

VIOLENCE ON THE BEAR RIVER

LESSON PLAN
WITH PRIMARY SOURCES

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Violence on the Bear River Background Information

One of the most violent confrontations between Native Americans and the United States Army occurred near the Idaho/Utah border in January of 1863. There are several eye-witness accounts of what occurred, though a great deal of controversy continues to surround the incident. Today, there are two monuments that mark the site, one labeling the event “The Battle of Bear River” and the other calling it “The Bear River Massacre.” In recent years the Northwestern Shoshone have prepared to construct a new marker to memorialize the event. Your assignment is to propose a design for the memorial, including selecting a label for the event and creating a brief written description of what occurred. Although there is disagreement over the incident and who was to blame, there are a few things that most historians agree on.

1. The settlement of the Cache Valley region by Mormons had reduced the resources of the Shoshone. Livestock replaced the wild animals the Shoshone had traditionally hunted. And grazing cattle ate the native grasses that the Shoshone relied upon for food. In desperation the Shoshone turned to raiding cattle herds, attacking wagon trains, begging settlers for food, and extending the range of their hunting.
2. Conflict between the settlers and Shoshone increased during the 1850s and early 1860s. Periods of cooperation were interspersed with periods of hostility. Some people outside of Utah wondered whether the Mormon settlers supported the Shoshone raids on emigrants.
3. Conflict between the Shoshone and emigrants on the Oregon Trail increased during the 1850s and early 1860s, with both emigrants and Shoshone committing acts of violence and revenge. Discovery of gold in Montana increased travel in the region and as traffic increased so did the violence.
4. With the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, most soldiers, including Johnston’s army, which had been stationed in Utah, were pulled out of the West and relocated in the eastern theaters of war. A group of adventure-seeking volunteer soldiers from California, led by Colonel Patrick Connor, were deployed to Utah to keep an eye on the Mormons, whose loyalty to the United States was doubted, and to guard the emigrant trails through the territory.
5. Mormons and the California volunteer soldiers had uneasy relations. Soldiers didn’t trust the Mormons and the Mormons resented having the soldiers around and were sometimes unsupportive of the military’s efforts.
6. In the end of January 1863, after months of escalating violence between the volunteers and Shoshone, Colonel Connor led about 240 of his soldiers to Cache Valley in order to “chastise” a band of Shoshone led by Bear Hunter. On January 29, 1863 a clash occurred between about 200 soldiers and a large Shoshone village that resulted in the deaths of perhaps 400 or more Shoshone men, women, and children and about 20 soldiers.
7. After the event, settlers were able to expand unopposed into Shoshone lands and emigrants crossed Shoshone territory with fewer incidents of violence. The Northwestern Shoshone were unable to maintain their nomadic lifestyle and converted in greater numbers to Mormonism and settled on church-sponsored farms.

Name _____

Period _____

Violence on the Bear River Worksheet

document	source, audience, purpose, strengths, weaknesses	"They Say"—what information does he/she give that helps, complicates things, or is interesting?	"I Say"—what do I think of this source. Why do I trust or distrust it? How does it help me reach an interpretation?
doc 1			
doc 2			
doc 3			

document	source, audience, purpose, strengths, weaknesses	“They Say”—what information does he/she give that helps, complicates things, or is interesting?	“I Say”—what do I think of this source. Why do I trust or distrust it? How does it help me reach an interpretation?
doc 4			
doc 5			

My claim: “The event that took place near the Bear River should be called _____”

My warrants: “The reasons it should be called this is because...” (Tell about the events):

My Evidence: “There is evidence that this is what happened. For example,...” (Tell about how you used the accounts):

Other Evidence: “Some accounts go against my interpretation, but I can explain why.” (Tell why you don’t use or believe all of the information in the accounts):

Bear River Massacre Student Materials

These materials have been changed to make them easier to read. Your teacher will have the originals if you want to see them.

Document 1: Hans Jasperson's Account

SOURCE: Part of an article written by journalist Kristen Moulton and published February 17, 2008 in the Salt Lake Tribune newspaper. Found at: http://www.sltrib.com/ci_8282225 [Changed to make it easier to read]

Newly Uncovered Documents Claim Far Higher Number of Shoshones Killed in Bear River Massacre

The autobiography of a Mormon pioneer written nearly 100 years ago that was just discovered says that the number of Shoshones killed in the 1863 Bear River Massacre could be much higher than we thought. In his 1911 autobiography, Danish emigrant Hans Jasperson says that he walked between the bodies and counted 493 dead Shoshones. "I turned around and counted them [again] and counted the same number" Jasperson wrote. He was only 19 when the massacre happened. 493 is many more than others have said about the January 29, 1863 massacre. The U.S. Army's Third California Volunteers wanted to punish the area's Indians for bothering mining supply wagons and pioneers in Cache Valley and along the California Trail. The soldiers rode from Fort Douglas in Salt Lake City, surrounded the Shoshones on the banks of the Bear River near Preston, Idaho, and slaughtered most of them....

Document 2: Henry Woonsook's Account

SOURCE: Part of an interview of Henry Woonsook, the grandson of two Shoshone survivors of the Bear River Massacre. The interview was conducted by a University of Utah historian, February 29, 1968.

Long ago in 1863 at a place on the Bear River where a lot of Indians were living there was a battle where many Indians were killed. The Indians were spending the winter there. A white man from Preston, maybe a Mormon bishop,...told the Indians they were going to be killed. "You could all run away to safety," the white man told them. But the chief said, "No. We will not run away." The men of the group said, "We don't have to worry. We can handle the soldiers."...

Then the soldiers, a hundred or more, came over the hill. The soldiers went down the hill toward the camp, saying to themselves as they came that they could kill the Indians right in their camp...Then they began to battle with the Indians...The Indians were fighting back and they were killing some of the soldiers.

The Indians fought back but there wasn't much they could do because the white men had guns and the Indians only had bows and arrows. One little boy, whose relatives were killed, lay there on the cold ground among the dead ones. As the soldiers came through they checked and any of the Indians who were still alive they shot. The little boy lay still and they passed him by...After the soldiers had killed all the Indians who were still alive, they left. Some of the Indians had escaped across the river on the ice in the winter and had come north...With the Indians who escaped [was] my grandfather Cikuci...That Cikuci was the one who caused it all...

