while both men and women caught fish together in groups.[64] Pine nut extraction was an indispensable way to acquire nutrition through the winter, as a bread or eaten raw.[65] All of these ways of acquiring foodstuffs would later become near impossible because of Mormon settlement in the Great Basin—Mormon horses, houses, livestock, and agriculture would alter the Great Basin environment in such a way that indigenous peoples would struggle to feed themselves. They would become environmental refugees as the Mormons took over and altered their lands drastically.

The Northwestern Shoshone were organized by family unit and associated with one another both matrilineal and patrilineal lines.[66] There was no outright political authority given to one person in particular, but there were hunting and war "headmen" who would organize men and women from a position of guidance, not necessarily through powers of ultimate authority.[67] Chief Sagwitch, for example, was a headman of the winter camp in Bear River Valley, where the eventual tragic massacre in 1863 of three hundred Northwestern Shoshone by the U.S. Army occurred.[68] In addition, there were no boundaries in which certain tribes or bands claimed lands outright as their own—just areas that they had come to live in constantly, and seasonally, over decades, even hundreds of years.[69]

Prior to the arrival of the Spanish in the late 16th century and the Mormons in the 19th century, the Northwestern Shoshone would travel on foot, utilizing "dogs and manpower" to

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[64] Scott R. Christensen, *Sagwitch: Shoshone Chieftain, Mormon Elder, 1822-1887* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1999), 4.
[65] Forrest Cuch, ed. *A history of Utah's American Indians*, 29-30.
[66] Julian H. Steward, "The Foundations of Basin-Plateau Shoshonean Society," in Thomas, Ed., *A Great Basin Shoshonean Sourcebook* (New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1986), 130.
[67] Julian H. Steward, "Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Groups," in Thomas, Ed., *A Great Basin Shoshonean Sourcebook* (New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1986), 247. Again mentioned in Steward's "The Foundations of Basin-Plateau Shoshonean Society" on page 124.
[68] Christensen, *Sagwitch*, 59.
[69] Forrest Cuch, ed. *A history of Utah's American Indians*, 16.

change the locations of their settlements according to the seasons.[70] Once horses arrived, however, through trade relationships with the Ute and the Navajo, who in turn had acquired horses from the Spanish, the Northwestern Shoshone adopted the hunt of buffalo and Plains Indian culture, setting them apart from the Goshute and Paiute. This would mark a turning point in the Great Basin, as the Shoshone, Ute, and Navajo would be profoundly changed by the adoption of horses into their ways of life.

The Spanish entered the region now known as Utah in 1775 after having settled in parts of New Mexico, Texas, and Southern California. The first recorded European explorer of the region was Father Silvestre Velez de Escalante, who sought a route from Santa Fe to Monterrey through which the traveler of trade and preacher of the Gospel would not have to go through the "war-like" Apache territory.[71] The Apaches were known for their ferocity in battle and merciless plundering of other tribes and travelers through the Old Spanish Trail.[72] Indeed, Escalante endeavored to go the way of the "Yutas" so that he could save the "heathen Indian souls" that he believed were dependent on his arrival to the territory.[73] His journey took approximately five months in the year 1775, in which the party of explorers mapped and surveyed the area for later exploration, trade, and colonization.

Spanish migration in the region fueled trade affiliations with the Ute and Navajo, specifically, trade focused on indigenous slavery exchange. Spanish, like all traders in this time period, sought to make a profit out of their trade relationship with the natives. In return for

[70] Ibid., 26.
[71] Auerbach, "Father Escalante's Journal With Related Documents and Maps: Introductory" in Father Escalante's Journal, *Utah State Historical Quarterly* XII, (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1943): 7.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid., 27.

horses and guns, the Ute and Navajo traded children captured in wars with other tribes.[74] Most pointedly, the Southern Paiute Indians of the Santa Clara area were especially vulnerable to Ute raids, as were the Goshute in northwestern Utah.[75] The Spanish weren't the originators of this exchange, however. There was an established precedent of acquiring children as spoils of war among the tribes of the area. Ute and Navajo would take children and older captives to replace those who had been lost in the violence.[76] The process continued but captors changed over time, as for example, Ute Indians raided the Paiute, and took their children to repopulate their own tribes, or to sell to the Spanish, and later the Mormons.[77] An important facet of the relationship between the Goshute and Paiute in contrast to the Ute and Shoshone were their relative wealth vis-à-vis the land that they inhabited. The Ute's indigenous territory consisted of grasslands, while the Paiute and Goshute lived in more scrubby terrain in which it was harder to forage for food, and which would become even harder when the Mormons settled the area with their grazing animals.[78] The Ute, like the Northwestern Shoshone, had adopted the Plains Indian lifestyle, using temporary housing settlements, teepees, made of canvas or animal skins.[79] With the introduction of cavalry to the respective lifestyles of the indigenous groups in the Great Basin, those who had horses often claimed the upper-hand in conflicts.[80] The White Knife Shoshone, similarly to the Goshute, remained horse-less into the 1850s.[81]

Adding the Spanish to the trade in captives became another step in a process that was

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[74] William J. Snow, "Utah Indians and Spanish Slave Trade." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 2 (1929): 67-73.
[75] Cuch, *A History of Utah's American Indians*, 90.
[76] Snow, "Utah Indians and Spanish Slave Trade," 67-73.
[77] Cuch, *A History of Utah's American Indians*, 124.
[78] Ibid., 83.
[79] Ibid., 182.
[80] Ned Blackhawk, *Violence over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006)
[81] Jack S. Harris, "The White Knife Shoshoni of Nevada" in Ralph Linton, ed, Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes (New York: D Appleton-Century Company,1940), 75.

already centuries old. Yet the addition of the Spanish to this dynamic would radically change the economy of the region and of the tribes themselves. The Ute, in particular, increasingly relied on raiding Paiute peoples for their women and children in order to sell them into Spanish slavery, getting horses and weapons in return; this lead to the rapid decline of the Paiute population.[82] These children would, in turn, be sold into slavery further south, in New Spain (now Mexico), to serve either in households as servants, work in mines, or in agriculture, where their tiny hands were conducive to all sorts of detailed work.[83] One of the most prominent examples of this was Chief Wakara of the Ute tribe, who had used his newfound riches from the fur trade to purchase horses and raid the Paiute for their children to derive a profit in their trade with the Spanish.[84]

When the Saints arrived in the region, some were opposed to the slave trade, especially former Northerners.[85] Before arrival in Utah, under the guidance of Joseph Smith, the LDS church did not sanction African American slavery.[86] However, the Church was not aligned with radical abolitionists: their doctrine adopted a stance that was anti-abolitionist while also anti-slavery in 1835, which coincides with their time in Missouri.[87] The Saints did not want their own controversial cause linked with that of the abolitionists. This confusing position was made more puzzling by the fact that in 1852, Utah legalized slavery. Why had they done this? A small but powerful delegation of Mississippi Saints brought more than forty slaves of African descent to settle Utah, and used their influence to secure their property in the form of slaves.[88] Though

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[82] Ronald L.Holt, *Beneath these Red Cliffs: an ethnohistory of the Utah Paiutes* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1992), 22.
[83] Margaret Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race: Settler Colonialism, Maternalism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West and Australia, 1880-1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press), 46.
[84] William J. Snow, "Utah Indians and Spanish Slave Trade", 67-73.
[85] Newell G. Bringhurst, "The Mormons and Slavery: A Closer Look," *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 50, No. 3 (Aug., 1981), pp. 329-338
[86] Ibid.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Ibid.

many adherents of the LDS religion took a personal stance against slavery, it seems that Church authorities and laypersons were nominally neutral to the transportation of these African American slaves to Utah.[89] This powerful group included Church apostle Charles C. Rich, merchant William H. Hooper, and mayor of Salt Lake City Abraham Smoot.[90] In particular, some of these LDS slave-owners went on to establish the town of Holladay-Cottonwood in close proximity to Salt Lake City.[91]

Additionally, some former LDS converts who were from Southern states went on to settle what is now southern Utah.[92] This region gave LDS Southerners, who were exposed to and had practiced slavery, access to the slaving Ute and Navajo and the trade in indigenous children. Trade in children between the Ute, Navajo, and Mormon groups grew steadily. Violence confrontations during Mormon settlement between the Mormons and the Southern Paiute made the indigenous group increasingly vulnerable, resulting in increasing raids by the Ute and Navajo. Moreover, President Young struggled to enforce law and order in these parts between the Saints and the indigenous: settlers "indiscriminately" murdered native people.[93] According to some Great Basin native customs, sometimes indigenous people retaliated.[94] A continuous cycle of unending violence characterized Utah, involving indigenous children.

We see that the Saints eventually accepted the Indian child slave trade and viewed it as favorable to their aims of assimilation and evangelism. Brigham Young issued declarations and

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[89] Ibid.
[90] Ibid.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Ronald G. Coleman, "Is There No Blessing for Me?: Jane Elizabeth Manning James, A Mormon African American Woman," in Quintard Taylor and Shirley Ann Wilson Moore, ed. African American Women Confront the West: 1600-2000 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003), 144-157.
[93] Richard Kitchen, "Mormon-Indian relations in Deseret,"16-19.
[94] See Ned Blackhawk, *Violence over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006) for discussions on violence and warfare in the Great Basin.

deployed troops to attempt to put an end to the slave trade that was endemic.[95] Yet these efforts failed, underscoring that Mormons had grown to accept slavery in their society.

Mormons accustomed to the slave trade were encouraged to continue the purchase of captive children. Brigham Young instructed the Saints to buy and convert Indian children by 1851, but left the status of parentage and specific relationships between the children and the adults ambiguous.[96] In 1852, the Utah legislature issued the "Preamble and an Act for the Relief of Indian Slaves and Prisoners" which set up an indenture program for purchased children that required the employer/master/parent to provide the child with access to general education and fill out legal indenture forms.[97] Mormons believed this long-term investment in an indentured child would pay off in the twenty years of service owed to these parents or employers through the indenture contract.[98] When Albert came to live with Jacob in 1853, this policy had been introduced, but had yet to be implemented uniformly in Utah.[99] Jacob never mentions in his diary or autobiography that he fulfilled the necessary procedures to make Albert his legal indenture or legally adopted son.[100] This ambiguity—of servant, slave, or child—would characterize Albert Hamblin's life.

Historian Juanita Brooks claimed in "Indian Relations on the Mormon Frontier" that Mormons were justified in "adopting" Indian children from slavery.[101] As Brooks was perhaps the founder of Mormon historiography from a more critical point of view, her opinion both reflected and justified the widespread belief that the Saints took in indigenous children out of a

[95] Snow, "Utah Indians and the Spanish Slave Trade"
[96] Richard Kitchen, "Mormon-Indian relations in Deseret," 20-21.
[97] Ibid.
[98] Ibid.
[99] Todd Compton, *A Frontier Life,* 41
[100] He later binds himself celestially with Albert as his father, but this is after Albert's death.
[101] Juanita Brooks, "Indian Relations on the Mormon Frontier," Utah Historical Quarterly 12, no. 6 (1944).

humane and benevolent impulse. The problem with this paradigm is that Brooks looked to euphemize the situation. She didn't see fault with the systemic settler colonization that was changing the ecology of the region that had existed for over millennium, she only saw the "goodwill" of the Mormon people taking in captured indigenous children. She failed to draw a distinction between captured children and children whose family members had to give them up because of ecological devastation.

