



a short note from

BETTY G. SPENCER

Dear Juanita:

I hope you still believe that
all things come to those who
wait!

Sorry to be so slow in returning your picture and these clippings. I managed to get all the copy to the newspapers before I entered the hospital for a series of operations, just before Roundup.

I had extra pictures made and have enclosed the two which were returned, along with the negative.

Wish I could have heard your talk at Roundup those who were there thought it the greatest.

Sincerely, *Betty*

(The picture on the other side is of the
"El morro" - a fortress built around
1500 to protect the San Juan Bay from
Pirates.)

Dear Folks -

The message is the same
in Spanish or English. We wish
for you a merry Christmas, and
a Happy New Year!

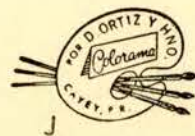
Please send the enclosed pictures
on to Jeannie's folks after you
get through looking at them, and
ask them to return them to ~~us~~
please. Here's Jeannie's last letter home too!

Deseándole
unas Alegres Navidades

y un

Feliz Año Nuevo

Kay, Jeannie & Brian.



Gloriosa NAVIDAD

Dear Inanita,

I've neglected you and missed the contact. A forced month of rest last summer remedied a heart reaction I had in California. Then the loss of my sister (quite suddenly) and an attack of pneumonia made me a bit too blue to write. But I am well now and better than I have been for a long time.

Will you be getting up this way any time? If so do let me know so we can

plan an evening of the "liberals" at least. Remember I always have room.

Season's Greetings

C HOBBIM TOAOM

Meilleurs Voeux

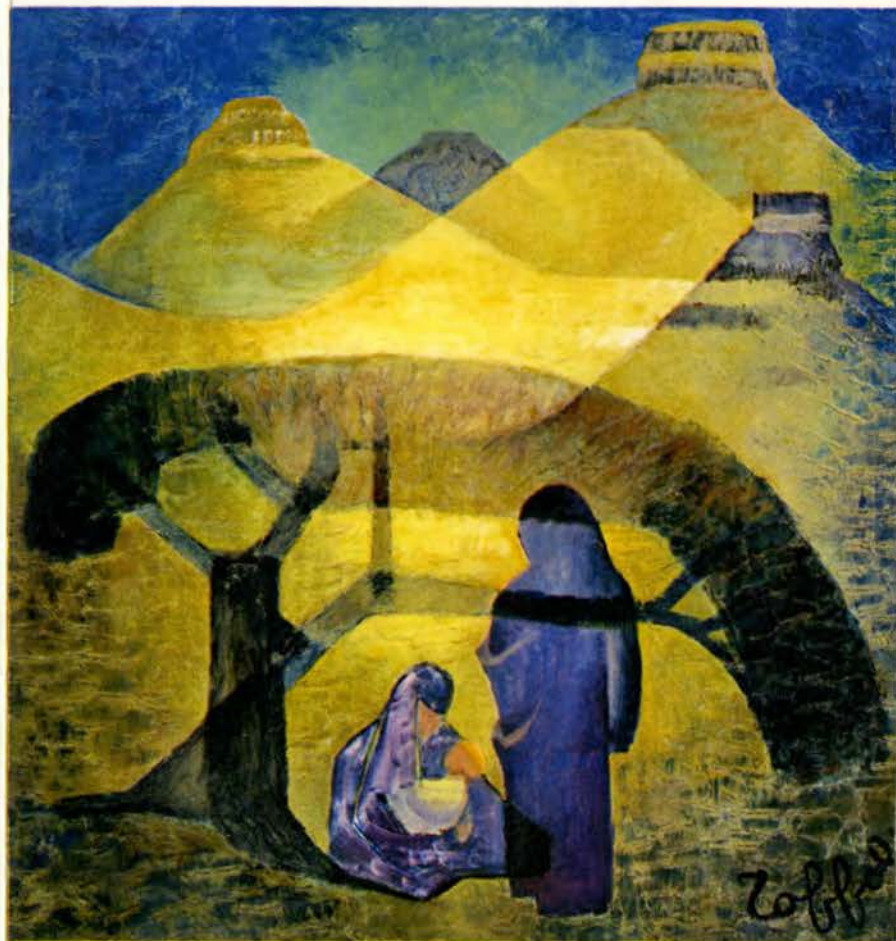
Feliz Año Nuevo

I still hope you will do Brigham Young. Please protect your health and your time to study and write.

Merry Christmas and Happy New Year

Love, Loue

★ Rest in the Desert . . . design contributed by Louis Toffoli of France to benefit UNICEF, the United Nations Children's Fund. ★ Halte dans le désert . . . composition offerte au Fonds des Nations Unies pour l'Enfance par l'artiste français Louis Toffoli. ★ Descanso en el desierto . . . obra de Louis Toffoli de Francia. Contribución al UNICEF, el Fondo de las Naciones Unidas para la Infancia. ★ Отдых в пустыне. Рисунок Луи Тоффоли, Франция, преподнесенный в дар Детскому фонду Организации Объединенных Наций (ЮНИСЕФ). ★ 沙漠中的休息...法蘭西路易托福利製贈聯合國兒童基金會。



*Merry
Christmas*



*Happy
New
Year!*



Brooks and Ann Terry
and Family



WEDX 66555 PP

Greetings of the Season

AND BEST WISHES FOR THE NEW YEAR

WEDX 66555 PP

WEDX 66555 PP

WEDX 66555 PP



and the
best of everything
in the
new year

Dear Jeanita —
I am down in Tulsa
for Christmas enjoying my
granddaughters here as they
come home from their various
universities with bright stories
of life on the campus.

(over)

Yes in New England in June
so I won't go there this trip.
You lost your dear mother while
I was away and I think of her
long & useful life. She brought
you home as you brought her.