The man Cikuci was the one who caused this trouble. He and two other men had raided a wagon train going to California and that is why the soldiers killed those people. That was the cause of the Bear River Battle that I have been telling you about.

Document 3: Patrick Connor's Account

SOURCE: Excerpts from a report written February 6, 1863 by Colonel Patrick Connor, sent to Lieutenant Colonel R. C. Drum and the United States War Department, and published by the U.S. War Department in 1902. This report resulted in Colonel Connor's military promotion to Brigadier-General.
[Changed to make it easier to read]

I soon ordered a small group of cavalry [soldiers on horses] to help the infantry [foot soldiers] cross the stream, which they did. When they got to the battlefield I ordered them to help Major McGarry's soldiers who were trying to surround the Shoshone. They were able to get around the Indians from the left. Up to this time, because we were out in the open on a flat and clear plain and the Indians were hidden, they had an advantage over us, fighting as wild as demons. My men fell [wounded or dead] quickly and everywhere around me, but after surrounding them we had the advantage. I ordered the men who had surrounded them to move forward down the ravine on both sides, which gave us a better place for shooting at them. This made some of the Indians run away toward the north side of the ravine. Then I had a group of soldiers in a place so they could shoot them as they ran away. I also ordered a group of cavalry to cross the ravine to stop any Indians who tried to escape that way. Not very many tried to escape, but they kept on fighting, often fighting hand to hand with the troops until they were killed in their hiding places. Most of the Indians who did escape from the ravine were later shot when they tried to swim across the river or they were killed while desperately fighting from behind the thick willow bushes along the river banks. The fight started about 6 o'clock in the morning and continued until 10. ...

We found 224 [Shoshone] bodies on the battlefield. I captured 175 horses and some guns. I destroyed over seventy lodges [tipis] and a lot of wheat and other supplies, which had been given to the Shoshones by the Mormons. I left a little wheat for the 160 captive Indian women and children whom I left.

The enemy had about 300 warriors, mostly with good weapons like rifles and plenty of ammunition... The place where the Indians fought was naturally strong, and if I hadn't been able to surround them, many more of my soldiers would have died.

Document 4: William Drannan's Account

SOURCE: A part of the memoirs of William F. Drannan entitled Thirty-one Years on the Plains and in the Mountains or, the Last Voice from the Plains. An Authentic Record of a Life Time of Hunting, Trapping, Scouting, and Indian Fighting in the Far West, written and published in 1899. Found at <http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/5337/pg5337.html> [Changed to make it easier to read]

The captain asked me if I would go with one of his officers that night to see the Indians' fortifications, and I told him I would. After looking about half an hour the Captain asked me what I thought of it, and how I would attack. I told him that I had no idea because I had never seen Indians fortified before. He said it would be a bloody fight. I said yes, but I thought the blood would all be the Indians. "Yes," replied the Captain, "we ought to kill them all without losing ten men." ...

When we were about a mile from the canyon General Connor got his men into a line, one half to go on each side of the canyon where the Indians were fortified. The cannons were put at the mouth of the canyon. I did not see any Indians until the general gave the command to fire. When the soldiers started to shoot—there were about twelve hundred [soldiers]—it scared the Indians so that they ran out from under the logs and brush like jack rabbits and were shot down like sheep. In all my experience in the Western lands this was the biggest slaughter I ever saw.

After the battle was over, and the scouts could go wherever they wanted, I rode over the battlefield together with the other scouts. Never in all my life did I see such a mangled up mass as was there. Men, women and children were actually lying in piles, and I think the only ones who got away were a few that hid in the logs and brush. In this battle the Captain told me they did not lose any men, and only had four wounded. He counted over three thousand dead Indians.

Document 5: Casualty List

SOURCE: The first page of about four pages of an appendix from a book written by Brigham D. Madsen called The Shoshoni Frontier and the Bear River Massacre. This book was published in 1985 by the University of Utah. The information in this appendix comes from military records. Casualties means people who were killed or wounded.

APPENDIX A

Casualties from the Battle of Bear River

Second Cavalry—Company A

Killed—James W. Baldwin, private, through the cheek
George German, private, above the heart
Wounded—John Welch, private, arrow in each lung, dangerously
John William Wall, private, shot in right arm, dangerously
William H. Lake, private, shot in the mouth, badly
William Jay, private, index finger shot off, slightly
James Montgomery, private, right lung, dangerously

Company H

Killed—Charles L. Hollowell, private, center of chest
John K. Briggs, private, through the chest
Wounded—Bartel C. Hutchinson, private, right arm, badly
Frank A. Farley, private, right side, badly
Hugh Connor, private, left eye, dangerously
James Logue, right elbow, badly
Michael O'Brien, private, left lung, dangerously
Patrick Frawley, private, right shoulder and spine, dangerously
Philip Schaub, private, left lung, dangerously
Joseph A. Clowes, private, right shoulder, slightly
John Franklin, private, right hip and neck, dangerously
James Cantillon, sergeant, left lung, dangerously
Thompson Ridge, private, right arm, slightly

Company K

Killed—Christian Smith, bugler, center of chest, right to left
Shelbourne C. Reed, private, through the head
Adolphus Rowe, private, through both lungs
Lewis Anderson, private, through the heart
Henry W. Trepf, private, through both lungs
Wounded—Morris Illig, private, right shoulder, badly
Alonzo A.P.V. McCoy, private, navel, slightly