Mormon horses, livestock, and agriculture changed the Great Basin ecosystem, threatening indigenous peoples' cycles of acquiring foodstuffs from the environment. Taking Indian children directly from parents (and not slave traders) was thus a different kind of exchange. These children were not spoils of war. When Jacob first meets Albert and his mother, they were impoverished by such rapid change in this ecosystem, and subsequently, lived under severe circumstances. Albert was therefore not a captive, but a refugee of environmental disaster.[102] The next chapter will look in depth into Albert's adoption and early life within the Hamblin household.

[102] For more insight into the White Knife Shoshone's dwindling resources, see Jack S. Harris, "The White Knife Shoshoni of Nevada" in Ralph Linton, ed, *Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes* (New York: D Appleton-Century Company,1940), 75.

Chapter Two
The Exchange and Early Life

"One day, in my rambles, I came to a lodge where there was a squaw, and a boy about ten years old. As soon as I saw the boy, the Spirit said to me, "Take that lad home with you; that is part of your mission here, and here is the bright substance which you dreamed of picking up." I talked with him and asked if he would not go with me. He at once replied that he would..."—Jacob Hamblin, as written by James A. Little

On February twelfth to the fifteenth, 1853, Jacob Hamblin came upon the boy who was to be renamed Albert, in the company of his mother. Jacob wrote in his diary, "[E]verything bespoke their wretchedness and want; they had no clothing enough then to make a shirt. They said they had been there five moons, living on roots, having no shelter from the storms, but partially from the wind."[103] Jacob asked the mother of Albert to "give him" to Jacob but she refused. The next day, however, Jacob writes that she "pressed" him to take Albert. Jacob continues his talk about the needs of Albert's mother, saying "[he] gave her a blanket, biscuits &c., as she had suffered much from hunger, cold, &c., the past winter."[104] Some questions come to mind: First, can we trust Jacob's account of this story? Secondly, if this account is true, why did she first refuse and then request pleadingly for Jacob to take the boy? Third, if she was so clearly in dire need, why didn't Jacob take her under his "care"? Fourth, why did he consign her to apparent death in isolation, while opening his arms to her son? Lastly, what did the exchange of Albert mean to his mother and the White Knife Shoshone, and what did it mean to Jacob?

[103] Todd Compton, *A Frontier Life*, 41
[104] Ibid.

We cannot know if Jacob reported the truth in his journal. His diary may have been filled with fictitious accounts of "buying" Indian children. It is plausible that he may have kidnapped Albert, instead of trading for him. What we do know is that Jacob recorded this event in the way that he did—he wrote that he bought Albert, showing his belief that this was a legitimate way to obtain an indigenous boy in this territory.

The language used by settlers to talk about these exchanges and the children provide more answers to what Mormons thought about these exchanges and what it meant for these children's places in their society. Sometimes, letters left by settlers contain expressions of deep affection and concern; yet more often, evidence about adoptees was left out of familial documents. The most information about adopted indigenous children centered on their productivity and labor, which were recorded by those who had adopted them. Much like the history of American slavery, historical inquiry into the lives of those who were subjected to forced labor must be found through the documents of those who enforced labor regimes, the "masters." It can be argued, however, that many familial documents with candid references to indigenous children were edited by later generations with the intention of white-washing their histories. But, in the case of Albert, we find a plethora of information and documentation. This was because of Albert's mythologized place in LDS society as Jacob's adopted son. Information about him was not just from the hands of his adopted father and relatives, but also in newspapers, and court documents. This chapter will survey the language of adoption used by Mormons, as well as compare the Mormon perspective of adoption with the Shoshone's. Through Albert's story we may speculate how he and his family members navigated the intricacies of kinship in cultural borderlands.

To begin, a comparison between Jacob's diary and autobiography reveals sharp changes

in language over time. According to Todd Compton, the first historian who recently wrote the first monograph about Jacob's life, Jacob initially writes about the exchange very "matter-of-factly" in his diary, but later uses language of divine intervention in his autobiography co-written and edited by James A. Little entitled *Jacob Hamblin: A Narrative of his personal experience as a frontiersman, missionary to the Indians, and explorer.*[105] The autobiography was published around thirty years after the adoption, in 1881. In it, Jacob writes about his first meeting with Albert completely differently than how he writes about it in his personal journal in 1853. Jacob wrote in this autobiography, that upon finding Albert, "the Spirit" said that he must take Albert home with him because he was "part of your mission here."[106] Jacob writes that when he asked the boy to come with him, the boy consented, "[taking] his bows and arrows and accompany[ing] me."[107] He writes in the autobiography that Albert's mother showed signs of deep distress as her son was leaving to live with Jacob, and that Jacob admonished him to return to his mother, but Albert refused to.[108] The next morning, the autobiography continues, the mother returned to talk with Jacob and Albert, having reached the conclusion after speaking with other Indians in the area (there is no designation what tribe she is talking about in the autobiography), that Jacob was a good man and could carry on with this arrangement as long as he ensured that "[Jacob] would always be his father and own [Albert] as [his] son."[109]

According to this autobiographical narrative, Albert seemingly later told Jacob that he too felt something spiritual about the event, because he had a dream in which he was told that he should leave with a man—Jacob—who would be coming for him the morning before Jacob

[105] Ibid. See also Todd Compton, *A Frontier Life*, 42.
[106] James A. Little, *Jacob Hamblin*, 30.
[107] Ibid.
[108] Ibid.
[109] Ibid.

arrived.[110] Apparently, the boy had made a fire so that Jacob would see his smoke and come to get him.[111] From this narrative, Albert identified with the Mormon colonizers. Though these sources are very one-sided, perhaps we can see a display of Albert's agency in creating a dream to justify or explain why he wanted to live among the Mormons.

In this second description of the event, Albert seems to have an extraordinarily keen sense of premonition or connection with the spiritual world—even so, he disregards the feelings of his mother when he refuses to return to her in Jacob's autobiography. From the diary, we know that she does not request his return, but in the autobiography, Jacob and Little wrote that she wanted Albert to remain with her. Comparing the personal journal with the autobiography carefully reveals the latent, or overt, intent of Jacob and Little to reformulate this history to make it seem like the young Albert was choosing a path that was admirable in Jacob's and Euro-American, specifically Mormon, society's point of view. Here, he was cast as a "noble savage," a prescient child who acknowledged that the ways of Jacob were more correct than his own ancestors. This narrative posits that an exotic child, through faith and reason, chose the Mormons of his own accord. This exoticization excites Mormon society because of its relationship between Albert as a "native" and Albert as a "Lamanite," and perhaps a "Nephite." The event as written in the autobiography describes Albert adopting Jacob as much as Jacob adopts Albert. But our knowledge of this event from Jacob's personal journal shows that it was quite different —it was Albert's mother who decided the boy should go with Jacob. Why was the story changed so drastically between the personal journal and the autobiography? Though Compton describes this second interpretation of the event in the "autobiography" as more "spiritual," I would argue that this is a blatant re-writing of history to suit the needs of Jacob. Jacob needed to show that Albert,

[110] Ibid.
[111] Ibid.

whose access to his Native kin and his inherited culture was being restricted and who was perhaps a victim of forced labor, had elected to be in his position, at such a young age. This way, Jacob—and by proxy, other settlers— would not be blamed for the adoption, or the indenture, of Albert himself.

Exchanges between biological parents and adopted parents almost always included the transfer of materials of value for children between the two parties. In other transactions that Jacob writes about in his journals, he often includes what he spends in order to take home the child in question with him. For example, on November 4th, 1854, Jacob describes a purchase of an Indian boy in his journal: "…I bought an Indian boy about six years old. Gave a gun and blanket some amunicion. Bro A.P. Hardy took him to Paroan and let Bro. Judd have him. Bro Hardy was offered a horse for him by a jentile. The Boy had ben Stolen from a small trybe so I baugh[t] him that I might let a good Man hav him that would try and make him yousefull."[112] In this interaction, Jacob expressly states that he traded goods for this Indian boy, highlighting this experience as monetary exchange indeed. Words like "bought" and "stolen" show ownership over who "used" the Indian boy and how they will use him in the future: as a laborer. In stark contrast to the "adoption" of Albert, this nameless native boy was bought as if he were a chattel slave. One may argue that this type of language was used because Jacob failed to develop a relationship with this unnamed, unaffiliated Indian boy thereafter, or because he chose to view Albert's adoption or redemption with more affection. But it was most likely the case that this type of event was so commonplace that it was part of routine life for Jacob Hamblin.

Monetary exchanges for children were an everyday experience, and that these children could be easily transferred between Mormon colonists.[113] John Bennion, a Welsh Mormon who

[112] Compton, *A Frontier Life*, 62.
[113] Richard Kitchen, "Mormon-Indian relations in Deseret," 115.

immigrated to Utah along with his elder brother Samuel Bennion, their father, and their wives, has many examples of Mormon trading for Indian children in his journal. The Bennion brothers were baptized into the Mormon faith in Britain, with the elder following the younger.[114] In February 1842, John Bennion was married, baptized, and set sail for the Americas to begin his life on the other side of the world.[115] The brothers first moved to Nauvoo and then to Salt Lake City, where they arrived in 1848.[116] After living for a time in Salt Lake City, the brothers moved to the Jordan River Bottoms, an area they deemed hard to colonize and farm. By September 1858, however, John Bennion was still in the Jordan River Bottoms, toiling with his family to make ends meet and bring their conception of civilization to a place they described as wilderness.[117] On the sixteenth and seventeenth of that month a band of Indians began to make camp on what Bennion thought were his fields. Bennion spoke with Mormon military authorities to apply for their help in getting the Indians to leave. With the threat of force upon them, the Indians set out to move the next day.[118] Bennion wrote in his journal that he was offered an Indian boy "3 years old to sell for a horse I give them the horse & took the boy, they said his father died 1 year ago & mother too."[119] The boy's name was Kanosh and as he was taken as a captive in war. Bennion's language conveys that this exchange was seen as a purchase of a human being, bringing a potential servant and laborer for the family.

Likewise, when Jacob described the trade that he made with Albert's mother in his personal journal, he wrote about that interaction as a mundane event. Jacob uses language of

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[114] Harden Bennion, "The Bennion Family of Utah, Volume I", Bennion.org, accessed 12/30/14, http://bennion.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/07/Bennion%20Family%20History%20Volume%20I.pdf.
[115] Ibid.
[116] Ibid., 32.
[117] Ibid.,76-77.
[118] Journals of John Bennion, 16-17 September 1858, Box 3 Folder 5, Bennion Family Papers, 1842-1960, Utah State Historical Society.
[119] Ibid.

trade when he talks about taking Albert home with him that day. In exchange for food and a blanket, Albert's mother gave up her son to be given to Jacob permanently—or at least, that was how Jacob viewed the exchange.[120]

Shortly thereafter, Jacob's views seemingly changed about his relationship with Albert. Jacob makes this particular adoption different from all of the others that he participated in—instead of a monetary exchange, it became the creation of fictive kinship, but an exchange that existed only between Jacob and Albert. Jacob would not write any of his other close relationships with indigenous peoples into his autobiography or diary. What changed? Jacob wrote in a letter to Brigham Young explaining the adoption, saying "that Mormons killed his father and [the White Knife Shoshone] wanted me to be a father to him which I hav to be every since."[121] Jacob was thus approached by the White Knife Shoshone and presumably Albert's mother, and in consultation with them, it seems he claimed Albert as his son. Because of the White Knifes' admonishment that Jacob treat Albert as his son, Jacob makes attempts to do so within the confines of Mormon society's discrimination against indigenous men.