I miss you, Juanita, &
hope one of my joys in the New
Year will be a visit with you.

Merry Christmas - Happy
New Year, and love from

Joe



RUST CRAFT

XP0130-1

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MADE IN U.S.A.



Season's Greetings

Dear Mother,

Sorry we are always
so late. Time just
seems to creep up on us.

Hope you had a
pleasant birthday -

The little key
chain will clip
on to the envelope
compartment in
your purse so you
won't lose it in
your bag.

Hope all well
& happy - Still
working on God to
spend a day in
Jeth Lake & I still
have hopes -

Love,

Florence

If there's a Mother
Any sweeter,
We certainly
Would love to meet her!

Happy Birthday

Love

Bro. Florence

Bessie & Mary

With Love from Both of Us, **MOTHER**



 **BUZZA CARDOSO**
ANAHEIM CALIFORNIA

25 B 5436 F

Bob & Jane Olsen
820 West Chestnut
Walla, Walla Wash- 99362

Dear Mrs. B. -

Thank goodness for Christmas - it's really a pleasant obligation - News:

Bob has some of his stuff on exhibit at Smithsonian (D.C.) re Major Powell - He hawk watches in spare time - I'm qualified as substitute here in District #140 - Also do all (music) for grades 1-6 in Dixie every Mon. & Thurs. - J.R. is such a big boy he spends those days at Mary Drake's Day School (When he started he called it Merry Grapes - Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year

But he just loves it. I hope you are being able to be with most all of those folks dearest to you. Love, Lauri



This reproduction of "Getting Ice"
is from an original Currier and Ives print.

Hallmark

BX 25-26

One of the pleasures
of this holiday season
is the opportunity to
put aside the routine
of daily affairs
and to send cordial
regards to our friends
with all good wishes for
the New Year.



E. O. CORSON
HUMANIST WORLD FELLOWSHIP

For a lasting thought we present the following from
Elbert Hubbard:

Did you know: That lawyers are men; and judges are
men; and that all laws are and were made by men; and
that all priests and preachers are men; and that all
religions were made and formulated by men;

And that all books were written by men;

And that all of the justice we know is man's justice;

And that what we call God's justice is only man's
idea of what he would do if he were God;

And that this idea changes as man changes;

And that all love is man's love;

And all compassion, man's compassion;

And all sympathy, man's sympathy;

And all forgiveness, man's forgiveness;

And that there is nothing finer, greater, nobler in the
world than man;

And that all beings, spirits and persons greater than
man have been, and are, the creation of man's mind;

And that man is not yet created, but only in process
of creation;

And that in his present transitional state he has par-
tially abandoned intuition without fully getting control
of his intellect;

And that all laws, creeds and dogmas are of only tran-
sient value, if of value at all; and should be eliminated
when they no longer minister to human happiness;

And that now, for the first time in the history of the
world, a very large number of people know these things;
and are exercising their brains;

And that the brain is an organ and grows strong
by use;

And that through right thinking we are gradually
learning to control our bodies, our tempers, our desires,
our imaginations;

And that the imagination is a searchlight which reveals
the future;

And that by the use of imagination we now see Para-
dise ahead; A Paradise of increasing effort, work, en-
deavor—and increasing power; A Paradise of this world,
that is to come through health, work, simplicity, honesty,
mutuality, reciprocity and love?

Season's Greetings



PRINCETON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

WILLIAM S. DIX, *Librarian*

HOWARD C. RICE, JR., *Assistant Librarian*
for Rare Books & Special Collections

Over a year ago, Juanita, I tucked
this away to be sent to you.

^{you}
probably saw it the week it came
out, but just in case you missed
it I send it on now. Fawn's
wise remarks can easily be applied
to revisionists in fields other
than The Civil War.

All cheer,

Alfred.

Merry Christmas
and thanks!

Mary L. Bradford

5409 N 31st St
Arlington, Va

JOSEPH

Joseph, according to the record just, angel-ridden
and consulted last, what glory may you claim?
Was yours a father's care, but, God-bidden,
respect for foster child you could not name?
Was your pride greater than any heart-hidden
common love for common men the same?

It was you who showed his hands the glory of the lathe
in shaping wood to meet its proper use.
But was it He whose growing shaped your faith
that you might stand in sorrow at that last abuse
as high above a puzzled world a wooden wraith
was raised to meet some deep excuse?

No doubt it is as said: you "received your reward
in Heaven" as do all who need not repent.
But you appear on earth at every Christian board,
leading the ass, your face intent
above the child, your eyes turned always toward
the path. You gave a joyous thing — consent.

— from Dialogue, Fall, 1966

Bucks
Humphries

4654 Meredith

Geo Deane

Deane Hills

1721 South 1400 East
Salt Lake City, Utah 84105

Mary E. Clifton Lewis
2825 Truman Street
2825 Truman Street
Albuquerque, New Mexico

Dear Mary:

Since it was a lady's voice that came to me over the telephone from Provo, I assume that it was yours. I hope that I am right.

I should like to have meet more people, especially any who were connected with Martha Spence, for she has meant much to me over a long, long time. As I told you, I think, it came to me from Panguitch in the hands of Fae Clifton. Fae was at that time doing the spadework for Kimball Young in his book *ISN'T ONE WIFE ENOUGH?* She was interviewing women who had lived in plural families, with the idea of the adjustments of day-by-day living. She brought this to me.

This I had a long table with eight typewriters set up, my Brooks home, in a room that was designed to be a home library, but was being used in a "make work" project by copying diaries, letter books, account books, etc. In the box with Martha's diary were many loose pages, among them a letter written by Emma Smith to Bro. Hayward thanking him for a pair of shoes that he had sent to the Prophet. Many, many so interesting and thought-provoking things. Emma's Blessing written in her own hand.