Document 6: Sgt. William Beach's Account

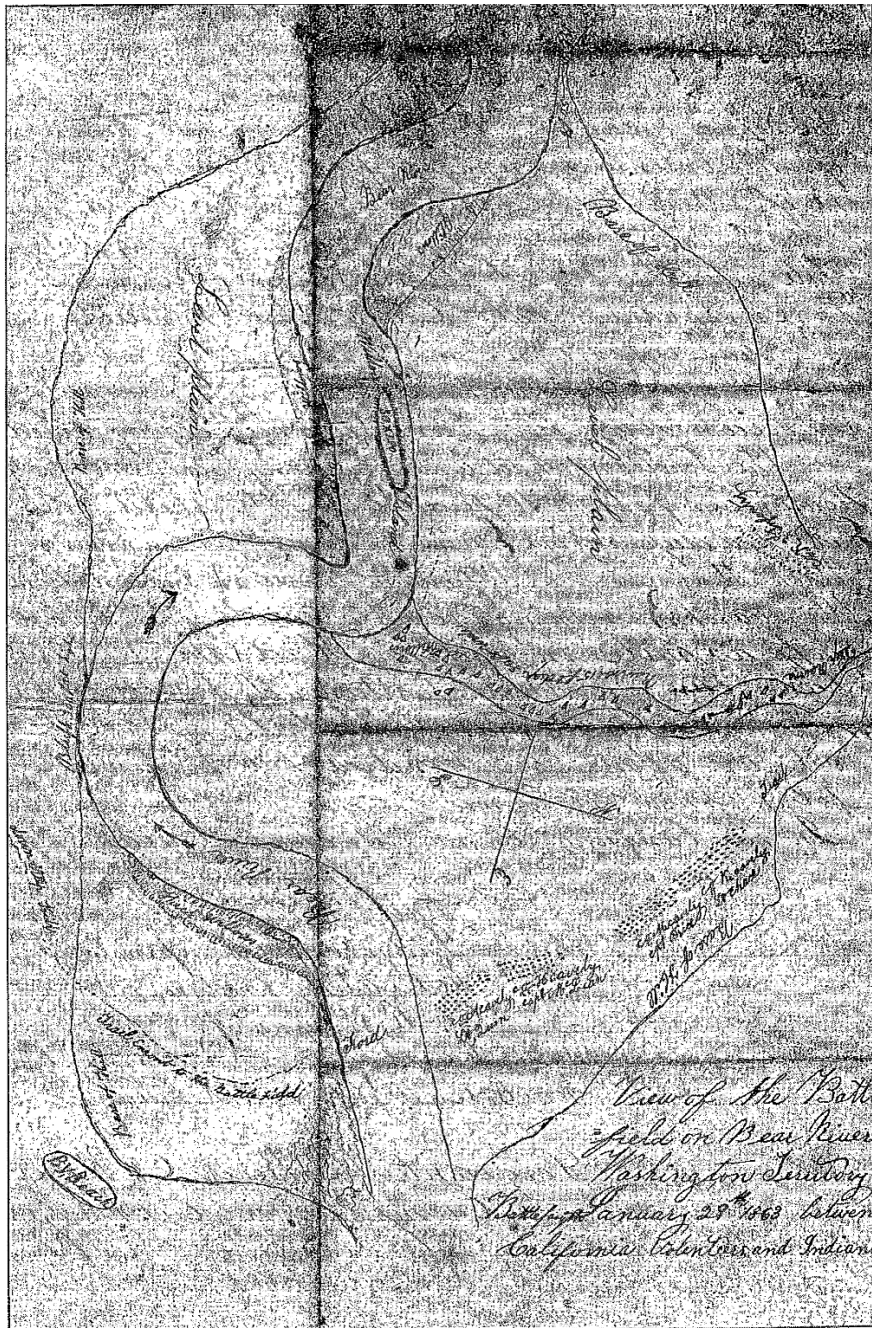
Source: William Beach was a sergeant in Company K of the 2nd Cavalry Regiment of the California volunteers under Colonel Connor's command. He drew a map of the location of the massacre and wrote an account 16 days after the massacre. [Changed to make easier to read.] Found at <https://rsc.byu.edu/archived/civil-war-saints/bear-river-massacre-new-historical-evidence>

When they got to the place they are shown on the drawing, Major McGarry gave the commands to dismount and prepare to fight on foot which was instantly obeyed. Lieutenant Chase and Capt. Price then gave the command to move forward to their soldiers, after which no officer was heard or needed. The boys were fighting Indians and planned to whip them. It was a free fight, every man fighting on his own. Companies H and A got there after about three minutes and jumped into the fight like the others. Cavalry horses were sent back to bring the infantry across the river as soon as they arrived. When across the river, they hurried to the place they are shown on the drawing. They fought California style, every man for himself and the Devil for the Indians. We sometimes heard the Colonels' voice encouraging the men, telling them to take good aim and save their ammunition. Majors McGarry and Galiger were also loud in their encouragement to the men.

The Indians were soon routed from the top of the ravine and tried to retreat but were not able to escape. Major McGarry sent some cavalry on their horses down the river to stop the Indians' retreat in that direction. Seeing that death was their doom, they fought desperately in the lower end of the ravine where it felt like we were rushing on to death if we charged them. But the victory was not yet won. With a deafening yell the angry soldiers rushed together down the steep banks into the middle of the Indians. Then the work of death really started. With the roar of guns and loud noise of pistols could be heard the [Indians'] cry to surrender but there was no surrendering that day. Some Indians jumped into the river and were shot trying to cross. Some jumped on their ponies and tried to run through the soldiers in different directions but were shot while others ran down the river (on a narrow strip of ice that was on the riverbanks) to a small island and a thicket of willows where they were met by a few of the boys [soldiers] who were waiting for stragglers to come.... The fight lasted four hours and was more like a frolic [game] than a fight, the wounded cracking jokes with the frozen. Some were frozen so bad that they could not load their guns so they used them as clubs...Our loss—fourteen killed and forty two wounded. Indian loss—two hundred and eighty killed.

Document 7: Sgt. William Beach's Map

Source: William Beach was a sergeant in Company K of the 2nd Cavalry Regiment of the California volunteers under Colonel Connor's command. He drew a map of the location of the massacre and wrote an account 16 days after the massacre. Found at <https://rsc.byu.edu/archived/civil-war-saints/bear-river-massacre-new-historical-evidence>



Document 8: James Martineau Account

Source: James Martineau was the surveyor for Cache County and he drew a map with this note on the back on January 29, 1863. Found in the LDS church archives and at http://justaperture.blogspot.com/2013/02/bear-river-massacres-unexpected_6.html

29 January 1863

Sketch of the Battle field on N. side of Bear river.