Again, we cannot know if this account is true. Jacob may have not had White Knife Shoshone consent in taking Albert. If it were a true account, the act of calling oneself a father to a child is a telling psychological commitment, but Jacob does not seem to make any legal or spiritual affiliations with Albert a priority. Jacob does not go through formal procedures to indenture Albert, nor does he "seal" himself to Albert as his father during Albert's lifetime. "Sealing" denotes a LDS spiritual practice in which family members are bound to one another after death.[122] Though Jacob does not move quickly to legitimize his fictive kinship with Albert

[120] Compton, *A Frontier Life*, 41.
[121] Ibid.
[122] Arrington and Bitton, *The Mormon Experience*, 69.

(through either indenture or sealing) , the White Knifes may have viewed his wanting to be a part of their network as a godsend. The White Knifes may not have been just asking for Jacob to treat Albert as kin, they may have been asking Jacob to treat them as kin too.

Shoshone views on adoption

We must take a step back and analyze why Albert's mother was in such dire straits that she decided to "give up" her son. Why was she seemingly abandoned by the larger group to live so harshly? More information about how Shoshonean society was structured, as well as practices surrounding food distribution is essential to understanding why Albert's mother, in consultation with other tribe members, made the decision to allow Jacob to take Albert home.

The anthropologist Julian H. Steward conducted studies on Great Basin indigenous groups of people, particularly the Shoshone. In his article entitled "The Foundations of Basin-Plateau Shoshonean Society," Steward shows great depth in articulating Shoshonean kinship practices. He emphasizes that Shoshonean society was based on nuclear families, but that these nuclear families "rarely lived alone" instead forming close associations with kin through intermarriages.[123] Steward writes that the nuclear family had their own "camp or house but [they all] winter[ed] together and travel[ed] from spring to fall as a cooperating subsistence unit."[124] These larger groups were bilateral, meaning that descent was traced from both the mother's and father's lines of kinship.[125] Nuclear families did not have to remain with any certain larger group, which Steward calls a "cluster" not a "band," as others have called these formations.[126] Based on kinship, husbands and wives would change and move between different clusters according to the belief that such clusters had individuals with knowledge about resources, camp sites, etc. Thus,

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[123] Julian H. Steward, "The Foundations of Basin-Plateau Shoshonean Society," in Thomas, Ed., *A Great Basin Shoshonean Sourcebook* (New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1986), 130.
[124]Ibid., 131-132
[125]Ibid.
[126]Ibid., 114.

movement between these kin groups were relatively fluid and made for independence in household formation.

Food sharing within Shoshone society has been studied by anthropologist Alain Testart in the article "Game Sharing Systems and Kinship Systems among Hunter-Gatherers." In the article, Testart shows that Shoshone hunters—the ones who killed the game—distributed food to people in "concentric circular" kinship networks.[127] The food would go to the hunter's closest relatives: grandparents, parents, siblings, children, and spouse, and then would spread further in the kinship network to include first cousins, aunts, and uncles, and then second cousins, etc.[128] Though the hunter may lose value from his/her labor by providing food to others, he or she often gains alternate social utility through the distribution of food. Testart writes, "through giving, the donor receives something: either the hope of getting in return a gift, or prestige, or the strengthening of a tie with the receiver."[129] Accumulation by the hunter was thus discouraged because he or she could achieve more through sharing with kin. Additionally, having close kin and widening circles to include more kin could be seen as a way to produce and redistribute goods among the kinship network.

Thus, according to Shoshone kinship practices, the White Knife Shoshone may have understood that in Albert's going to live with Jacob, he was not meant to end his familial ties to his biological kin; rather, his adoption by Jacob may have extended their kinship circle to include Jacob and his family members. Put in other words, Albert's mother and the other White Knife Shoshone may *not have been* selling her son. She was allowing him to be fostered by a new

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[127]Alain Testart, "Game Sharing Systems and Kinship Systems Among Hunter-Gatherers" *Man*, New Series, Vol. 22, No. 2 (Jun., 1987), 295. For more information on how the White Knife Shoshone shared food sources, see Jack S. Harris, "The White Knife Shoshoni of Nevada" in Ralph Linton, ed, *Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes* (New York: D Appleton-Century Company,1940), 47.
[128] Alain Testart, "Game Sharing Systems and Kinship Systems Among Hunter-Gatherers," 295.
[129] Ibid., 288-9.

"father," in doing so creating new networks of trade and distribution to ensure her personal survival. In the case of Albert, the death of his indigenous father meant that he was replaced by Jacob, but may not have meant that Albert's mother was displaced by Jacob's wife Rachel.[130] Bilateral descent dictated that Albert had social responsibility to both his mother and father, and in her destitution, allowing Albert to be "adopted" may have meant to *her* that she would benefit from his new relationship with Jacob.

This would have been a strategic extension of kinship in a time that traditional foodstuffs and other resources were dwindling. Though we must question Hamblin's assertion that the White Knife cluster, or band, had given him their blessing in taking Albert at all, we can see that the White Knifes may have been using existing practices of extended kinship groups to allow Albert to be taken or adopted by Jacob. With an extending kinship arrangement with the Mormon settlers, the Shoshone saw ample opportunity to trade and re-appropriate food from Mormon settlers to their advantage. Especially because Albert and his relatives were living beneath a level of subsistence that they were accustomed to, allowing Jacob to "own Albert as his son" was one way that this indigenous group may have been adapting to the changing social landscape as Mormons settled the Great Basin.[131] If we consider that Jacob had been spending increasing amounts of time with the Indians of the area, expressing that he wanted closer ties to them through acquisition of language and trade, they may have thought they were offering Jacob a formal kinship title as the father of Albert.[132]

Yet we must still hold on the table that Albert's mother and kin may have also seen this as a termination of kinship relationships with Albert, despite the kinship practices of bilateral

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[130] Jacob was only married to Rachel at the time of the exchange for Albert.
[131] Robert H. Lowie, "Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography," in Thomas, Ed., *A Great Basin Shoshonean Sourcebook* (New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1986), 195-204.
[132] Todd Compton, *A Frontier Life*, 40-41.

descent and food sharing. They may have understood too that Albert would no longer be able to choose with whom and where he went under Jacob's jurisdiction.

And, as we can see, that was Jacob's understanding of the event. He shows that this was an exchange in which Albert thereafter was cut off from his biological kin to be *his* son, albeit a son not given the same privileges as his biological sons. In the aftermath of what Jacob viewed as an adoption Albert's Shoshone relatives may have come to view the adoption as Albert's "social death." Social death has been used as a term to describe the experience of being separated from kin in the domestic slave trade going on during the first few decades of the 19th century in the southwestern United States.[133] There is no evidence that Albert ever rekindled social relationships with his mother or his other Shoshonean relatives, despite what hopes that they may have had initially. The "adoption" of Albert functioned more like a slavery exchange in which Goshute or Paiute tribes were raided by Ute or Navajo to sell the captives to the Spanish and later to the Mormons, never to have contact with their indigenous families again.

His adoption that mimicked a slavery exchange compares somewhat to intra-indigenous slavery practices in the Great Basin. The indigenous tribes of the Great Basin practiced slavery exchanges for hundreds of years. Some of the dynamics found in these pre-existing systems also characterized Mormon society. For example, when Navajo captured men, women, and children of other tribes, they were traditionally given new roles in society. The women and girl captives were taken as wives and daughters, as they were in Mormon society too. These captive women and girls were often treated equally to the other wives by Navajo husbands, but not by her Mormon husbands, except for a few cases. "Women slaves assumed many of the duties of

[133]For discussions of "social death" in the domestic slave trade see Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1982).

Navajo womenfolk such as herding sheep, weaving, and performing various domestic tasks," says Carling Malouf.[134] Likewise, among the Ute, women and children were accepted into the new tribe with the majority of their rights intact, except for when new husbands used measures like bells to ensure his new wife would not escape.[135] Enslaved men, dissimilarly, were not integrated into Navajo society as reproductive agents and accumulators of wealth or prestige. They were often castrated and marked in a physical way to show their slave status.[136] In both Mormon and Navajo society, then, men were restricted from marriage, having children with their own wives, and amassing wealth or social prestige in their own name.[137] In Mormon societies, we must question if these men were really adopted into the entirety of the community, if they could not marry and have children, a foundational role for any Mormon man.

Everyday Life in the Hamblin household

As Albert got older, he became a member of the Hamblin family economy. Jacob wrote in a newspaper article that Albert had become an excellent herdsman as a young boy, and was "much pleased with his situation."[138] An important motivator for purchase of indigenous children was to make them "useful." When Jacob purchased children, he used the language of making "use" out of a previously "unproductive" human being. Jacob wrote in his journal that the purchase of the unnamed Indian child, as was mentioned before, was to "make him yousefull."[139] Indenture laws made it so that these children would be provided with food, shelter, and limited education in a trade or livelihood, but would also be put to work for the benefit of the family and

[134] Carling Malouf, "Ethnohistory in the Great Basin" in Thomas, Ed., *A Great Basin Shoshonean Sourcebook* (New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1986), 12.
[135] Robert H. Lowrie, "Anthropological papers of the American Museum of Natural History, Volume II, Part II: The Northern Shoshone" in Thomas, Ed., *A Great Basin Shoshonean Sourcebook* (New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1986), 293.
[136] Malouf, "Ethnohistory," 12.
[137] Ibid., and see Michael Kay Bennion, "Captivity, Adoption, Marriage and Identity: Native American Children in Mormon Homes, 1847-1900," (Master's Thesis, University of Nevada, 2012).
[138] Compton, *A Frontier Life*, 41.
[139] Ibid., 62.

the wider Mormon community.[140] In *White Mothers to a Dark Race*, Jacobs shows that indigenous children became powerful economic assets to their adoptive or indentured families, as they did labor in the home and in the fields.[141] In an example of Hamblin's practice of adoption and indenture, an Indian agent had written to Brigham Young in a letter that Hamblin:

> "has four apprenticed Pied (Piaute) children, consisting of two girls...[who] had spun sufficient wool during the spring to make forty yards of cloth, besides attending to other household duties, such as milking, etc. and the two boys…had under their charge a large flock of about three hundred head of sheep, not one of which had been lost through any carelessness on their part."[142]

This shows that Mormons viewed labor as the process of being "saved". Viviana Zelizer accurately shows that the work of children in the first half of the 19th century was vital to the family's well-being—and the work of indentured children could add even more security due to their contribution to the family. Relatedly, foster parents fought to acquire parentless children in order to "trade childcare for child labor."[143]

Not that Hamblin's biological children didn't work hard themselves, they certainly did. Albert's daily routine as a boy may have looked like his adopted father's biological children's day in many ways. Woken early in the morning, by Jacob, his wife Rachel, or the rising sun, Albert would spend his day herding cattle, sheep, and other livestock, as well as farming with the Hamblin boys. While Jacob's other children probably attended school, Albert kept watch over the livestock, especially the sheep, until he was called home. With their father gone much of the time on missions, it was the responsibility of the boys to manage the farm.[144] Albert stayed illiterate until late adolescence, so it may be surmised that when he had meals with the Hamblin

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[140] Richard Kitchen, "Mormon-Indian relations in Deseret," 135.
[141] Jacobs, "White Mother to a Dark Race," 238.
[142] Letter from Indian Agent to Brigham Young in Brooks, "Indian Relations," 41.
[143] Viviana A. Zelizer, *Pricing the Priceless Child: the Changing Social Value of Children* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 14 and 172-175.
[144] Compton, *A Frontier Life*, 41.

family they were talking about topics—from the Bible, the Book of Mormon, even about recent events obtained from newspaper—that he could not comprehend fully as a child and adolescent.[145] Over time, however, Albert probably began to understand these topics despite his illiteracy. Before bedtime, Jacob or Rachel would perhaps lead the family in discussion about their beliefs. Some days, they may have attended a discussion at a friend's home, or in the local Church. When not working, Albert would attend these events, but probably not as much as the other Hamblin children.