Anyway, we copied the Diary. When they changed the name from the ERA to the WPA everything went to Salt Lake City or Ogden. Diaries were supposed to be returned after they were copied, but I never saw the original after it left my home.

You said, I think, that the original is in New Mexico. Could you be more specific? Is it in private hands, or a public depository? Have you seen and handled it?

I am so eager to know. Someone showed some pages that he said came from the Central Daughters of the Pioneers Office and they seemed genuine, but I'd have to actually compare them.

I know I may be just "Barkin' at the moon" with about as much effect, but I can't ignore the least bit of a "lead."

Forgive me, if you're bored or offended. If not, please drop me a line. Thank you so much.

Sincerely,

Juanita Brooks

P.S. My youngest son, Antone L. Lives in Albuquerque.

Box 303, St. George, Utah
84770
August 25--Monday noon

Dear Mother,

We were certainly glad to get your letter, and to know that you had such a good trip up. Sounds like the Laurel E. Leavitt branch of the family has had a wonderful reunion indeed. I'm so happy that you were in on it.

We've had company in and out every day. A couple that we met in Omaha way back in 1957 called with their three children. She was our guide to winter Quarters, Council Bluffs, and the other historic places. It was wonderful to have them come.

Willa's family were in for supper last night. She has gone to Las Vegas today for supplies. Thales will be home about Sept 8, she thinks, and will stay until the end of the month.

I have to go to SLC for a meeting on Wednesday, but I'll just go on the bus up one day and back the next.

I've had the water on your place all day today, & things look good. Have de-frosted the frig, and got things back into it, or will get them back before night. I put them in this old frig of mine in the apartment so the other could take its time to melt out.

Eva has her house full, with Henry and his family--that is, his wife and 2 married sons and their wives. And Roland is bringing a girl home on the week-end to expose her to the family, so the family letter may be detained a little while. She is up to her ears in fruit, besides.

I have the car back, took Will to Priesthood & we both went to church, and on out to Willas for a while. This morning we went to the post office and shopped a little. It's a help to not have to walk.

Nothing new. I'll send the County Paper on when it comes, and will take care of your little chores. I'm sure the cats miss you, but they're doing pretty well under my care.

Have a good time, and keep us posted. We'll be glad to have you back.

Our love to Laurel, Melva, and all their wondeeful family--also to Mel and Myrtle when you go there.

Always,

Juanita
Nita

ONE OF THE STANDARD WORKS OF ECCLESIASTICAL BIO-BIBLIOGRAPHY. It contains—in strictly chronological order—the short lives of some 500 'writers' with lists of their works, altogether c.2500 titles. Some Old Testament figures are included, beginning with MOSES and ending with PHILO and FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS, while the Christian era begins with ST. PETER, and ends with THOMAS MORE and FRANCISCO DE VITORIA.

THE REAL FIRST EDITION which is a relatively scarce book. Even Besterman, *Beginnings of Systematic Bibliography*, 54, quotes erroneously the Lyons reprint of the same year without mentioning the real editio princeps. Catholic Encyclopedia II, 413, is even worse by giving 1615 as the date of first publication.—De Backer-Sommervogel I, 1226, no. 32. Hurter I, 273ff. Gibson, *Thomas More Bibl.* (1961), no. 192 (quotes the Cologne reprint). 120.00

39

AN EARLY ACCOUNT OF THE MORMONS

Benjamin II (J.J.) [i.e. Israel (Joseph)]. *Drei Jahre in Amerika 1859-1862*. 4 parts in one vol. Stout 8vo. xvi, 384 pp., portrait.—viii, 168 pp.—viii, 69 pp.—ii, 132 pp. Contemporary half-cloth, gilt title. Hanover: Author, 1862.

BENJAMIN, a Rumanian traveler, devoted himself to searching for the LOST TEN TRIBES of the Jews. After having traveled all over Europe, the Near and Middle East, he came to North America where he stayed three years. He visited SAN FRANCISCO, SACRAMENTO, NEVADA, Vancouver Island, and OREGON, and returned overland by way of SALT LAKE CITY, Detroit, SYRACUSE, and Boston. He gives a good account of the LIBRARIES IN CALIFORNIA, the West Coast Indians, and devotes over 40 pages to the MORMONS and their Church. There are many interesting observations about the life of the AMERICAN JEWS.

Soon after his return Benjamin died very poor in London, and his friends had to arrange a public subscription in order to save his wife and daughter from misery.

FIRST EDITION. Fine copy.—Cowan I, 46. Wagner-Camp 380. Smith, *Pacific NW Americana*, 753, 754. Howes, *U.S.-iana*, 351. 240.00

40

'THE FIRST BOOK OF THE DIX-HUITIEME'

[Benserade (Isaac de)]. *Metamorphoses d'Ovide en Rondeaux*. Imprimez et enrichis de figures par Ordre de Sa Majesté, et dediez à Monseigneur Le Dauphin. Stout large 4to. Beautiful allegorical frontispiece by SEBASTIEN LE CLERC after Ch. le Brun, (6) ll., 463 pp., (4) ll. With 226 finely engraved vignettes by SEBASTIEN LE CLERC, FRANÇOIS CHAUVEAU and LE PAUTRE; engraved emblem on title-page. Contemporary calf binding, richly gilt paneled back, gilt title-piece. Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1676.

Benserade turned by order of Louis XIV and for the use of the Dauphin Ovid's METAMORPHOSES into 'rondeaux'. Yet in spite of a Royal subsidy amounting to 10,000 livres, the most luxurious printing and the lavish decoration, it was no success. La Fontaine ridiculed it and its failure gave a blow to the poet's reputation.