	90 Squaws & Children	250
report	170 Indians killed	
"	17 U.S. Soldiers killed	
"	49 " wounded.	
about	70 " frozen	

many of the Squaws were killed because they would not submit to lie down and be ravished

J. Martineau

Bear River Battle

40 or 50 Indians captured
14 Squaws wounded

Document 9: Darren Parry's Account

Source: Excerpt taken from the book The Bear River Massacre: A Shoshone History, published in 2019 by Darren Parry, Chairman of the Northwestern Band of the Shoshone and descendant of several Shoshone survivors of the violence on the Bear River.

Chief Sagwitch, being an early riser, got up as usual on the morning of January 29, 1863. He left his teepee and stood outside surveying the area around camp. The hills to the east of camp were covered with a steaming mist, which seem to creep lower down the hill. Sagwitch suddenly realized what was happening: the soldiers from Camp Douglas had arrived. The chief was not surprised. He started calling to the sleeping Indians, who woke, and quickly gathered their bows and arrows, tomahawks and a few rifles. Some of the Indians were so excited that they gathered up whatever was in sight to fight with. Some picked up their woven willow winnow pans and baskets and stuck their rifles through them. It appeared as though they had shields for protection. Chief Sagwitch shouted to his people not to shoot first. He thought that perhaps this military man would be a wise man who would ask for those responsible for the latest attacks on the white settlers, whom Sagwitch would turn over to the soldiers. He told his people to be brave and calm. Some of the Indians ran toward the river and dropped into the snow. They knew that they were not all guilty, but had no choice but to fight for their lives if attacked. Some dropped into the children's play holes that had been dug along the riverbank. Without so much as asking the Indians for the guilty party, the Colonel and his men began to fire on the Indians. Arrows were nothing compared to the Army rifles. Indian men, women, children, and babies were slaughtered like wild rabbits. Most of the violence took place along the river and among the willows. According to the Indians, the massacre started early in the morning and lasted until the early afternoon. The Bear River, frozen solid in the morning, was now starting to flow. The Shoshone people were jumping into the river and trying to escape by swimming across. The blazing white snow was brilliant red with blood. The willow trees that were used for protection were now bent down as if in defeat.

Bear River Massacre Original Documents

Document 1: Hans Jaspersen's Account

SOURCE: Part of an article written by journalist Kristen Moulton and published February 17, 2008 in the Salt Lake Tribune newspaper. Found at: http://www.sltrib.com/ci_8282225

Newly uncovered documents claim far higher number of Shoshones killed in Bear River Massacre

By Kristen Moulton
The Salt Lake Tribune
Published February 17, 2008 8:50 am
Found at: http://www.sltrib.com/ci_8282225

Posted: 10:31 AM- BRIGHAM CITY -- The autobiography of a Mormon pioneer written nearly a century ago and recently made public indicates the number of Shoshones killed in the 1863 Bear River Massacre could be much higher than previously believed. In his 1911 autobiography, Danish emigrant Hans Jaspersen claims to have walked among the bodies, counting 493 dead Shoshones. "I turned around and counted them back and counted just the same," Jaspersen writes. He was just 19 at the time of the massacre. That is a far higher number than previous accounts of the Jan. 29, 1863, massacre when the U.S. Army's Third California Volunteers - intent on punishing the region's Indians for pestering mining supply wagons and pioneers in Cache Valley and along the California Trail - rode from Fort Douglas in Salt Lake City, surrounded the Shoshones on the banks of the Bear River near Preston, Idaho, and slaughtered most of four bands.

Accounts at the time said 210 to 300 Shoshones were killed (17 soldiers died on the battlefield and several more died of their wounds later). The highest previous number - nearly 400 Shoshones - was reported by three pioneers who rode horses through the battlefield the next day, says historian Scott Christensen, who wrote a biography of Sagwitch, a surviving chief. Even at the lower estimates, the Bear River Massacre stands as the worst in the western United States since the nation was founded.

Christensen and another historian described Jaspersen's autobiography as "exciting" new information, although it will require much more research. "Assuming it's true and accurate, it is very, very significant," said Bob McPherson, who teaches history at College of Eastern Utah's San Juan campus in Blanding. He specializes in military and American Indian history, and has led military group tours of the Bear River battleground.

Merrill Nelson is a retired accountant living in West Valley City who, realizing it could be significant, last year sent his great-grandfather's autobiography to the Northwestern Band of the Shoshone Nation. But he doesn't know how to check out the veracity of the account. He knows of no original journal, although one is mentioned in a separate biography written by his great-aunt. "We don't really have any idea about it," he says. All Nelson has are two documents, a typed copy of Jaspersen's 1911 autobiography -- written in the first person, but labeled a

biography and witnessed by a grandson -- and a 1913 handwritten and signed letter in which Jasperson seeks compensation from the Utah Legislature for fighting Indians during the Indian Wars.

Both were left behind by his mother, a family-history buff, who received them from her mother, Jasperson's oldest daughter. In both, Jasperson writes that he saw 493 bodies. The 11-page autobiography touches on the massacre in just two matter-of-fact paragraphs. The rest details other exploits, like helping pioneers make the long trek to Utah, marrying and raising a family on a farm in Goshen near Payson. Jasperson, young but already experienced driving oxen teams, writes that he was hired to go to the Salmon River country (mining camps) and, as he was headed through northern Utah, came across Mormon frontiersman Lot Smith, who told him the Army was fighting the Indians up the river. Jasperson writes that he went with "him," implying Smith, to the battleground.