The difference in their experiences may be found in the emphasis on education for Jacob's biological children, as the education of the adopted Indian children was less of a priority when pressed to take care of the livestock, farming, and household chores.[146] An autobiography of Jacob's second wife, and his first plural wife, Sarah Priscilla Leavitt, stated the children that attended school in the Santa Clara settlement were Jacob's biological children in addition to five unnamed children.[147] This account makes an earlier reference to Albert Hamblin, and yet does not include him in this tally of those who attended school in the Santa Clara settlement. Though one may think that he is perhaps a part of the group of children who remain unnamed this account does not mention his name while his existence was certainly known and could have been included in this group. Two scenarios are most likely—that these unnamed children include their neighbors' children, and not their adopted Indian children, or that acknowledging for posterity the Indian children who did attend school by their name was not a priority. From this account, then, one sees the lack of concern found in this family and community for their adopted or indentured children's formal education, which was a requirement of the indenture statutes put in

[145] Jacob would later admit to Brigham Young that Albert was illiterate in a letter described in Chapter Three.
[146] Colleen Arrott Carnahan, "Life Story: Sarah Priscilla Leavitt Hamblin: A Pioneer Midwife", accessed 12/30/14, https://familysearch.org/photos/documents/6234893?p=471673.
[147] Ibid., 16.

place by Brigham Young in 1853.

The girls mentioned in the letter to Brigham Young above apparently did not attend this school, and as the quote above shows, they spent a large amount of time doing household chores.[148] It has been said that the girls were given to either of the mothers of the household, Rachel Judd Hamblin or Sarah Priscilla Leavitt Hamblin (she went by the name Priscilla to distinguish herself from her mother, who was named Sarah Leavitt).[149] No doubt these girls were worked as hard as or harder than the Hamblin's biological daughters, weaving, cleaning, sewing, cooking, and caring for the younger children and other household chores. To be sure, the Mormon beliefs of this time and place—especially in a "frontier" setting—emphasized the abilities of women to carry out civilizing and reproducing in their own homes.[150] The mothers of the household thought they were giving a superb education to these girls, preparing them in the belief that these girls would one day have their own homes, marriages, and children to attend to, and that they needed to learn these skills while young in order to have a successful adult life. In their respective tribes, these girls would have also learned from their mothers and female kin about the duties and arts of womanhood. Yet the difference here lies in the hierarchy of inequality developed within this Mormon outpost. The Indian children were placed in a category in which they were restricted from certain knowledge—knowledge of reading, writing, arithmetic—that the rest of this society deemed vital. The creation of the Deseret Alphabet underscores the importance of literacy to Mormon society.[151] Commissioned by Brigham Young,

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[148] Todd Compton, "Civilizing the Ragged Edge" *Journal of Mormon History* Vol. 33, No. 2 (November 2007):155-198.
[149] Ibid.
[150] See Margaret Jacobs, *White Mother to A Dark Race: Settler colonialism, maternalism, and the removal of indigenous children in the American West and Australia, 1880-1940* (Lincoln: The University of Nebraska Press) for discussions about women's roles in "civilizing" in settler colonial societies.
[151] SH Grover and A. Garr Cramney, "Reading on the Utah Frontier, 1850-1877: The History of the Deseret Alphabet" written in 1982, given to the Educational Resource Information Center at Brigham Young University. Accessed on April 10, 2015, http://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED226325.

the letters in this alphabet were phonetic and simpler to teach than English. This was part of a strategy in which illiterate Mormon and indigenous people (particularly, the Hopis) would be able to learn written language more quickly and simply in order to understand the Book of Mormon and other Mormon religious texts expediently.[152] Though we cannot be totally sure that the girls did not attend school, we do know that Albert remains illiterate until late adolescence, and these girls did not leave records of their own.

These two young women, Ellen and Eliza, grew up in the Hamblin households and had differing experiences with the mothers Rachel and Priscilla. According to Corbett, Brooks, and Arrott, Priscilla and Ellen developed a close relationship. Priscilla had been a helper to Rachel and Jacob's children while a young teenager. As she grew older, and as Rachel grew weaker due to sickness and frequent pregnancy, Jacob realized it would have been helpful to Rachel for him to marry another woman to ensure his home and children were cared for. Priscilla had proved that she loved his children and Jacob trusted her to care for them. He asked her to marry him when she was sixteen years of age, and he was thirty-eight, and she said yes.[153] Priscilla became known throughout the region as a nurse and midwife, taking after her mother, Sarah.[154] Folklore attributed her to have delivered at least a thousand infants in her lifetime; she was a real asset to maternal health in Santa Clara and the towns that Jacob would settle later in life.[155] In another Jacob Hamblin autobiography written by Corbett, Ellen was described as Priscilla's personal servant, and in yet other sources, she was known as an adopted daughter.[156] The ambiguity here is

[152] Ibid. See also William McNiff, *Heaven on Earth: A Planned Mormon Society* (Philadelphia: Porcupine Press, Inc, 1972) for discussions of Mormon views on the importance of education to their society. This book devotes two chapters to Mormon education initiatives, their implementations and setbacks.
[153] Compton, *A Frontier Life*, 96-97.
[154] Colleen Arrott Carnahan, "Life Story: Sarah Priscilla Leavitt Hamblin: A Pioneer Midwife", accessed 12/30/14, https://familysearch.org/photos/documents/6234893?p=471673.
[155] Ibid.
[156] Pearson Corbett, *Jacob Hamblin: Peacemaker* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Books, 1952), 227.

paramount because it shows the fine line between an “adopted” child and a child at work in a domestic setting.

Either way, these two women had supposedly became close and developed a rapport with one another. Ellen, when probably in her late teens, was poisoned accidentally by a stick coated with tarantula poison. Her foot became infected and she eventually suffered a painful death.[157] Priscilla tended to her in this illness, and it was said that one night she awoke to find Ellen missing from her bed, curled up in front of her own on the floor as Priscilla slept—she wanted to be close to this women as comfort to her in her pain, or so her actions were explained by folklore. Yet we must question the closeness of their relationship. If Ellen was really ill, why would she not have woken Priscilla for comfort? Why would she not have crawled into bed with her adopted mother either? It may have been that Ellen and Priscilla were not as intimate as Priscilla's account and folklore makes it seem. In addition, the act of Ellen sleeping at the floor of Priscilla's bed is reminiscent of paternalistic slavery stories, in which a slave, out of “loyalty and affection”, would sleep at the master or mistress’s feet in these narratives.

Ellen died young but Eliza had a more convoluted history within the Hamblin family. Eliza was raised by Rachel Hamblin and these two women did not become as close in affection. Rachel, with nine children in her household, four from Jacob's previous spouse Lucinda, and five of her own biological children, also had to make room for Albert and the other Indian children that Jacob would come to adopt over time. Stretched thin, moving every few years or months further into the frontier, almost always pregnant, this woman would die at the age of forty three.[158] Though she had Priscilla's help often enough, Rachel's life was rough, and taking on more children not her own, and not even of her husband, would understandably be harder for this

[157] Compton, *A Frontier Life,* 116.
[158] Ibid., 485.

woman than Priscilla, who was sealed to Jacob in 1857 during the Mountain Meadows Massacre, explored in the next chapter. Thus, Rachel and Eliza did not develop a close relationship. Their relationship would become even more complicated as Eliza reached marriageable age in 1860. She was "sealed" to Jacob three years later, in 1863, in a ceremony in which she was celestially bound with Jacob, his other wives, and their children for the present and the thereafter. Eliza was Jacob's only "sealed" Indian wife, meaning she was the only Indian wife he took as a sanctioned plural marriage. In their plural marriage, Eliza often expressed her exasperation that Rachel did not accept her as an equal. Purportedly at one time of tension she haughtily responded to Rachel that "I am as much a wife as you are."[159] According to the Ira Hatch account, and as Compton also notes, Jacob adored Eliza as a wife.[160]

In the opinion of Jacob's other wives and descendants, however, there existed controversy over whether Jacob had ever taken an Indian wife at all. She went unmentioned as a wife in Priscilla's account; Compton cites a more complete copy of Priscilla's autobiography in which Jacob scoffs at taking a plural Indian wife, telling Brigham Young he would take one if Brigham Young did.[161] Here we may see Jacob's ambiguity and inconsistency within his relationships with his indigenous family members, or this is evidence of later family members changing the history to suit their own needs. Jacob's two other unsealed and unnamed Indian wives were further testament to Jacob's vagueness about these women's roles in his life.[162] It remains uncertain whether the unnamed wives had children with Jacob because he does not document his relationship with these women himself—the history of these women comes from another man's journal who do not mention if Jacob and these unnamed wives had children

[159]Compton's "Civilizing the Ragged Edge," 180 and Brooks "Indian Relations," 43.
[160] Compton, "Civilizing the Ragged Edge," 181.
[161] Ibid., 175.
[162] Ibid., 160.

together. The man who documented Jacob's relationships with these Indian wives was Frederick S. Dellenbaugh, who wrote in his own copy of Jacob's autobiography that "he had two sealed Paiute wives."[163] Compton failed to find other validation of Jacob's relationship with them, however. If they were sealed, they would have been recorded in Church records and easily verifiable. What Dellenbaugh took for "sealed" wives were probably women who lived with Jacob as reproductive partners, though they were not legitimate in the Mormon community nor in legal documents.

Yet we do have documentation of Jacob's relationship with Eliza. Their "sealing" is in stark contrast to the Indian women who were unnamed and unrecorded. Jacob was purportedly devastated when Eliza eventually left him to marry a Shivwits man.[164] Despite this apparent show in emotion; however, Eliza's choice to leave the Hamblins shows that Eliza felt unvalued in their marriage. Treated as someone who was less than a wife, and perhaps more like a concubine, Eliza's experience shows that she had higher expectations—expectations of equality—that were not fulfilled in the Hamblin household.

Though Albert, Eliza and Ellen may have remembered and respected their indigenous cultures, they were forced into the monoculture of the LDS community, a place in which they were alienated and sometimes unwelcome. As such, they may have relied on one another for support when they felt ostracized by those who they lived among. As Michael Kay Bennion[165] shows in his dissertation, "Captivity, Adoption, Marriage and Identity: Native American Children in Mormon Homes, 1847-1900," these children faced significant acculturation obstacles when integrating into Mormon society, while they also suffered from leaving their biological

[163] Ibid., 197-198.
[164] Ibid, 181.
[165] Of no relation to the aforementioned Bennions as far as I was able to tell.

kinship networks. The most prominent was disease—M.K. Bennion writes that we know of thirty-three causes of death out of a population of four-hundred and fifteen Native Americans who were adopted by Mormon families. Of the thirty-three known cases of deaths, over half of those died due to disease in childhood.[166] Albert, Eliza, and Ellen must have known of other adopted Indian children's tragic deaths in their community, seeing how widespread illnesses resulted in mortality for people in their age group. They must have found each other's company a comfort in times when disease had taken away friends, playmates, community members, or just a friendly face that could commiserate.

In sum, we see that Albert, Eliza, and Ellen were not treated equally to the Hamblin children. Without formal papers drawn for their indentures—the only legal mechanism for hosting American Indian children in the homes of Mormons during this time—Albert, Eliza, and Ellen lived in an ambiguous place in the Hamblin household. Straddling the identities that he may have come to accept within his early life, as both indigenous and Mormon, Albert may have gone into adolescence with deep confusion. Feeling loyal to an affectionate adopted father (though he was by far not a highly favored son) he was nonetheless marked as descendant of the White Knifes in the LDS community. This would continue to have relevance in his likely complicit role in the Mountain Meadows Massacre.