This book has often been called 'THE FIRST BOOK OF THE DIX-HUITIEME' and this is true to a great extent. It is a good specimen of the PERFECT BOOK in which typography and illustration completely harmonize.

LARGE COPY. In fine condition.—Tchemerzine II, 139. Tchemerzine, *Livres à figures*, 32. Bernard, *Imprimerie Royale*, 142f. Weigert, *Graveurs du XVII^e siècle*, II, 1173-1274. Calot, *L'Art du Livre en France*, 112. Gioranescu, *Bibl. de la litt. franç. du 17^e siècle*, I, 11355. 325.00

41

DOES THE EXTERNAL WORLD EXIST?

Berkeley (George), M.A. *A Treatise Concerning the Principles of Human Knowledge*. Large 8vo. (4) ll., 214 pp. Contemporary paneled calf, neatly rebaked. Dublin: Aaron Rhames for Jeremy Pepyat, 1710.

"THE CHOIR OF HEAVEN and furniture of the earth, in a word all those bodies which compose the mighty frame of the world, have not any subsistence without a mind, that their being is to be perceived or known."

The extension of this theory, that a mind must be the spring of the universe, is THE CENTRAL POINT OF BERKELEY'S METAPHYSICS.

FIRST EDITION and one of the rarest books of English philosophic literature. FINE COPY. With the ownership entry of a Mr. Cornwall of Westminster School dated July 1762.—Wolf, *Hist. of Science*, II, 747. Jessop, *Bibl. of Berkeley*, 13a. NOT in Lord Rothschild's Berkeley Collection. Printing and the Mind of Man (1963), no. 321, and (1967), no. 176. 480.00

42

FIRST BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INCUNABULA

Beughem (Cornelis à). *Incunabula Typographiae*. 8vo. (6) ll., 191 pp. Amsterdam 1688.—BOUND WITH: Beughem (Cornelis à). *Bibliographia Historica, chronologica & geographica*. 8vo. (6) ll., 788 pp. Half-vellum. Amsterdam 1685.

THE FIRST BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INCUNABULA.

Its author was a bookseller at Emmerich, a small town on the Rhine, near the Dutch border. His INCUNABULA TYPOGRAPHICA lists about 3,000 books printed before 1501, alphabetically arranged by authors, and anonymous works by their titles. SHORT BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ARE ADDED, and for each title place, year, and size given, but nothing is said about the printers. A three-page list of 15th century BIBLES precedes the general bibliography. The GUTENBERG BIBLE is dated "1450".

The same author's BIBLIOGRAPHIA HISTORICA is the earliest attempt at a CLASSIFIED UNIVERSAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE HISTORICAL SCIENCES, listing about 5000 titles published since 1650. Over 200 pages are taken up by the author's MUSAEUM BEUGHEMIANUM which represents the FIRST PRINTED ICONOGRAPHY listing the portraits of about 6000 eminent persons. They are classified according to rulers, dignitaries of the Church, statesmen, lawyers, scientists, poets, philosophers, and artists.

TWO (or rather three) SCARCE AND FUNDAMENTAL BIBLIOGRAPHIES. Good set.—Joecher I, 1060. Besterman, *Beginnings*, 34ff. E. von Rath, *Vorläufer des Gesamtkatalogs der Wiegendrucke*, in: *Werden und Wirken. Ein Festgruss Karl W. Hiersemann* (1924), 288ff. The set 225.00

Just in case this has slipped by
your glance, Juanita. With such
a Jewish focus it may have some
useful information on Jews in Utah
not found elsewhere. If your
German is as non-existent as
mine, perhaps Klaus would glance
through it for you.

All cheer,

Agnes.

Friday, Feb. 26

Dear Juanita -

I was glad to hear from you, but am afraid that I can't help you much about your man Brown. I had always assumed that Tom Brown, who was involved in murder with the Hodge boys, was not a Mormon, but I don't know just why I came to that conclusion. But of course if he was not a Mormon, that would not mean that he could not have been with the Pioneers. There were some Gentiles in the party. Victor Jacob says there were six. And the fact that he was baptized after the Pioneers arrived does not necessarily mean that he was not a Mormon, since the Pioneers were all re-baptized.

By the way, Victor Jacob says that "several" of those baptized on Aug. 8, 1847 were men who had never joined the Church before. And the Deseret News of May 24, 1900 has an obituary for Stephen Kelsey, and says that, while he was one of the Pioneers, he was not a Mormon until soon after his arrival in Utah.

I checked my notes and found nothing about the killing of Brown.

I am sorry that I cannot help you more, but if I run across anything on the subject, I will let you know.

Best wishes
Stan.

Dear Mrs Brooks.

I have certainly appreciated the help that you gave to me in writing this paper. This paper is actually very shallow as of now, but I am going to rewrite and add much more documentation and facts. I had to hurriedly had to write the paper before the quarter ended for credit, but I am in the process of rewriting and revising the textual material.

The paper is actually going to become two papers instead of one very shallow and unscholarly one. Many of the interpretations I have made here stand basically unsupported. I realize, but I have since gained information to support many of my controversial stands.

I would appreciate any comments - favorable or adverse - that you can give me. It has certainly been an honor to begin work on such a process as this.

Thanks very much

Glenn R Wilde

apt 38-I
USU Housing
Logan, Utah

P.S. Much of the information that you sent me was not included because I hadn't received it before this was dittoed.

By Glenn S. Wilde
USU Housing Apr 38-I
Logan, Utah

Introduction

The massacre at Mountain Meadows has always remained a thorn in the side of Mormons. Mormon historians, anxious to defend their leaders, have dismissed the atrocious crime as being the product of a fanatic--John D. Lee. On the other hand, anti-Mormon historians, anxious to indict the Church, have placed the sole responsibility for the massacre on the hierarchy of church officials.