His description of the battlefield - indeed most of the autobiography - rings true, said Christensen. The verbiage fits the era, and Jasperson does not seem to exaggerate. The topographical details he supplies are accurate. Two aspects, however, trouble Christensen. Jasperson writes that Lot Smith told him the Indians had killed 60 soldiers and wounded 60 more, numbers far higher than the military casualties at Bear River. "It's fairly compelling as history, but I can't square that," Christensen says,

Jasperson also does not mention Shoshone bodies piled eight and five deep, as the three pioneers who rode through the battlefield described, Christensen notes. Christensen says he has not researched whether Lot Smith was at the Bear River, but it's possible. Smith was a good friend of Porter Rockwell, according to a short biography in the University of Utah Marriott Library's Special Collections, and it was Rockwell who led the soldiers to the Shoshones' winter camp along the Bear River.

Christensen, a historian for The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, says he hopes the Jasperson autobiography will spur more research and analysis. "Hopefully we can keep piecing it together and get a better understanding," he says.

Patty Timbimboo Madsen, the Northwestern Band's natural-resources manager, says the few Shoshone survivors of the massacre did not speak much about how many men, women and children died. Her aunt, Mae T. Parry, however, listened to the stories of survivors and argued in her essay, "Massacre at Boa Ogoi," that the military engaged in wholesale slaughter of her people. The tribe's written history estimates 350 died that day. If the casualties were in fact higher, says Madsen, it will affirm Parry's conclusion. "The only thing it does is tell me that the stories my Aunt Mae told were true stories, that it wasn't a battle. It was a massacre." Parry died last spring.

Document 2: Henry Woonsook's Account

Source: Interview of Henry Woonsook, grandson of an eye-witness to the Bear River Massacre. Conducted by Loren Gardner at Fort Hall, Idaho on February 29, 1968.

Interview no. 352. American West Center Dorris Duke American Indian Oral History Project, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah.

Long ago in 1863 at a place on the Bear River where a lot of Indians were living there was a battle where many Indians were killed. The Indians were wintering there. A white man from Preston, I don't know what kind of white man, maybe a bishop, maybe a stake president, told the Indians that they were going to be killed. "You could all run away to safety," the white man told them. But the chief said, "No. We will not run away." The men of the group said, "We don't have to worry. We can handle the soldiers." The young men were feeling good and were throwing rocks at a target and throwing spears. "We can handle the soldiers," they said. "We don't have to run away."

Then the soldiers, a hundred or more, came over the hill. The soldiers descended the hill toward the camp, saying to themselves as they came that they could kill the Indians right in their camp. The soldiers forded a stream near the camp but did not begin to kill the Indians until they were right up to them. Then they began to battle with the Indians. When the battle began, the chiefs said to the women and young people, "You must stay with us because if you leave the rest will leave." Then those Indians who lived there in that place began to battle with the soldiers. My maternal grandmother said that the place where they lived was a place of many willows and when the soldiers began to shoot, the willows began to fall as if they were being moved by a scythe. The Indians were fighting back and they were killing some of the soldiers.

The Indians fought back but there wasn't much they could do because the white men had guns and the Indians had only bows and arrows. One little boy, whose relatives were killed, lay there on the cold ground among the dead ones. As the soldiers came through they checked and any of the Indians who were still alive they shot. The little boy lay still and they passed him by. The little boy lay there and pretended to be dead and they passed him by. That is the way he saved his life. After the soldiers had killed all the Indians who were still alive, they left. Some of the Indians had escaped across the river on the ice in the winter and had come north. When the Indians were away from the scene of the battle, they stopped along the river bank and my grandmother, who had a shoulder wound herself, doctored the other wounded Indians. With the Indians who escaped were my maternal grandfather Cikuci, One-Eyed Tom and another man whose name I don't know. That Cikuci was the one who caused it all.

The little boy who pretended to be dead and who escaped was suffering from the cold there on the river bank, and Cikuci, who had a buffalo robe wrapped around himself, refused to share it with the little boy. He just ignored the little boy. When they had rested they got up and came on up the river farther until finally they stopped and build another fire and warmed themselves.

The man Cikuci was the one who caused this trouble, He and two other men had raided a California-bound wagon train and had killed immigrants. They had taken the horses and the belongings from the wagon train and that is why the soldiers killed those people. That was the cause of the Bear River Battle that I have been telling you about.

The little boy who was called Taaboci, "Brush Rabbit," was the son of Sewici, "Little Buddy Boy."

Document 3: Patrick Connor's Account

SOURCE: Excerpts from report written February 6, 1863 by Colonel Patrick Connor, sent to Lieutenant Colonel R. C. Drum and the United States War Department, and published by the U.S. War Department in 1902. This report resulted in Colonel Connor's military promotion to Brigadier-General

As daylight was approaching I was apprehensive that the Indians would discover the strength of my force and make their escape. I therefore made a rapid march with the cavalry and reached the bank of the river shortly after daylight in full view of the Indian encampment and about 1 mile distant. I immediately ordered Major McGarry to advance with the cavalry and surround before attacking them, while I remained a few minutes in the rear to give orders to the infantry and artillery. On my arrival on the field I found that major McGarry had dismounted the cavalry and was engaged with the Indians, who had sallied out of their hiding places on foot and horseback, and with fiendish malignity waved the scalps of white women and challenged the troops to battle at the same time attacking them....The position of the Indians was one of strong natural defenses, and almost inaccessible to the troops, being in a deep, dry ravine from six to twelve feet deep and from thirty to forty feet wide, with very abrupt banks and running access level table-land, along which they had constructed steps from which they could deliver their fire without being themselves exposed. Under the embankments they had constructed artificial covers of willows thickly woven together from behind which they could fire without being observed. After being engaged about twenty minutes I found it was impossible to dislodge them without great sacrifice of life. I accordingly ordered Major McGarry with twenty men to turn their left flank, which was in the ravine where it entered the mountains. ...