[166]Michael Kay Bennion, "Captivity, Adoption, Marriage and Identity: Native American Children in Mormon Homes, 1847-1900," (Master's Thesis, University of Nevada, 2012), 153.

Chapter Three

The Mountain Meadows Massacre, Visions & Death

"Two girls ran up the slope towards the east… John and I ran down and tried to save them…A man, who is an Indian doctor, also told the Indians to not kill them…[the Indians] pulled and pushed them way from the doctor, and shot them…" –Albert Hamblin, adopted son of Jacob Hamblin[167]

Albert reappears in Hamblin's autobiography during the crisis that would poison Mormon relationships with the wider United States and Paiute people or generations—the Mountain Meadows Massacre, the killing of around a hundred and twenty non-Mormon traveling settlers that took place on September 11, 1857. The Mountain Meadows Massacre will give us a window into Albert's perceptions, as we may ascertain through his actions and words what constituted his worldview. A US official recorded Albert's testimony about the Massacre, and through this source which is the closest we could get to Albert's own words, we are able to question why Albert was a main witness to, or perpetrator of, the Mountain Meadows Massacre. From this vantage point, chapter three will draw conclusions about Albert's viewpoint within the cultural borderlands of the Shoshone, Mormon, and United States. The chapter will next turn to look at the remainder of Albert's short life—he dies at an estimated age of twenty years—in order to continue to analyze Albert's construction of his identity and his place in LDS society.

The group of traveling settlers were led by Alexander Fancher and John Baker.[168] Their grouping was known as the Fancher-Baker Party as they traveled through the state now called

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[167] James 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...and report of the Hon. William C. Mitchell, relative to the seventeen surviving children who were brought back by the authorities of the U.S. after their parents and others, with whom they were emigrating, had been murdered*. Little Rock: True Democrat Steam Press Print, 1860.

[168] Bagley, *Blood of the Prophets,* 63.

Utah on his way to be "sealed" to his plural wife Priscilla.[169] They met right outside the settlement of Fillmore, and Hamblin cites in his personal journal retrospectively that George A. Smith, an apostle and First Counselor in the First Presidency of Brigham Young, said "some evle would be fall them before they got through."[170] Compton accurately, yet briefly, notes that some historians have taken this statement to mean that George A. Smith was the conduit through which Brigham Young ordered the execution of the traveling party.[171]

This group of emigrants were seeking a quicker route to California, where they believed they would encounter prosperity through claiming indigenous lands, mining for gold, or finding their way in the up-and-coming cities.[172] The Mormons who encountered the Fancher-Bakers envied their wealth. Their train and large herds as they were passing through the area revealed that they had means.[173] The poverty of the Southern Mormon settlements was one of the reasons that John D. Lee and others wanted to attack the Fancher-Baker Party. In so doing, they would be able to obtain their wealth in livestock, clothing, provisions, and children.

The US and Mormon societies had been diverging since the last decades of the 18th century which remains the broader explanation for the massacre. The immediate events leading to the Mountain Meadows Massacre must be examined and taken into account too to fully grasp the intricacies of the event. The beginnings of the conflict had of course spanned decades, as the

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[169] Compton, *A Frontier Life*, 99 and Appendix A. At this point, Jacob was divorced from Lucinda and only married to Rachel. Priscilla would become his first plural wife, with Eliza following years after. Jacob would go on to marry Louisa Bonelli in 1865 and two unnamed Paiute women from the years 1867-1877.
[170] Ibid., 98.
[171] Ibid.
[172] Will Bagley, *Blood of the Prophets: Brigham Young and the Massacre at Mountain Meadows* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), 61.
[173] "TESTIMONY OF PHILIP KLINGENSMITH IN THE FIRST TRIAL OF JOHN D. LEE July 23-24, 1875" *Testimonies in the Trial of John D. Lee*, Accessed at http://law2.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/mountainmeadows/klingensmithtestimony.html.

first chapter of this thesis shows. To begin, the federal government wanted to assert its hegemony in the Utah territory, and sent federal officials to administer the territory, putting them in direct confrontations with the Prophet Brigham Young. The US government had sent Judge Lemuel G. Bradenbury as one of these first federal officials who would instigate unfriendly relations with the general Mormon population, followed by a secretary Broughton D. Harris.[174] A second judge, Perry Brocchus, went to the Utah territory and "naively" gave a speech to three thousand Mormons about being patriotic toward the federal government. Mormons thought that he was insinuating that their polygamous ways of life made Mormon women impure and unchaste.[175] Brocchus, Bradenbury, and Harris became concerned about the state of their safety in Utah territory, and instead of staying to serve out their terms, immediately escaped with their lives.[176]

The date October 26th 1853 marked an event in which Pahvant Indians (relatives to the Ute tribe) murdered nine federal agents.[177]The next turn of events forms an important backdrop to the Mountain Meadows Massacre and the Utah War. Pahvant Indians massacred a "federal railroad paty" in retaliation for a different group of emigrants killing their own men. Brigham Young did not satisfactorily investigate the event, so President Pierce dispatched the US Army to investigate, led by a Lieutenant Colonel Edward J. Steptoe. His men "raised hell" the winter of 1854-55 in Salt Lake City through drunken riots and the seduction of young Mormon women.[178] Steptoe was also rumored to be the next appointed governor of Utah territory, which made him

[174] Will Bagley, *Blood of the Prophets*,43 and 65.
[175] Ibid. See also Arrington and Bitton, *The Mormon Experience*,164-168.
[176]Will Bagley, *Blood of the Prophets*, 43-65.
[177] Ibid. For information about Pahvants, see Nicholas J. Santoro, *Atlas of the Indian Tribes of North America and the Clash of Cultures* (Bloomington: iUniverse, 2009), 281.
[178] Ibid., 45.

and his troops that much more of an enemy to the Saints. Although he was eventually appointed as the territorial governor, Steptoe decided to remain the Lieutenant Colonel instead, and Young remained the federally appointed governor for the time being. Meanwhile, as Bagely explains, environmental destruction and the failure of Utah territory's bid for statehood preceded the period of Mormon Reformation.[179] This was a time in which Brigham Young called for the strictest religious observance amongst the Saints, using a widespread system of surveillance to ensure compliance.[180] As Bagely continues, one of the most unbelievable facets of this reformation was its "obsession with blood," and the call for blood atonement among the unredeemable.[181] Only those who did not merit this blood atonement were children below the age of eight years old, but any older would relegate the person to immediate bloodletting for their sins. According to Bagley, the settlers of Southern Utah were the most zealous, and as they were more often than not settlers from the Old South, they were also well acquainted with the violence that accompanied the slavery states.[182] The Southern Utah settlers had heard rumors from the winter of 1856-7 of an oncoming United States army and were wary of a war with the federal government in the near future.[183] This would later become the conflict known as the "Utah war." Amidst their poverty and the imminent threat of conflict with a well-trained, US army, the Southern Utah Mormon reaction to the Fancher-Baker train was perhaps a response to a real fear, not merely greed.

The Fancher-Baker settlers were also from an area of Arkansas notorious for the killing

[179] Ibid., 48-49.
[180] Ibid., 49. See also David L. Bigler, *Forgotten Kingdom: The Mormon Theocracy in the American West, 1847-1896* (Spokane: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1998) in his sixth chapter entitled "The Great Reformation."
[181] Ibid., 50.
[182] Ibid., 43.
[183] Ibid., 54.

of Mormon martyr Parley P. Pratt, though no one in the Fancher-Baker party could have committed or been involved in his murder; they had already begun journeying toward the west at the time of the murder.[184] This Fancher-Baker party traveled through the Mountain Meadows area, the valley where Hamblin pastured his personal herd, not too far from the Santa Clara Fort where his family spent the winter.[185] The group, with their rich holdings, vexed the surrounding Mormon settler population, especially in Cedar City, from whence came the order of extermination.[186] Historian Will Bagley has articulated that this group was most likely an agreeable group. They would have wanted to leave the Mormon's territory unscathed.[187] He argues that the men of the group was family oriented, not traveling bachelors. With their entire life's belongings in tow, the Fancher-Baker Party would not have had aims to intimidate the surrounding Mormon settlers. Bagley writes it would have been illogical for this party to have inspired the hostility of the Mormons who they came into contact with. However, he also notes that even if this group did not have ill aims toward the Mormons, many previous emigrant parties did. Other groups that preceded the Fancher-Bakery Party said that they had murdered the Prophets Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum, swore profusely, and were hostile to the Mormon settlers.[188] So, it may be surmised that these earlier groups inspired the prejudices of local Mormon settlers, leading them to believe that this specific group was no different in their stance toward the Saints' peculiarities and religious practices. Meanwhile, Brigham Young admonished his officials to rally the indigenous peoples of the Great Basin to their cause against the

[184] Walker, Turley, Leonard, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows*, 30-32, and Bagley, *Blood of the Prophets*, 68-72.
[185] Compton, *A Frontier Life*, 98
[186] Will Bagley, *Blood of the Prophets: Brigham Young and the Massacre at Mountain Meadows*, 118. See also David L. Bigler, *Forgotton Kingdom: The Mormon Theocracy in the American West, 1847-1896* (Spokane: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1998), 160-162.
[187] Ibid.
[188] Ibid.

oncoming US Army.[189] This, he felt, was the "gathering of the remnant" before the impending apocalyptic return of Jesus Christ.[190]

After a conversation with Apostle George A. Smith, in which John D. Lee came to understand that Brigham Young would want any emigrant train passing through the area to be attacked (but possibly not massacred), John D. Lee communicated this message with other local Mormon brethren, including Isaac Haight, the "president" of Cedar City.[191] Another rumor circulated through Southern Utah that the emigrants had poisoned Corn Creek outside of Fillmore and cattle meat, with the "purpose of killing the Indians."[192] The rumor followed that the Indians wanted to exact revenge on this emigrant group, and were plotting to murder them as soon as they could catch up to them. If this were true, reasons Bagley, this would provide "plausible motive" for Indians to attack the Fancher-Baker party. But, Bagley asserts that as a "respectable" group of people traveling through an area that they knew to be treacherous, they would have done no such thing.

With the rumors flying as a justification for an "Indian" attack on the emigrants, John D. Lee and Isaac Haight as well as a number of other Mormon leaders prepared for the battle, recruiting Paiute allies to their cause.[193] The attack on the emigrants, who had made their wagons into a "fort", lasted a total of five days before the massacre began. Though the Mormons, led by Lee, had had perhaps around forty to fifty Paiute allies in the beginning of the battle, the Paiutes

[189] Ibid., 82.
[190] Ibid.
[191] For discussion of Haight's position as president, see Ibid., 87 and David L. Bigler, *Forgotton Kingdom,* 163. There is disagreement between Bigler and Bagley about whether Brigham Young wanted the group to be attacked by Mormons. According to Bigler, Brigham Young wanted Mormons to stay out of a battle between the emigrants and the Indians, but Bagley said there was an understanding that Young did want them to be attacked in general.
[192] Ibid., 106.
[193] Ibid., 118

steadily left with loot and perhaps out of moral disapproval from the battle as the week wore on.[194] John D. Lee found the emigrants too tough to take down during this week of attack, and needed to devise a plan to get rid of the group, which had seen that Mormon men were conspiring with the Indians.[195] Lee gathered a group of his supporters and strategized a course of action that would allow them to kill everyone but the children of the party. The Mormons duplicitously called for a truce with the emigrants, and when they "surrendered their arms and fortifications," were separated into groups of men, women and children above the age of eight, and children who fell below that age, the Mormons massacred the first two groups.[196]

To safeguard their reputations, the Mormons had dressed up in Indian garb.[197] Indeed, the Mormons had actually failed to receive widespread support among the Cedar City settlers for Mormon attack against the Fancher-Baker train in their religious meeting on Sunday, September 6, 1867.[198] Thus, they used Indian dress to hide their actions not only from the wider world, but even from the LDS of their own community.