It has only been in recent years that objective scholarship about the massacre has been accomplished. Juanita Brooks has written and interpreted the infamous act not as the product of an addle-brained lunatic, but as the culmination of social and psychological forces on the Mormon frontier.

Basically, it is the purpose of this research to discuss the background, contributions, and reinterpretations that Mrs. Brooks has added to Utah history. There are, however, some questionable interpretations which I shall examine.

*This has
some definite
organizational that
errors I am now
working on.*

The Voice from Bunkerville

Located in the southernmost corner of Nevada is a small town called Bunkerville. The dry, arid desert covered with a scant growth of dwarf cactus, rabbit bush, and yucca surrounds the small town. Through the desert winds the Virgin River--a river that supplies both irrigation and culinary water to the community. Early in 1898, Juanita Brooks was born in Bunkerville. Juanita's memories of Bunkerville supply vivid impressions of community life in the early frontier. She remembers the threat of flash floods and droughts in the area. Nostalgically, she reminisces the economics practiced by the settlers: "Water was literally measured by the drop. You must never dip a full cup from the barrel; you should take only a little bit, just what you could drink. If you were handed a full cup you drank what you wanted and gave the rest back to the host to dispose of. Usually, he handed it to the next person, or poured it carefully into a bucket kept for waste water, to be given later to the chickens."¹

¹Juanita Brooks, "The Water's In!" Harpers Magazine, CLXXXII (May, 1941), p. 609. Other memories of Mrs. Brooks' girlhood have been recently published in the Journal of American Folklore, LXXVII (July-Sept., 1964), pp. 195-219. In these remembrances about a "cow that obstinately insisted on fulfilling her watery fate in the stream that was both life and death to the village of Bunkerville; of the Outsider come in from the darkness to lead Juanita to that untravelled world whose margin for ever and for ever. . . ."

Her keen mind recorded individual happenings and events of the community. She can describe the community fear of desert flash floods, the hunt for cattle and livestock embedded in the mud after a severe storm, and the united community effort to repair a leak in a canal, irrigation ditch, or reservoir.

At thirteen, the young Juanita found her first original journal in her aunt's old-fashioned bookcase. The journal was her own great-grandmother's life story. "The writing was labored, generously sprinkled with capital letters and phonetic spelling. It looked as though it had been done with a quill pen, the down strokes were so heavy; every word seemed to have been fashioned deliberately and with an effort."² From this initial experience, Juanita acquired a peculiar fascination for journals and diaries of the early settlers and colonizers. From this fascination grew a desire to collect the old diaries of her own family. She first collected the memoirs of her great-grandmother, Sarah Sturdevant Leavitt, and later added the two ledger diary of John Pulsipher.³

After the death of her first husband, Leonard Pulsipher, Mrs. Brooks attended Brigham Young University and earned her B. A. in 1925. After graduation she taught English and speech at what is now Dixie Junior College. In 1929, Mrs. Brooks received her M. A. from Columbia University. Soon after receiving her degree, the depression came.

²Juanita Brooks, "Let's Preserve Our Records," Utah Humanities Review, II (May, 1951), p. 259.

³Juanita Brooks, personal letter, January 15, 1966.

Added synopsis of story about old man and Mt. Meadows.

When the relief projects were inaugurated in the 1930's, Mrs. Brooks became the area supervisor for the Emergency Relief Administration (ERA). "In 1934, at the suggestion of Mr. Nels Anderson, who was in St. George doing research on what later appeared as his book, Desert Saints," Mrs. Brooks "initiated a WPA project for Washington County in which women who were in need and had no husband could be employed and who might have a daughter who could type and or might themselves interview living pioneers and take oral stories. . . ."⁴ This was the beginning of a project that also led to the copying of old diaries, letters, account books, and ledgers for historical value. After the first copies of the material were prepared, the project committee sent the copies to Dr. Luther H. Evans, Librarian at the Library of Congress. After examining the work, Dr. Evans flew to Salt Lake City, Utah, and expanded the project to the state level.

In 1935 the Federal Writer's Project was established nationally as a program under the Work Projects Administration (WPA). Maurice L. Howe was appointed the first state director of the project; later, Dr. Dale Morgan assumed the role of state supervisor. On a state wide basis, "many of the people employed for the writer's program were over 50 years of age, and several had never finished high school. This situation caused handicaps, especially in technical areas of research. However, many old journals and letters of

⁴Ibid.

*Comments
by Dale
Morgan are
to be
added
here.*

historical importance were uncovered because these 'older' workers knew whom to contact."⁵

The Historical Records Survey, which originally was a division of the Federal Writer's Project, became an independent program in 1936. When this program was inaugurated, Juanita Brooks assumed the position of area supervisor.⁶ "Aside from the primary purpose of furnishing employment to needy workers, the objective of the survey in Utah included the preparation of and publication of complete inventories of the records of federal, state, county, city, and church archives."⁷

add a few stories?
R. During the project, many interesting and fascinating records were collected. One entitled, "Quakers Meet Ill Fortune in Utah," discussed a Quaker colony established at Swan Lake in Millard county in 1893. The community prospered until a dam burst and destroyed the community. Other happenings from Shoshone Indian legends to tales about giant monsters were recorded.⁸ Copies of the pioneer manuscripts and folklore were placed in the Library of Congress and in various libraries in California as well as in Utah. These copies did "much to enrich and vitalize the work of scholars whose widely varying interests touched upon the Mormon-Utah scene."⁹

⁵Larry M. Malmgren, "A History of the WPA in Utah," (thesis, Utah State University, 1965), p. 90. Mr. Malmgren, however, does not acknowledge the fact that the Writer's Project began in Utah. This is perhaps unfortunate in not giving credit to Utah for its initial phase of the national project.