I immediately ordered a detachment of cavalry with led horses to cross the infantry which was done accordingly, and upon their arrival upon the field I ordered them to the support of Major McGarry's flanking party, who shortly afterward succeeded in turning the enemy's flank. Up to this time, in consequence of being exposed on a level and open plan while the Indians were under cover, they had every advantage of us, fighting with the ferocity of demons. My men fell fast and thick around me, but after flanking them we had the advantage and made good use of it. I ordered the flanking party to advance down the ravine on either side, which gave us the advantage of an enfilading fire and caused some of the Indians to give way and run toward the north of the ravine. At this point I had a company stationed, who shot them as they ran out. I also ordered a detachment of cavalry across the ravine to cut off the retreat of any fugitives who might escape the company at the mouth of the ravine. But few tried to escape, however, but continued fighting with unyielding obstinacy, frequently engaging in hand to hand with the troops until killed in their hiding places. The most of those who did escape from the ravine were afterward shot in attempting to swim the river, or killed whole desperately fighting under cover of the dense willow thicket which lined the river banks. To give you an idea of the desperate character of the fight, you are respectfully referred to the list of killed and wounded transmitted herewith. The fight commenced about 6 o'clock in the morning and continued until 10. ...

We found 224 bodies on the field, among which were those of the chiefs Bear Hunter, Sagwich, and Leight. How many more were killed than stated I am unable to say, as the condition of the wounded rendered their immediate removal a necessity. I was unable to examine the field. I

captured 175 horses, some arms, destroyed over seventy lodges, a large quantity of wheat and other provisions, which had been furnished them by the Mormons; left a small quantity of wheat for the sustenance of 160 captive squaws and children whom I left in the field. ...

The enemy had about 300 warriors, mostly well armed with rifles and having plenty of ammunition, which rumor says they received from inhabitants of this Territory in exchange for the property of massacred emigrants. The position of the Indians was one of great natural strength, and had I not succeeded in flanking them the mortality in my command would have been terrible. In consequence of the deep snow, the howitzers did not reach the field in time to be used in the action.

Document 4: William Drannan's Account

SOURCE: the memoirs of William F. Drannan entitled THIRTY-ONE YEARS ON THE PLAINS AND IN THE MOUNTAINS OR, THE LAST VOICE FROM THE PLAINS. AN AUTHENTIC RECORD OF A LIFE TIME OF HUNTING, TRAPPING, SCOUTING AND INDIAN FIGHTING IN THE FAR WEST written and published in 1899. Found at <http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/5337/pg5337.html>

Gen. Connor offered me a position as scout, which I accepted, and on the sixth day after my arrival at Fort Douglas, in company with two other scouts, I struck out in advance of the command. In the forenoon of the eighth day from the fort we found the Indians on a tributary of Cash Valley in a deep canyon and fortified. They had cut logs and rolled them down the hill, piling them on each side of the canyon, several feet high and had intermingled them with brush. This was the first fortification I had ever seen built by Indians. We returned and met the command that night, and when we were making our report to the General he asked me what the fortifications looked like. I told him that I could not think of anything to compare them to, but that I thought they could be swept very easily by a Howitzer from above and below. He asked me if I would accompany one of his commissioned officers that night to see the fortifications, and I told him I would. After supper that evening a Captain came to me, whose name I am sorry to say I have forgotten, and asked me if I was the man that was to accompany him to the Indian fortifications. I told him that I was, and he asked what time we had better start. I told him we had better start at once as there would be a moon in the fore part of the night, but that the after part would be very dark. So we mounted our horses and were off. We rode to within about three-quarters of a mile of the fortifications and there we remained until it was light enough to see, and then the Captain took out his glasses and scanned the whole country as well as the fortifications. After looking about half an hour the Captain asked me what I thought of it, and what would be my plan of attack. I told him that I had no idea, as I had never seen Indians fortified before. He said it would be a bloody fight, I said yes, but I thought the blood would all be on one side. "Yes," replied the Captain, "we ought to clean them out without losing ten men." We went to our horses, mounted, and rode back to the command as quick as we could, meeting it about four miles from the fortifications, piloted by the two scouts that had been out with me the day before.

The Captain and Gen. Connor had a long conversation as we moved along. When within a mile of the mouth of this canyon Gen. Connor formed his men in line, one half to go on each side of the canyon in which the Indians were fortified, and the cannon were placed at the mouth of the canyon.

I did not see any Indians of any account until the command to fire was given. When the soldiers commenced to fire—there being about twelve hundred—it frightened the Indians so that they came running out from under those logs and brush like jack rabbits and were shot down like sheep. In all my experience in the Western wilds I never saw such a slaughtering as there. The Indians had been taught by the Mormons that if they would fortify themselves in that way the whites could not harm them, teaching them also, that the Lord would protect them, which was a great thing for the white people, for it came so near cleaning the Utes up that there was only a little remnant left, and they never gave the white people any more trouble. Thus white people were enabled to pass through that country unmolested. Heretofore it had been one of the most dangerous parts of the country. For all this I have ever since believed that the Mormons, unintentionally, did the Gentiles a great favor.

After the battle was over, and as scouts are at liberty to go where they please, I rode over the battle-field in company with the other scouts and I never in all my life saw such a mangled up mass as was there. Men, women and children were actually lying in heaps, and I think all that got away were a few that hid among the logs and brush. In this battle the Captain told me they did not lose a man, and had only four wounded, while he counted over three thousand dead Indians. When I returned to Salt Lake City I was astonished to see the manner in which the Salt Lake papers abused Gen. Connor for slaughtering the Indians in the manner he had, when they (the Mormons) had planned the slaughter, although not meaning for it to be a slaughter of Indians. Gen. Connor said that the Mormons had thought that the Indians would fortify themselves, and when attacked by the soldiers, they would wipe them (the soldiers) off the face of the earth. The idea had been so thoroughly instilled into the minds of the Indians by the Mormons that the Lord would protect them if only fortified in this manner that they depended most altogether on the Lord to protect them.