Use of Indian clothing allowed them to mask their atrocities under the guise of the "savage" identity of Indians themselves. The word "savage" is widely used in the literature of American Indian and white Americans relations in North America, but it hardly ever means just one thing. It may be the "noble savage" *à* la Rousseau, or the bloodthirsty, violent "savage" bent on destruction and disorder, as opposed to the white, civilized, world that was putatively ordered, hierarchical, and predictable. In this instance, the Mormons took on the "savage" identity to

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[194] Ibid., 128.
[195] Ibid., 134.
[196] Ibid., 143.
[197] "TESTIMONY OF PHILIP KLINGENSMITH IN THE FIRST TRIAL OF JOHN D. LEE July 23-24, 1875." Testimonies in the Trial of John D. Lee. Accessed at http://law2.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/mountainmeadows/klingensmithtestimony.html.
[198] Bagley, *The Blood of the Prophets: Brigham Young and the Massacre*, 126-127.

justify their brutal, murderous, actions against the Fancher party, because this "savageness" defied reason, logic, and order. Philip Deloria writes in his book *Playing Indian* that protesters used the dual identities of the noble and ignoble savage to riot against colonial authorities.[199] Settlers claimed that they were, in actuality, *indigenous*, at least compared to the British authorities of the colonies. In the Mountain Meadows Massacre, too, the Mormons were asserting their indigeneity in comparison with the Fancher party. This is yet another "transfer method" that settler-states uses to undermine the indigenous claims to their own land. As Veracini writes, "as settlers occupy native identities, indigenous people are transferred away."[200] Though Mormon folklore resolutely attributed the massacre to the Southern Paiutes for decades afterward, the trials of John D. Lee and the confession of one participant, Nephi Johnson, showed that the Mormons were the ones who had committed the murders.[201]

They killed everyone who was above the age of eight, because they didn't want survivors to report the details of the sequence of events that happened during the Massacre. And, as we have seen, children below the age of eight and below did not merit blood atonement for their sins. Bishop Philip Kligenmith testified in the trial of John. D. Lee that "that in order to finish the massacre they was to…spare nothing but the small children that could not tell the tale".[202] This meant that on September 11, 1857, there were a hundred and twenty murdered emigrants, with seventeen survivors, all children. The reasoning behind this was perhaps that younger

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[199] Philip Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 26.
[200] Veracini, *Settler Colonialism*, 47.
[201] Bagley, *The Blood of the Prophets: Brigham Young and the Massacre*, 304. As Bagley asserts, the evidence found in Lyman's journals have been the most important addition to the historiography of the massacre to come to the fore in the last few decades. For Nephi's confession, see D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994), 252.
[202] "TESTIMONY OF PHILIP KLINGENSMITH IN THE FIRST TRIAL OF JOHN D. LEE July 23-24, 1875." Testimonies in the Trial of John D. Lee. Accessed at http://law2.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/mountainmeadows/klingensmithtestimony.html.

children are prone to forget, are more susceptible to intimidation, and can be more easily assimilated into families, as the precedent of Indian adoptions showed. Klingensmith had a hand in taking the surviving seventeen children to the Hamblin residence. Rachel Hamblin treated the children's wounds and washed the blood of their relatives off of their bodies. Three sisters, girls by the names of Rebecca, Louisa, and Sara Dunlap remained with the Hamblins. Brevet Carleton and W.M. Mitchell, acting on behalf of the federal government, later rescued these Dunlap sisters in 1859.[203] As for the other children, Kligensmith drove them to the home of a midwife who helped him to distribute them to Mormon families who either lacked children because of fertility problems or wanted more children for their potential labor. Kligensmith testified that:

> "I stopped with these children and she [the midwife] rustled around and got places next day, and I think I took one home - I think I took one home or got it afterwards, I don't know which - a nice little baby girl, and my woman raised it-suckled it. And afterwards that child was give to Birkbeck at Cedar City because they had no children."[204]

But Kligensmith could not remember the exact locations of where each of the Fancher-Baker party surviving children took residence, nor did he make records on how the children were doing. The expectation was that these children were to disappear into the Mormon families, the shame of their arrival in the Mormon community would be hushed up, and their memory of their past families forgotten, somewhat like the acculturation process of the Indian adopted children in many Mormon households.

The Hamblins were a prime household to take these orphaned children. As Jacob was a prominent figure in the LDS Church as a missionary—who had not been entangled in this

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[203] James 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...and report of the Hon. William C. Mitchell, relative to the seventeen surviving children who were brought back by the authorities of the U.S. after their parents and others, with whom they were emigrating, had been murdered* (Little Rock: True Democrat Steam Press Print, 1860).
[204] Ibid.

massacre—his home was appropriate. Furthermore, his household had a precedent of taking Indian children. The Hamblins had experience with adopting and providing sustenance and instruction to adopted children, so placing the Dunlap girls in the Hamblin household made sense. A close analysis of his deposition with Carleton will reveal Albert's complicated assimilation. Through this testimony, we may see what Albert *says* he did during the Massacre, although we know that many of the members complicit in the murderous event later lied to federal authorities and even to their families about what had happened during that time.[205] Nevertheless, the examination of Albert's own words, though mediated through Carleton, are integral to understanding how he constructed his sense of self.

On May 20th, 1859, two years after the massacre, Albert arrived at Carleton's camp at the Mountain Meadows, sent by Jacob. Carleton noted that he spoke "very good English" and that he was now seventeen or eighteen years old.[206] Carleton records Albert's rendition of the events as they happened on the day of the Massacre, although he notes that he had to cross-examine Albert heavily.[207] Albert said that he was tending his father's sheep when the emigrants first traveled past him in the Mountain Meadows. As it got darker, he brought the sheep home and went to gather firewood along with another Indian boy, John, who "lived with a man named Sam Knight."[208] Sam Knight was heavily involved in the massacre, and it is thus very likely that this boy John who "lived" with him was also participated. John's affiliation with Albert that day made it likely that he was too part of the massacre.[209] Especially because the Mormons who perpetuated the massacre were dressed like Southern Paiutes, it is not a large leap to postulate

[205] Will Bagley, *Blood of the Prophets: Brigham Young and the Massacre*, 155.
[206] James Carleton, *Special Report*, 12-17.
[207] Ibid.
[208] Ibid.
[209] Bagley, *Blood of the Prophets: Brigham Young and the Massacre*, 128.

that the Mormons would insist that Albert and John join in the massacre. As almost fully grown men of indigenous descent, they would fit in with the Mormon's cover-up story quite well. Moreover, we do know that another indigenous adopted son was heavily involved in the massacre. The adopted Paiute son or indentured servant of John D. Lee served as interpreter between the Paiutes who had joined the Mormons in the massacre, and went by the name of Clem.[210]

Albert continues with the narrative: "After the train had been camped at this spring three nights, the fourth day, in the morning just before light, when we were all abed at the house, I was waked up by hearing a good many guns fired. I could hear guns fired every little while all day, until it was dark. Then I did not know what had been done." Here, Albert acknowledges the beginning of the dispute, when the Fancher-Baker Party and Mormons dressed as Southern Paiutes, along with Southern Paiute allies, began the fight. The Fancher-Bakers were not out of food and water at this point, but with over a hundred people to feed and hydrate, it was only a matter of time before the group began to grow weak and worry about the effects of severe dehydration.[211] Albert continues, "During the day, as we, John and I, sat on a hill herding sheep, we saw the Indians drive off all the stock, and shoot some of the cattle; at the same time we could see shooting going on down around the train; the emigrants shooting from the *carrol* of wagons, and Indians shooting at them from the tops of the hills all around. In this way they fought for about a week." This statement seems to be accurate, aside from the fact that he portrays the assailants as only Paiutes. Albert, whether involved in the fighting or not, showed the lay of the land during battle.

[210] Ibid., 125.
[211] Ibid., 131.

The next statement given by Albert underscores his acceptance of settler-colonial language and its implications for himself as well as other indigenous peoples. By the time the massacre occurred on the fifth day of fighting, most of the Southern Paiute allies had ceased to be a part of the conflict. "I asked an Indian what he was killing those people for. He was mad, and told me unless I kept my mouth shut he would kill me!" In this quote, Albert concurs with the rampant stereotypes dispersed by colonizers of native peoples as violent, bloodthirsty, "savages," bent on destruction and the acquisition of the emigrant's belongings.[212] This brings up one of this chapter's essential questions: why did Albert use such language to indict and construct an image by describing the Southern Paiutes in this manner?

He next describes that Mormon men came to "observe" the massacre in order to claim cattle from the emigrants.[213] Albert then begins talking about the massacre on the 11th, as opposed to the first few days of the fighting, but blames the entire act of annihilation on Southern Paiutes:

> "One afternoon, near night, after they had fought nearly a week, John and I saw the women and children, and some men, leave the wagons and go up the road toward our house. There were no Indians with them. John and I could see where the Indians were hid in the oak bushes and sage right by the side of the road a mile or more on their route, and I said to John, I would like to know what the emigrants left their wagons for, as they were going into a 'worse fix than ever they saw.' The women were on ahead with the children. The men were behind. Altogether it was a big crowd. Soon as they got to the place where the Indians were hid in the bushes, each side of the road, the Indians pitched right on them, and commenced shooting them with guns, bows and arrows, and cut some of the men's throats with knives." [214]

[212] James Carleton, *Special Report*, 12-17
[213] Ibid.
[214] Ibid.

One of Albert's most important statements within this part of his testimony is that he didn't understand why the emigrants had left their wagons. This may have been a calculated confusion to cover up the treachery, or it may have been genuine confusion about why the Fancher-Bakers left their wagon-fort formation. We cannot determine what Albert knew or what he didn't know, but evaluating the facts may show why Albert posed the narrative of the massacre in this way.

First, what we do know is that Albert watching the weeks-long battle. From the later trial of John D. Lee, confessions of conspirators, and Southern Paiute oral history, we know that the Fancher-Bakers were *not* assailed by Paiutes. The fact that he testifies that the Indians jumped out from bushes to massacre the Fancher-Baker Party is thus false. So, casting the assertion that Paiute Indians massacred the Fancher-Baker Party aside, we must re-evaluate. From Albert's witness of the events, he must have seen John D. Lee approach the Fancher-Baker's with a flag of truce, as was previously discussed in this chapter. Albert then saw that the Fancher-Bakers were split into groups according to age and gender, and then massacred. Thus, it is highly likely that Albert knew that the treachery was the method through which the Mormons annihilated the Fancher-Baker Party. And for this reason, it was vital to hide the treachery from Carleton, who was evaluating the Mormons' role in the massacre.