⁶Dale Morgan, "Juanita Brooks," Utah Historical Quarterly, XXV (July, 1957), p. 194.

⁷Malmgren, p. 91.

⁸This "collection of news stories" is found at the Utah State Historical Society in Salt Lake City.

⁹Morgan, p. 91.

It was also during this depression period that Mrs. Brooks helped establish the "Mormon Social Security Plan." In an unpublished article, "Mormon Social Security in the Balance,"¹⁰ Mrs. Brooks states that the general reaction to the program had been favorable throughout the Church. The roots of the plan, according to Mrs. Brooks, could be found in the early history of the Church. The Perpetual Emigration program resembled the program of sharing with those who had little. A second "social experiment" was based on the "call system" in which Brigham Young called men to colonize the outlying districts of Utah and adjoining states. Another institution--polygamy--provided a basis of "satisfactory human relations" among the Church participants. Although this experiment did not continue with official Church sanction, it did provide a common ground on which the welfare plan could be started. The fourth basis from which the welfare plan sprang was known as the "United Order." Again, this plan proved to be unworkable, but it provided a structure for the 1936 Social Security Plan, later to become officially known as the Welfare Plan.

Mrs. Brooks not only gave the background, but she also frankly told the positive and negative features of the plan. In one instance, youth in their teens labored in Welfare canneries late into the night; women sewed quilts, shirts, overalls, dresses, and underwear; and the men planted and harvested crops. However, Mrs. Brooks realistically assessed the weakness of the Plan. Obvious objections were found in St. George Stake. One man, who worked for the WPA and received a salary, fully expected his full

¹⁰ Mrs. Brooks sent a typewritten copy of this article to me for this study. Dr. Everett Cooley of the Historical Society wants to have a xerox copy made for the Society's library. The copy had not been dated.

I still have your manuscript and am going to go into greater depth and detail in this section.

share of the welfare produce for his help, although many were jobless. ". . . One cannot but admire the courage and daring that would initiate such an idea. Perhaps it would be easier if the public were not so enthusiastic and did not expect so much--easier to succeed in the face of ridicule than praise. But regardless, it must have time to prove itself."¹¹ The individual role that Mrs. Brooks played in establishing the plan is a topic that deserves further consideration.

*I now
have
additional
information*

Histories

In 1928, Juanita Brooks began doing research on the settlements of southern Utah and Nevada to help her younger brother, Francis Leavitt, find material for his Master's thesis at the University of Nevada. Because his topic was about the Mormon settlements in Clark County--then a part of the St. George Stake, Mrs. Brooks sought information from the official Church stake and ward records and from the Annals of the Southern Mission. In these she found colorful aspects of the early frontier life. Information about recreation, wine-making, dam-building, and Bishop's courts proved of great interest to her. In February, 1933, she won distinction for her article, "A Close-up of Polygamy," in which she interpreted Mormon culture and history.

*I
will
discuss in
more
detail your
wonderful
insight.*

¹¹ Ibid., p. 23. There is no date found on the manuscript; however, a thesis by Ariel Smith Ballif entitled "A Study of Social Security Planning and Organization in the Mormon Church" (University of Southern California, 1957) gives the same basic information and background. This can be found in the L. D. S. Church Historian's Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

During the period of time that Mrs. Brooks worked with the Historical Records Survey, she began collecting information about Jacob Hamblin, whose third wife was Mrs. Brooks' Aunt Priscilla. While she gathered notes on Hamblin, she found many items about John D. Lee. When the Church appointed Pearson Corbett to be the official biographer, Mrs. Brooks dropped her idea about that Hamblin biography, but her father persuaded her to write a biography about her grandfather, Dudley Leavitt.¹² In 1942 Dudley Leavitt: Pioneer to Southern Utah was published. Although the material in this book contains errors such as linking the Puritans of 1630 with the arrival of the Mayflower in 1620, the book does contain a basic background of Leavitt, but perhaps even more consequential is the fact that she found more references to the "infamous" John D. Lee.

This point most assuredly needs to be built up

About this time the Henry E. Huntington Library purchased the diaries of John D. Lee. Dale Morgan suggested that Mrs. Brooks should inquire about the diaries and perhaps go to the library to see them. Mrs. Brooks was extended an invitation to go to the library. The visit to the library resulted in her employment as a "Field Fellow" for the library. Her job was to collect originals for the library to microfilm or photograph. After Mrs. Brooks had worked and collected material for several years under a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, she was asked to research and write a book about the Mountain Meadows Massacre. Her answer was a strong affirmative.

¹² Juanita Brooks, Personal Letter, January 15, 1966.

¹³ Ibid.

From the first Mrs. Brooks had but one objective: "I only wanted to find the facts as nearly as I could and present them as clearly and fairly as I could."¹⁴ She began immediately to build her bibliography and to do her research. She drew from journals and diaries, court trials, and church records; her secondary sources came from both Mormon and non-Mormon sources. There was no doubt that John D. Lee, the adopted son of Brigham Young, became a scapegoat for the Church. This has been proven to a greater extent by subsequent scholarship in the book John Doyle Lee: Zealot--Pioneer Builder--Scapegoat.