Document 5: Casualty List

APPENDIX A

Casualties from the Battle of Bear River

Second Cavalry—Company A

Killed—James W. Baldwin, private, through the cheek
George German, private, above the heart
Wounded—John Welch, private, arrow in each lung, dangerously
John William Wall, private, shot in right arm, dangerously
William H. Lake, private, shot in the mouth, badly
William Jay, private, index finger shot off, slightly
James Montgomery, private, right lung, dangerously

Company H

Killed—Charles L. Hollowell, private, center of chest
John K. Briggs, private, through the chest
Wounded—Barrel C. Hutchinson, private, right arm, badly
Frank A. Farley, private, right side, badly
Hugh Connor, private, left eye, dangerously
James Logue, right elbow, badly
Michael O'Brien, private, left lung, dangerously
Patrick Frawley, private, right shoulder and spine, dangerously
Phillip Schaub, private, left lung, dangerously
Joseph A. Clowes, private, right shoulder, slightly
John Franklin, private, right hip and neck, dangerously
James Cantillon, sergeant, left lung, dangerously
Thompson Ridge, private, right arm, slightly

Company K

Killed—Christian Smith, bugler, center of chest, right to left
Shelbourne C. Reed, private, through the head
Adolphus Rowe, private, through both lungs
Lewis Anderson, private, through the heart
Henry W. Trempef, private, through both lungs
Wounded—Morris Illig, private, right shoulder, badly
Alonzo A.P.V. McCoy, private, navel, slightly

Benjamin Landis, corporal, right shoulder, dangerously
 Robert Hargrave, private, thigh, badly
 William M. Slocum, private, right lung, dangerously
 John S. Lee, private, right arm and hip, badly
 Albert N. Parker, private, left arm, badly
 Eugene J. Brady, private, nose and face, dangerously
 Nathaniel Kinsley, private, right side and arm, dangerously
 Sylvanus S. Longley, private, neck, badly
 John Dailey, 1st sergeant, left breast and shoulder, dangerously
 Patrick H. Kelly, corporal, abdomen, slightly

Company M

Killed—George C. Cox, private, through both lungs
 George W. Horton, private, through the heart
 Asa E. Howard, wagoner, through the heart

Wounded—Anthony Stevens, sergeant, chest and shoulder, dangerously
 Philip Humbert, private, top of head, slightly
 Adolph Hupfner, bugler, right arm, slightly
 John Stevens, private, top of head, slightly
 Joshua Leggett, private, left shoulder, dangerously
 Thaddeus Barcafer, private, right shoulder, dangerously
 Reuben Miller, private, right shoulder, dangerously
 E. C. Chase, private, right shoulder, badly
 James H. or Joseph (?) Forbes, private, hand and arm, badly
 Leander W. Hughes, corporal, nose and right side, badly
 Levi D. Hughes, private, right leg, badly
 William M. Davis, private, right lung, died at Ogden, February 3, 1863
 William H. Hood, private, left hand and groin, badly
 Lorin Robbins, sergeant, right side, badly

Third Infantry—Company K

Killed—John A. Baker, private, through heart and stomach
 Samuel J. W. Thomas, private, through the chest
Wounded—Adoniram J. Austin, 1st sergeant, right eye, dangerously
 Ebenezer C. Hoyt, sergeant, left lung, dangerously
 John Hensley, private, right leg, badly
 Thomas B. Walker, private, left side, badly

Officers Wounded

Major Peter A. Gallagher, Third Infantry, left arm, badly
 Captain Daniel McLean, Company H, Second Cavalry, left thigh and
 right arm, dangerously
 Lieutenant Darwin Chase, Company K, Second Cavalry, left lung,
 dangerously
 Lieutenant David E. Berry, Company A, Second Cavalry, right shoulder,
 dangerously

*Officers and Men in Hospital with
 Frosted Feet, Second Cavalry*

Company A—Corporals Adolph Spraggle and Moses Duval
 Privates George K. Swan, John D. Marker, S. Shomadan, Roger M.
 McNulty, and James P. McCue

Company H—Sergeant John W. Kilgore
 Privates George Fisher, John W. Stultz, Augustus Landgraf, John H.
 Allman, Thomas Bradley, Theron R. Gaston, Andrew J. Lockhard,
 Harvey Smith, James M. Norton, William A. Stier, William M. Maher,
 William W. Goodell, William C. Walton, Edward J. Casano, Harry A.
 McDonald

Company K—Sergeant William M. Beach

Corporals William L. White, James R. Hunt
 Privates John Lincoln, David Burns, Daley S. Ausley, Matthew Amore,
 Fredetick W. Becker, Joseph or Nathaniel Chapman (?), John G.
 Herte, Samuel L. Caldwell, C. Howe, Joseph Hill, George Johnson,
 Arthur Mitchell, James McKown, Alonzo R. Palmer, Charles Wilson,
 and David Barton

Company M—Sergeant John Cullen

Corporals Alfred P. Hewitt and William M. Steel
 Privates William W. Collins, Andrew J. Case, James Dyer, John
 McGonigle, and Daniel Griffin

Third Infantry

Company K—Sergeants Cornelius J. Herron and Charles F. Williams
 Corporals J. H. Zollman, John Wingate, and W. A. Bennett
 Privates William St. John, Algeray Ramsdell, James E. Epperson, Arthur
 F. H. Randall, William H. Farnham, John Bortland, Giles W. Ticknor,
 A. Rensho, Barron B. Bigelow, J. Anderson, James Urquhart, Francis L.
 Bourasso, Frank W. Branch, Aldis L. Bailey, William Carlton, Daniel
 Donoghue, Charles H. Godbold, John Haywood, Charles W. Heath,
 John Manning, William G. Way, and Joseph Germain

Recapitulation

Died—Second Cavalry

Lieutenant Darwin Chase, Company K, February 4, 1863, at Farmington,
 U.T.
 Private William M. Davis, Company M, February 3, 1863, at Ogden,
 U.T.
 Sergeant James Cantillon, Company H, February 4, 1863, at Camp
 Douglas, U.T.
 Private William M. Slocum, Company K, February 5, 1863, at Camp
 Douglas, U.T.

Sergeant Anthony Stevens, Company M, February 6, 1863, at Camp Douglas, U.T.
 Private Michael O'Brien, Company H, February 7, 1863, at Camp Douglas, U.T.
 Private John W. Wall, Company A, February 8, 1863, at Camp Douglas, U.T.
 Corporal Patrick Frawley, Company H, February 9, 1863, at Camp Douglas, U.T.
 Private William H. Lake, Company A, March 24, 1863, at Camp Douglas, U.T.*

*Discharged for Reasons of Disability
 Second Cavalry—Company A*

James Montgomery, private, "Discharged Camp Douglas, U.T., June 29, 1863, for disability caused by wounds received at battle of Bear River, U.T., January 29, 1863."