Albert had to obfuscate the reality: that John D. Lee and other Mormons had tricked the Fancher-Baker party into a truce, and mischievously offered their protection to the Fancher-Baker party so they would cease fighting. Either as a participant or a witness, Albert must have had to ensure that he did not indict himself or the Mormon militia men in any way. This may be why he said in his interview with Carleton that he was "confused" as to why the Fancher-Baker Party left their wagons. So as the deposition continues, and Albert relays the carnage of the

emigrants, it is essential to keep in mind that Albert is most likely covering his own tracks while relaying the sequence of the events to Carleton. He continues:

> "The women scattered and tried to hid[e] in the bushes, but the Indians shot them down; two girls ran up the slope towards the east, about a quarter of a mile; John and I ran down and tried to save them; the girls hid in some bushes. A man, who is an Indian doctor, also told the Indians not to kill them. The girls hung around him for protection, he trying to keep the Indians away. The girls were crying out loud. The Indians came up and seized the girls by their hands and their dresses, and pulled and pushed them away from the doctor, and shot them."[215]

What is important to note from this sequence of events is that the two "Indians" who shot the girls were most likely Mormon men dressed as Paiutes, while the "Indian doctor" must have been a man of religious or shamanistic importance to the Paiutes of the region. The indigenous shaman's actions show that he was against the violent actions in the first place. This underscores a large hole in Albert's commitment to telling the tale as the sole actions of the Southern Paiutes. If the shaman was against it, it is likely that many Paiutes would never have taken part in the event. And, as we know from the court trials that occurred thereafter and the oral histories, the Southern Paiutes were not the perpetrators of this massacre, even if they had taken part in some of the initial fighting.[216] In fact, it seems that they took part in the initial fighting, but men such as the shaman later came to the conclusion that the violence was immoral, which is why the majority of the Southern Paiute collaborators had left the scene before this massacre occurred. Albert himself was actually accused of the murder of these two girls by their sisters Rebecca and Louisa Dunlap, supporting the suspicion that he was a participant in the massacre.[217] In the second trial of John D. Lee, Jacob testifies that the two sisters of Rebecca and Louisa were

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[215] Ibid.
[216] Logan Hebner, *Southern Paiute: A Portrait* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2010), 9.
[217] James Carleton, *Special Report*, 7.

actually killed by John D. Lee and a Paiute chief.[218] It is possible that Jacob wanted to put the blame on Lee and an ambiguous chief in order to safeguard Albert's reputation (but probably more his own reputation, because Albert was no longer alive at the time of John D. Lee's trial). Though it is important to consider the young ages of these girls when the event happened, the evidence is telling. Albert continued his deposition by relaying the rest of his story:

> "other Indians down by the road had got nearly through killing all the others…the Indians stripped the naked bodies....When Father (Jacob Hamblin) came back, I came down with him on to the ground. The bodies were all buried there, so *we could not see any*. There were plenty of wolves around. The two girls had been buried also; and I did not show them to father. The Indians buried the bodies, taking spades from the wagons…"

In Carleton's interview with Jacob, Jacob said that the bodies were left unburied, with wolves actively tearing at the decaying human flesh.[219] Carleton points out that Albert's story was clearly concocted, and this testament was one of the blatant points of contention that showed that Albert was trying to obscure his or the Mormon's actions. Jacob wrote in his journal that the bodies were buried very minimally but by the time he had come back from marrying Priscilla in the Endowment House and had Albert take him to look at the scene at the massacre, "the wolves had dug open the heaps, dragged out the bodies, and were then tearing flesh from them. I counted 19 wolves at one of these places…The most of the bodies were stripped of their clothing, [and] were then in a state of putrefaction."[220] Carleton himself observed that the bodies were left unburied, and archaeological evidence shows that wolves had left indentations in the bones of the victims.[221] Albert leaving out the fact that the bodies had been unburied by the wolves

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[218] Mountain Meadows Association, "Jacob Hamblin Testimony," Testimony of John D. Lee, accessed 1/5/2015, http://www.mtn-meadows-assoc.com/hamblin.htm.
[219] James Carleton, *Special Report*, 8.
[220] Compton, A Frontier Life, 103.
[221] Shannon A. Novak and Derinna Kopp, "To Feed a Tree in Zion: Osteological Analysis of the 1857 Mountain Meadows Massacre" *Historical Archaeology*, Vol. 37, No. 2 (2003), 100.

underscores yet another inconsistency in his deposition, suggesting that this was information that Albert wanted to hide. Compton also notes that in the second trial of John D. Lee, who was later the only Mormon to be put to trial for the massacre, Jacob Hamblin said that Albert *did*, in fact, show him the bodies of the two little girls who were supposedly killed by Lee and an "Indian chief."[222] Why did Albert not include this detail, either?

From this close examination of Albert's testimony with Carleton, we see that Albert may have been full participant in the Mountain Meadows Massacre, and most certainly complied with the Mormon cover-up story. Though he and indigenous peoples throughout the Great Basin were being displaced by Mormon settlers, facing starvation, disease, slavery, and other untold abuses, Albert identified with his Mormon conspirators and community members. Albert did not view himself as an indigenous person of the same type as the indigenous peoples who stayed with their family members and maintained traditional language, food, culture, and kinship ties.

Albert conformed to the cover-up story for a few reasons. The first one may be obvious to one's first thought. If he was a conspirator, a perpetrator of murder, then he was conforming to the cover-up story to safeguard his own reputation and life. He had no choice but to agree and re-tell the story if he wanted to live! This may be for two reasons: one, if he admitted he was part of the massacre, he might have been charged by the federal government and executed for his part in the massacre; secondly, even if he were to admit that there was a cover-up, he would face retribution from the Mormon community to which he had grown to love. Even if he was a witness, and not a participant, he was probably sworn to secrecy or intimidated into secrecy by

[222] Mountain Meadows Association, "Jacob Hamblin Testimony," Testimony of John D. Lee, accessed 1/5/2015, http://www.mtn-meadows-assoc.com/hamblin.htm.

the Mormon community.

Still, there must be more analysis of his incrimination of the Southern Paiutes in this massacre's cover-up story. As the question was posed above—why did he use the language of the settlers against a group of indigenous people? Albert, of Shoshone White Knife descent, was of indigenous descent, that is true, but he was not indigenous to the Mountain Meadows area. As the White Knifes were considered a part of the Northwestern Shoshone, they called a different area of the Great Basin their homeland. When he was bought by Jacob outside of what came to be known as Tooele, in northwestern Utah, he was in the lands that were considered indigenous to himself and his kinsfolk. Although a fluid interpretation of Shoshone homelands is necessary, this generalization helps us to understand perhaps why Albert identified more with the Mormon settlers, as he was perhaps one himself in Southern Paiute territory.

The most telling reason, as argued by this thesis, was that the doctrine of the "Lamanites" was foundational to framing Albert's worldview, which may have become his justification for his possible participation in the massacre and pinning it on the Southern Paiutes in Carleton's report. Unlike other Christian religions that had come to proselytize to indigenous peoples in the Americas, this specific religion was unique because of its "Lamanite"-focused millenarianism. Albert may have truly believed that he had a carved-out place in Mormon society, as opposed to being a second-class citizen in a settler-colonial regime. Because Jacob had always signaled out Albert as a special, adopted, indigenous son, Albert may have been convinced of his role as a "redeemed" Lamanite. Albert was not alone in inhabiting this ambiguous territory within the Mormon settler-state, certainly other indigenous adopted children in Mormon society did as well. One may recall Ellen Hamblin, the adopted Indian girl who lived with Priscilla. But when considering the history of Eliza within the Hamblin household, we see how individuals varied in

their assimilation or resistance to assimilation even within the same households.

Albert becomes a Visionary Mormon

During the winter months after the Mountain Meadows Massacre in 1857, Albert apparently approached Jacob with a vision about his role in bringing the gospel to other indigenous peoples. As it was written in Jacob's personal journal, Albert walked home with a herd of sheep when he spotted an individual standing by the road "dressed in a white robe that shown so brilliant that I could not look at it long...[he said] not to be afraid, but to be a good boy and there was many blessings for me."[223] He then reported that he was brought into heaven "where there was butiful buildings—the most butiful that I ever saw." Led into heaven's gates that "looked so much like fire," he was led to see his deceased grandfather (Jacob's father) and eventually, "shown the situation of the indians, or as they told me, "My people." This person told me that I must come back and some day bear witness to all the indians on the earth and try and bring them to occupy the same sphere that his glorious personage did that I was with."[224]

In his young adult years, it seems that Albert grew to accept the LDS religion and its idiosyncratic place of the "Lamanites" in its religious theology. Visions are ubiquitous in Mormon journals and folklore, and though it is impossible to assess their veracity, they did convey important social and religious messages that can help us to explore the visionary's psychology, personal relationships, and community. Moreover, the fact that this was written in Jacob's diary and in his hand means that some of the meaning may be lost in translation, while other details may have been added by Jacob. Indeed, we do not know if Jacob was writing fact or fiction in this story, although we do know that other facts in Albert’s life seem to corroborate that he would have had visions and dreams such as these. Overall, the vision suggests that Albert has

[223] Compton, *A Frontier Life*, 114.
[224] Ibid.

a particular viewpoint about himself and his role in LDS society, as well as the position of other indigenous people.

Though we have seen previously that Albert was no stranger to violence against non-Mormons—in the massacre against American settlers and the incrimination of Paiutes by Mormons—the vision described above has seemingly benign intentions: in Jacob's eyes, Albert sees himself as a "savior" to Indian peoples. What is telling, is that instead of knowing the "situation of the indians" from his personal experience of environmental disaster and destitution, he had to be "shown" that their ways of life were threatened by settlers. Moreover, Albert does not designate which specific indigenous groups he would be a leader to, showing that either Jacob or Albert or both may have internalized the unitary designation of all Indians as "Lamanites" with no other distinction necessary. Perhaps this shows, if this is indeed a narrative that was Albert's creation, that he was not so multicultural when thinking about the indigenous peoples of the Great Basin. In the end, however, it seems that this vision led him to see himself as both a Mormon and an Indian, perhaps an identification that he lacked before he experienced this supposed vision.

In 1860, young Albert, well versed in Mormon beliefs but lacking in education, went to Salt Lake City to be taught by Brigham Young. Jacob admitted that Albert did not spend much time learning how to read and write while living with the Hamblins.[225] Albert wanted to proselytize to the White Knifes, and Jacob thought it prudent to send him to Brigham Young in order for the young man to learn from the religion's highest authority. In addition, Jacob knew that the ultimate decision of who would proselytize to the White Knifes was Brigham's. Jacob asked the prophet if he would instruct and house Albert for a year to prepare him for a mission to

[225]Ibid.,169-170.

the White Knifes. He admonished Brigham to treat him as a father would. Apparently, Brigham did treat Albert with respect; Albert was made an "Elder" in the Church, meaning that he was given a place of respect within the church hierarchy as well as formal responsibility.[226] However, he was made an "Elder" of the lower priesthood order for his Indian heritage.[227]

A year later, Albert arrived home in Santa Clara, where he wrote a letter to Brigham Young. Revealing his poor writing skills, which had grown nonetheless to at least match Jacob's level of written communication, Albert writes to Brigham about his studies and personal relationship with prayer while back at the Hamblin home.[228] The letter talks about a fight by a few Paiute men over an Indian woman in which she was stabbed three times; the altercation had to be broken up by Jacob, but the fate of the woman was not revealed. Of all the things Albert could have written to a religious leader, it seems strange that he would have written about a fight over a woman, particularly an Indian woman. Why would Albert make this the topic of his letter? Firstly, it may be a reflection on how violence permeated Santa Clara culture, especially violence by and toward indigenous peoples. Secondly, as a young man now, probably around the age of nineteen, Albert seems to have taken an interest in the way that men and women interacted in his community. At a marriageable age, Albert at this time in his life, probably looked for a young woman with whom he could marry and start a household with. Yet, Albert never does get married.