Non-Mormon writers generally have placed the blame for the Massacre on the Church hierarchy of officials. Mark Twain's historical account found in Roughing It stated that Brigham Young--the "Great Grand Archee or God"--dispatched a "revelation" to President J. C. Haight, Bishop Higbee, and John D. Lee commanding them to raise an army and to attack the emigrant wagons. This opinion was widely held by gentiles throughout the nineteenth century. There was no doubt that the Fancher train had been tricked and slaughtered by Mormons with the aid of the Indians. Twain stated that on "the 10th day of September, 1857, was consummated one of the most cruel, cowardly and bloody murders known in our history."¹⁵ Of this assertion there can be little doubt, but his history cannot be considered objective. Because this account was published with Roughing It, it received wide circulation in non-Mormon circles.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Mark Twain, "Mountain Meadows Massacre," Roughing It (New York: New American Library, Inc., 1962), p. 430.

But within the Mormon church, historians and lecturers were attempting to remove the blood stains from the Church's role in the Massacre. Charles W. Penrose delivered an address in 1884 that ~~washed the Church clean~~ ^{Cleansed} of any implication. He stated that "there is one thing consoling to me ~~this~~, and that is the enemies of our people and our faith are compelled to resort to misrepresentation and falsehood in order to find anything to fight us with . . . I wish to put on record . . . that the Church never did endorse the deed; that as soon as the President of the Church found out that John D. Lee had been implicated in it he was cut off from the Church and left to be dealt with according to the laws of the land; [and] that President Young was innocent of any participation in that crime . . ." ¹⁶ This, of course, was merely a partisan defense of the Church by Penrose, but it, too, contained elements of partial truth.

It was evident to reputable historians that the Mountain Meadows Massacre had not been accurately reported. Hubert H. Bancroft published his scholarly account of the Massacre, but it too contained weaknesses; however, Bancroft remained relatively objective. Bancroft asserted, as did Mrs. Brooks in her study, that the poisoning of the cattle could very well have come from poisonous weeds that are found in this particular locality of Southern Utah. But Bancroft falsely asserted that John D. Lee induced the Indians to attack the emigrants by promise of booty; Bancroft also justified Governor

¹⁶ Charles W. Penrose, The Mountain Meadows Massacre (Salt Lake City: The Deseret Press, 1904), pp. 5-6, 44. This book is found at the Utah State Historical Society Library.

and President Young's failure to make an investigation because he waited for his federally-appointed replacement to arrive. Bancroft, however, did make an interpretative comment: "On the testimony which we now have before us I will make but one comment. If Haslem's statement was true, Brigham was clearly no accomplice; if it was false, and his errand to Salt Lake City was a mere trick of the first Presidency, it is extremely improbable that Brigham would have betrayed his intention to Van Vliet by using the remarks that he made only two days before the event."¹⁷ Because Bancroft could have doubted Haslem's statement, he wrote the statement in the subjunctive, which showed that he, too, had ^{reservations}, but later in the sentence he reconciled his doubts with the additional ~~extra~~ evidence.

The battle between the Church and gentile interpretation continued. Many books too numerous to mention dealt with the Massacre. In 1940, Andrew Love Neff's History of Utah was published. Neff wrote about the Church's 1856 Reformation Movement which led to "excesses in those of unstable mentality." He discussed the doctrine of blood atonement. He also asserted that "no worthwhile correlation existed between the theological doctrine of self-imposed blood atonement and the crime of murder, except in the distorted imagination of hostile-minded, loose-thinking critics, and the addled brain of John D. Lee who, like other criminals, sought desperately for a pretext which would seem to explain

¹⁷Hubert H. Bancroft, "The Mountain Meadows Massacre," History of Utah (San Francisco: The History Company, 1890), p. 568.

and justify the wanton killing of country men.¹⁸ It would seem that Neff attempted to portray John D. Lee as an unbalanced scapegoat. This too was merely^{an} unsupported conjecture on the part of Neff.

After an examination of these and numerous other sources, Mrs. Brooks found that John D. Lee had been sacrificed by the Church that he had defended. However, within the book itself, there are some debatable interpretations. One of these is in regard to Brigham Young's message to Isaac Haight; the letter is reproduced here in full, but the interpretative sentences are underlined:

PRESIDENT'S OFFICE
GREAT SALT LAKE CITY
SEPT. 10, 1857

Elder Isaac C. Haight:

DEAR BROTHER:--Your note of the 7th inst. is to hand. Capt. Van Vliet, Acting Commissary, is here, having come in advance of the army to procure necessities for them. We do not expect that any part of the army will be able to reach here this fall. There is only about 850 men coming. They are now at or near Laramie. A few of their freight trains are on this side of that place, the advance of which are now on Green River. They will not be able to come much if any further on account of their poor stock. They cannot get here this season without we help them. So you see that the Lord has answered our prayers and again averted the blow designed for our heads. In regard to the emigration trains passing through our settlements, we must not interfere with them until they are first notified to keep away. You must not meddle with them. The Indians we expect will do as they please but you should try and preserve good feelings with them. There are no other trains going south that I know of. If those that are there will leave, let them go in peace. While we should be on the alert, on hand, and always ready, we should also possess

¹⁸ Andrew Love Neff, History of Utah, 1847 to 1869 (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1940), p. 413. [Underlining was made by the author of this research].

ourselves in patience, preserving ourselves and property, ever remembering that God rules. He has overruled for our deliverance thus once again, and He will always do so if we live our religion and be united in our faith and good works.

All is well with us. May the Lord bless you and all the Saints forever.

Your Brother in the gospel of Christ.

BRIGHAM YOUNG¹⁹

I think that fundamentally your interpretation is correct, but I am going to mention other interpretations

It is interesting to note that this controversial statement is quite ambiguous. Does Brigham imply that Haight should preserve good feelings or relations between the Indians and the Mormons, or does he imply that the Mormons should try to preserve good will between the Indians and the emigrants? Mrs. Brooks can ^{and has} justifiably interpret the statement that Brigham meant for the Mormons to preserve the good will of the Indians for mutual protection. Both the Mormons' and the Indians' very existence was being threatened by the federal government. However, one second interpretation can be as logical. In a sworn statement by Brigham Young, he gave his intended interpretation of the letter:

Question: Did you, about the tenth of September, 1857 receive a communication from Isaac C. Haight, or any other person of Cedar City, concerning a company of emigrants called the Arkansas company?