Company H

John Franklin, private, "Discharged at Camp Douglas, U.T., May 27, 1863, by reason of disability—wounded in the side at battle of Bear River, U.T., Jan. 29, 1863."

Company K

Benjamin Landis, corporal—"Discharged at Camp Douglas, U.T., May 28, 1863, for disability caused from wounds received in the battle of Bear River, Jan. 29, 1863."
 Walter B. Welton, corporal—"Discharged at Camp Douglas, U.T., May 28, 1863, for disability caused from wounds received in the battle of Bear River, Jan. 29, 1863."
 Morris Illig, private—"Discharged Aug. 15, 1863, by reason of disability caused by wounds received in the battle of Bear River, Jan. 29, 1863."
 Albert N. Parker, private—"Discharged at Camp Douglas, May 28, 1863, by reason of disability caused from wounds received in the battle of Bear River, Jan. 29, 1863."

*Richard H. Orton, comp., *Records of California Men in the War of Rebellion, 1861 to 1867*, pp. 178-79, 200-208, 257-66, 274-83, 293-303, 389-94; National Archives, "California. Regt'l Order Book, 2d Cavalry, Adjutant General's Office"; National Archives, "California. 2nd Cav. Regt'l Reports Indian Scouts, etc., April 29/62 to Dec. 15/63, Casualties," pp. 14-15. Original Report submitted by Robert K. Reid, Surgeon Third Infantry California Volunteers. Official copy sent to G. Wright, Brigadier General, Commanding United States Army.

Company M

William H. Hood, private—"Discharged at Fort Bridger, Wy. T., June 22, 1863, for disability caused by wound received in battle of Bear River, U.T., Jan. 29, 1863."*

*Orton, *Records*, pp. 206, 262, 276, 280-81, 298.

Document 6: William Beach's Account

Source: William Beach was a sergeant in Company K of the 2nd Cavalry Regiment of the California volunteers under Colonel Connor's command. He drew a map of the location of the massacre and wrote an account 16 days after the massacre. Found at <https://rsc.byu.edu/archived/civil-war-saints/bear-river-massacre-new-historical-evidence>

This View Represents the Battlefield on Bear River fought Jan. 29th /'63 Between four companies of the Second Cavalry and one company third Infantry California Volenteers under Colonel Connor And three hundred and fifty Indians under Bear hunter, Sagwich and Lehigh [Lehi] three very noted Indian chiefs. The Newspapers give a very grafic account of the Battle all of which is very true with the exception of the positions assigned the Officers which Cos K and M cavelry were first on the ground

When they had arrived at the position they occupy on the drawing Major McGeary [Edward McGarry] gave the commands to dismount and prepare to fight on foot which was instantly obeyed. Lieutenant [Darwin] Chase and Capt. [George F.] Price then gave the command forward to their respective companies after which no officer was heeded or needed The Boys were fighting Indians and intended to whip them. It was a free fight every man on his own hook. Companies H and A came up in about three minutes and pitched in in like manner. Cavalry Horses were sent back to bring the Infantry across the River as soon as they arrived. When across they took a double quick until they arrived at the place they occupy on the drawing they pitched in California style every man for himself and the Devil for the Indians. The Colonels Voice was occasionally herd encourageing the men teling them to take good aim and save their amunition Majs McGeary and Galiger [Paul A. Gallagher] were also loud in their encouragement to the men.

The Indians were soon routed from the head of the ravine and apparently antispated a general stampede but were frustrated in thair attempt Maj McGeary sent a detachment of mounted cavelry down the River and cut of their retreat in that direction Seing that death was their doom they made a desparate stand in the lower end of the Ravine where it appeared like rushing on to death to apprach them But the victory was not yet won. With a deafening yell the infuriated Volenteers with one impulse made a rush down the steep banks into their very midst when the work of death commenced in real earnest. Midst the roar of guns and sharp report of Pistols could be herd the cry for quarters but their was no quarters that day. Some jumped into the river and were shot attempting to cross some mounted their ponies and attempted to run the gauntlet in different directions but were shot on the wing while others ran down the River (on a narrow strip of ice that gifted the shores) to a small island and a thicket of willows below where they foun [found] a very unwelcome reception by a few of the boys who were waiting the approach of straglers. It was hardly daylight when the fight commence and freezing cold the valley was covered with Snow—one foot deep which made it very uncomfortable to the wounded who had to lay until the fight was over. The fight lasted four hours and appeared more like a frolick than a fight the wounded cracking jokes with the frozen some frozen so bad that they could not load their guns used them as clubs No distinction was made betwen Officers and Privates each fought where he thought he was most needed. The report is currant that their was three hundred of the

Volunteers engaged That is in correct one fourth of the Cavelry present had to hold Horses part of the Infantry were on guard with the waggons While others were left behind some sick with frozen hands and feet. Only three hundred started on the expedition.

Our loss—fourteen killed and forty two wounded Indian Loss two hundred and eighty Kiled.

The Indians had a very strong natural fortification as you will percieve by the sketch within it is a deep ravine {with thick willows and vines so thick that it was difficult to see an Indian from the banks} runing across a smooth flat about half a mile in width. Had the Volunteers been been in their position all h—I could not have whiped them. The hills around the Valley are about six hundred feet high with two feet of snow on them. . . .

In the language of an old Sport I weaken

.... Trail in the snow

^^^^^^^^ Lodges or Wickeups in Ravine

iii iii iii Retreating Indians

::: ::: Co. K, 3rd Infantry

!!!!!!! Cavelry four companies afterwards scattered over the field

Sergeant W. L. Beach. Co. K, 2nd c. C. V.

Camp Douglas. Feb. 14th /63

I recieved six very severe wounds in my coat. W. L. Beach

Documents 7, 8, and 9 are in their original formats in the student packet