In his Master's Thesis entitled "Captivity, Adoption, Marriage, and Identity: Native American Children in Mormon Homes: 1847-1900" M.K. Bennion explores how indigenous

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[226] Ibid.
[227] Nemo, "Albert Hamblin," *Latter-Day Saint Millenial Star*, December 5th 1887, accessed 3/30/2015, http://books.google.com/books?id=gI9JAAAAYAAJ&q=%22albert+hamblin%22#v=onepage&q=774&f=false. For discussion about the lower order of the Priesthood, called the Aaronic Priesthood, see William McNiff, *Heaven on Earth: A Planned Mormon Society* (Philadelphia: Porcupine Press, Inc, 1972), 26-27.
[228] Compton, *A Frontier Life*, 192.

children formed their own identities within Mormon society, especially as they matured into reproductive ages. He shows that marriage remained an unsuccessful event in the lives of adopted males as they grew into men, and of many women of indigenous descent. The now-adult indigenous and Mormon men were unlikely to marry within the community, with native women or otherwise, and stay married.[229] Though M.K. Bennion's thesis is an exemplary addition to the historiography, the inclusion of settler-colonialism as a theoretical paradigm would have been another way to analyze the multitude of life experiences of adopted indigenous children. In particular, settler-colonial studies shows a nuanced understanding that the settler-state seeks continually to eliminate native competitors—through genocide, systematic economic and political disenfranchisement, as well as through limiting reproduction—in order to secure land and power. Allowing indigenous peoples to reproduce, especially men, would allow them to lay claim to lands and resources that settlers wanted for themselves. [230] In the mythology of the settler-state continues to see the indigenous adopted children who grow into adulthood are largely as dependents on the settler patriarch who raised them. In the case of Albert, we see that he persists as unmarried, with talk of his marriage not entering the literature of the Hamblin family.

We can postulate that Albert's life as a young man in the Hamblin home was nominally stable (between frequent moves further into Indian lands). The lack of information surrounding Albert's relationship with his adopted mothers can only lead us to imagine a life in which the Hamblin's domestic labor was split by gender. Priscilla does not mention him extensively in her autobiography. Imagination may lead to an approximate depiction of Albert's daily life as a

[229] Michael Kay Bennion, "Captivity, Adoption, Marriage and Identity: Native American Children in Mormon Homes, 1847-1900," (Master's Thesis, University of Nevada, 2012).
[230] Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 4 (December 2006), 387-409.

young adult in the Hamblin residence(s). He would wake early in the morning, grab a loaf of bread, and if he was lucky, butter, to take with him to tend to the livestock. As an older boy in the household, he probably had the responsibility of waking the others, and they all followed suit in taking bread and leaving the house. If Jacob was not on a mission or tending to community matters, he would join them for the afternoon, where he would likely expound on his journeys, his spiritual beliefs, and personal visions. Maybe Hamblin's biological children would leave Albert to watch the livestock in the afternoons to attend school lessons, while Albert was left alone with Jacob. It may have been in a scenario such as this that Albert and Jacob grew closer together, and where Albert obtained the inspiration to be like his adopted father and preach to his indigenous kin.

Although we never learn if he carried out a mission to the White Knifes as he had hoped, Albert does go on a mission to the Hopis in 1862 with Jacob.[231] This was a mission of extreme hardship—climbing several mountain ranges, crossing the Colorado River, and the desert without water for four days, the near-starvation of their horses (and themselves)—until their arrival to the Hopis. After staying for a religious festival, the Mormon missionaries began the treacherous return to Utah. They left three missionaries among the Hopis, and were surprised that the Hopis allowed four Hopis to go with the Mormons to Utah.[232] Jacob would travel with the four Hopi emissaries to Salt Lake City, where they met with Brigham Young and other Church officials and spoke about establishing a Mormon settlement near the Hopis.[233]

This visit would also be one in which Jacob planned to marry Eliza and Ellen, his adopted Indian daughters, in the Endowment House. Ellen decided she did not want to, but Eliza

[231] Compton, *A Frontier Life*, 209.
[232] Ibid., 217.
[233] Ibid., 223.

was sealed to Jacob and his family "for eternity," according to Mormon beliefs.[234] At this point, Eliza had been cohabiting with Jacob as a wife for three years, while Ellen had not been. That Ellen's preferences were honored in this scenario remains a key yardstick for judging the Hamblin home. In another family, it is possible that Ellen may have been forced to go through with the ceremony. At the same time, if these were "adopted" daughters living within the Hamblin home, if Jacob had been raising them as his "daughters" during this time period, it is understandable that Ellen did not want to marry him. In fact, it raises questions about how Jacob had entered into a marriage arrangement with Eliza in the three years that they were unsealed as husband and wife. The transition of "daughter" or "domestic servant" to sexual partner underscores the aims of the Mormon settler state to divert the indigenous from reproducing their own culture, economy, and claims to lands; instead, indigenous women such as Eliza were co-opted into reproduction for the settler state through a reproductive relationship.

In 1863, after his return from the Hopis, but before Jacob made his way back to the Mesas with the Hopis for the second time, Jacob and Albert had their last conversation before Albert's death. Jacob mentioned how warmer weather was approaching, and spring would bring the blooming of the peach trees on their estate. Albert apparently replied, "Yes, and I shall bloom in another place before you get back. I shall be on my mission!" Jacob asked him to elaborate, and Albert said "that I shall be dead and buried when you get back."[235] This was written in Jacob's autobiography as edited by Little. That Albert constantly and consistently reappears in Jacob's autobiography underscores Albert's place in Mormon mythology—he was a pedagogical tool for Jacob and Little. Throughout the autobiography, there are no other mention of the other

[234] Ibid.
[235] Little, *Jacob Hamblin*, 81.

indigenous “family” members. Why is this? A continued evaluation of Albert’s vision of death will show that Jacob had a larger message for the supposedly prescient Albert.

If this narrative is an accurate portrayal of Albert’s premonition, then Albert was right—he would soon die. As Compton explains, there exists controversy about Albert's cause of death. One the one hand, Priscilla conjectured that Albert was murdered because of his role in the Mountain Meadows Massacre, and that the Mormons who had taken part in it wanted to ensure he would not be alive during the upcoming trials to testify. She explained in her autobiography that, "Because Albert had been the main eyewitness to the terrible massacre for Jacob and other authorities, he had a hard time adjusting to life again...I have always felt that some of those involved in the tragedy were the ones who made sure that Albert didn't live to testify at the court trial. He was found dead in a cactus patch."[236] Writing her autobiography in her old age, Priscilla may have felt at that point of her life that she could speak more honestly about Albert's death. Corbett’s account, on the other hand, said that he had died of pneumonia, and seemingly, Jacob adopted chose to reproduce a narrative of Albert’s sickliness in his autobiography.[237]

By asserting that Albert died of sickness, and indeed predicted his own death, Jacob distributes a metaphor of the “vanishing Indian” to those who read and continue to read his autobiography. Jacob has Albert predict his own death, and in so doing, shows how a “good Indian” realizes that they are a “dying race.” Veracini outlines this transfer method as “Narrative Transfer” in which settlers lament the “vanishing of indigenous people.”[238]

[236] Compton, *A Frontier Life*., 234.
[237] Ibid.
[238] Veracini, *Settler Colonialism*, 41.

The seemingly caring relationship between the adopted father and son is part of Jacob's agenda. While he at once cares for Albert and has a close personal relationship with him, Jacob at the same time believes that Albert would in no way become a reproductive member of Mormon society. Albert was always bound to be a "vanishing Indian." Ellen too was mythologized as a "vanishing Indian"—memorialized as a "good girl" in her relationship with Priscilla. Ellen, however, would not be written into Jacob's autobiography perhaps because of her closer ties to the women of the household, as well as her refusal to become one of Jacob's wives.

Whether Jacob understood and consciously propagates it, or subconsciously dispersed it through this narrative—this fact remains unknown. What we do know is that this stereotype had deep ramifications for native people who lived in Mormon settler society. Albert may have been murdered in cold blood for his participation, or at least his witness, of the Mountain Meadows Massacre. A community that he had apparently come to love and respect thus may have turned on him. In a time of self-preservation, Albert may have been cast as the outsider who the community could not trust enough to represent them in a court of law.

Conclusion

Albert's History and Memory

"Knowing how greatly interested children are in Indian stories I venture to write them this one about Albert an Indian boy the adopted son of Jacob Hamblin the great pioneer and Indian interpreter..."—Nemo in *the LDS Millenial Star*[239]

Reconstructing Albert's life story through educated guesses about his own beliefs and perceptions matters because his life was one that was told and *retold* to a wide audience. In a one-sided narration of Albert's story, found in Jacob's autobiography, the celebrated Albert dies a nonviolent, predicted, and peaceful death. He became a martyr for Mormon settlement in Utah. Because Mormons propagated the idea that Albert and his kindred were "vanishing," adherents of the LDS Church could claim indigenous lands because they were "uninhabited."

Moreover, we lose the complexity of the history when we do not consider all the sources—all the possibilities of his life and death. Unfortunately, Albert may have been considered on the fringe of the Mormon community while alive, so much so that he may have been murdered in order to ensure that the secrets that he had been privy to would not be let out. During the trial of John D. Lee, the only man who would face public scrutiny for his leadership in the massacre, other men were petrified that Albert would slip and show in court that they were involved in the massacre. Albert never lived to see this day. But even if Albert had not been murdered, and died of sickness, Albert was and continues to be remembered with a specific

[239] Nemo, "Albert Hamblin," *Latter-Day Saint Millenial Star,* December 5th 1887, accessed 3/30/2015, http://books.google.com/books?id=gI9JAAAAYAAJ&q=%22albert+hamblin%22#v=onepage&q=774&f=false.

agenda by many in the Mormon community. He was the "righteous Indian," sacralized in the community as evidence and justification for their religious beliefs and possession of Great Basin Indian's lands. On Monday, December 5th, 1887, twenty-four years after his death, Albert's story reappears in the *Latter-Day Saint Millenial Star*, a British Mormon publication. The article reproduced the myths of Albert as the "vanishing Indian" to a wider audience through its brevity and light-hearted tone.[240]

What is lost in this narrative is that Albert's mother and White Knife Shoshone kin were quickly becoming impoverished by the Mormon settlement that wrought havoc on their traditional environment. Through their own network of kin the White Knifes may have sought to find methods of survival in a time of such disaster. In order to live with the damage of settlers' horses, livestock, trains, farms, homes, and laws, which was changing the environment that they had known from what they considered to have been the beginning of time, they may have reached out to Jacob. They may have attempted to forge bonds with Jacob through the creation of fictive kinship. But to Jacob, evangelization was the sieve through which he masked his double goals of increasing his household's labor sources as well as claiming indigenous lands for the Mormon settler-state.

Even so, Albert may have built a life of meaning for himself. Despite the sharp separation he faced as a child with his indigenous culture, and in spite of his position in LDS society as different but "redeemed," he may have created a home with the Hamblins out of his own agency. He may have grown to fiercely defend and love this family as a witness to, or perpetrator, of the Mountain Meadows Massacre. As a devout believer in the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-

[240] Ibid.

Day Saints, Albert may have seen himself as a blessed “Lamanite” and wanted to bring his indigenous kin into the folds of what he felt was an accepting, compassionate church. He may not have seen himself as a member of a dying race—rather as a man with a complex identity. Indian and Mormon. It tragic stroke of history that brought him into a community that either turned on him physically, through murder, and definitely through his memorialization—where he became remembered as the Indian boy who disappeared.

His story is one example of the complex life of indigenous children living and working in Mormon households. His “vanishing” was one justification for Mormon claims on indigenous lands. But his story also highlights the agency of native peoples who sought indigenous solutions to the environmental disaster invoked by Mormon settlement.

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