Answer: I did receive a communication from from Isaac C. Haight, or John D. Lee, who was then a farmer for the Indians.

Question: Have you that communication?

Answer: I have not. I have made a diligent search for it, but cannot find it.

Question: Will you state the substance of your letter to him?

¹⁹ Juanita Brooks, The Mountain Meadows Massacre (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), p. 63.

Answer: Yes; it was to let this company of emigrants, and all other companies of emigrants, pass through the country unmolested, and to allay the angry feelings of the Indians as much as possible.²⁰

This is a possible and plausible second interpretation. A third view of the controversial statement is that it was purposely written ambiguously, so that the receiver could interpret the statement as he wished; yet, no reflection could be safely drawn upon the author of the letter.

This is possibly a very weak point of the paper.

A second and perhaps less alarming omission is the fact that John D. Lee had been a member of the militant Danite organization. This admission in John Doyle Lee, however, shows that Lee may have had more to do with the crime than was expressed.

Thinking that perhaps the intellectual climate within the Church had changed in the acceptance of the conclusions drawn by Mrs. Brooks, I wrote to the Church Historian, Joseph Fielding Smith, and asked him whether the Church has accepted the new interpretation. His reply was brief, but pointed: "There is nothing good that I can say in regard to the writings of Juanita Brooks. We have a copy of her book in our files in the Historian's Library."²¹ It is unfortunate that the Church Historian would take such a conservative opinion. The late Apostle John A. Widtsoe also defended Brigham Young in an article published in the Improvement Era. Apostle Widtsoe stated that it was nonsensical to blame Brigham Young for the Massacre. Through the use of rhetorical question, he skilfully

I have this letter if you would like a copy.

AND BIGOTED NAIVE?

²⁰Brigham Young's statement as quoted in R. N. Baskin, Reminiscences of Early Utah (Salt Lake City: n. p., 1914), pp. 116-117.

²¹Joseph F. Smith, Personal Letter, February 21, 1966.

elicited a response in the mind of the reader: "If the speeches had been such as to lead to murder, how can it be explained that the Mountain Meadows Massacre was the only criminal act of the kind in the year when feelings ran high because Johnston's Army was on its way to Utah."²² ~~Evidently~~ ^{Incidentally}, Widtsoe did not attempt to answer his own question.

Juanita Brooks found an incorrect date in Apostle Widtsoe's article and wrote him a short letter explaining the mistake he had made. Apostle Widtsoe had cited the date of the Massacre as September 14, 1857; if this were true, as Mrs. Brooks points out, Brigham Young could have either ordered the Massacre, or he could have prevented it.²³

Juanita Brooks and Robert G. Cleland ^{have} ~~has~~ edited and published the diaries of John D. Lee in 1957 which has added a remarkable insight into Lee's personal life. In 1962, Mrs. Brooks ^{wrote} a complete biography about Lee. The biography becomes a colorful and descriptive ^{Account} of events in the life of the infamous historical figure. "The Lee biography lifts this much maligned character out of the fog of prejudice into the light of understanding. Instead of a base plotter of a wholesale massacre, he emerges as a victim of circumstances, and, indeed, a power of strength in the sacrifice of personal interest to the cause of the kingdom."²⁴

This will be expanded

Juanita Brooks in 1964 published the diaries of Hosea Stout which gave additional insight into the Mormon Church. Of particular interest was Stout's account of the growing schism

²²John A. Widtsoe, "Was Brigham Young Responsible for the Mountain Meadows Massacre?" Improvement Era, LIV (August, 1951), p. 559

²³Juanita Brooks, Personal Letter to John A. Widtsoe, August 23, 1951.

²⁴Gustive O. Larsen, review of John D. Lee by Juanita Brooks, as found at the Utah State Historical Library, Salt Lake City.

between the Mormons and the federal government. Mrs. Brooks wrote "thoughtful explanations and interpretations of many episodes in which Stout was engaged. . .the significance of which might be missed by the casual reader ~~which~~ are of particular value."²⁵

John Doyle Lee was reinstated in the Church by the First Presidency and the Council of the Twelve in 1961. The first edition of John Doyle Lee did not express this fact because the Lee family feared that the Church might rescind the agreement. The second edition of the work contained the fact. It ~~should be quite evident~~ ^{would seem} that ~~without~~ Mrs. Brooks' reinterpretation of Lee's role in the Massacre brought about a reverse action by Church officials.²⁶

This is the subject of my current research.

Juanita Brooks was given an honorary doctorate degree by Utah State University in 1964. She was just recently elected to the Utah State Historical Society Board of Trustees which remains another well-deserved honor for Mrs. Brooks.

Yet, Mrs. Brooks' personal integrity and humility stands as one of her greatest attributes. In a statement made before relatives of those massacred, she has stated: "My text for today comes from Proverbs 4:7--'And with thy getting get understanding'. . .It was my attempt

²⁵ Leonard Arrington, review of On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout, The Utah Alumnus, XLI (April, 1965), p. 13.

²⁶ Klaus Hansen gave me this fact in a discussion with him about the book John Doyle Lee.

to understand that led to research in this subject, and which in the end produced the book The Mountain Meadows Massacre."²⁷

²⁷Juanita Brooks, "Speech Given at the Dedication of a Monument Honoring the Victims of the Massacre at the Mountain Meadows," Utah State Historical Quarterly LIX (January, 1956), pp. 72-73.

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