

**“Finding Parley:” A Family’s Quest to Fulfill
Apostle Parley P. Pratt’s Dying Wish**

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INTRODUCTION

1. I have been the president of the Jared Pratt Family Association for nearly two decades. The Association is one of the oldest and largest family history organizations in the nation, founded in 1881, for the purpose of collecting and preserving the history of Anson, William, Parley, Orson and Nelson Pratt, the five sons of Jared and Charity Pratt, for their approximately 60,000 descendants. Information on the Association is available on its website at www.pratt-family.org. All of the source documents I will refer to today are available, along with thousands of other pages of historic information, on the website.

2. By way of disclosure . . .
 - a. I am a believing Latter-day Saint¹.
 - b. I am professionally trained as an attorney and engineer.
 - c. I have also been president of one of Utah’s largest businesses, led a national trade association, and have traveled in nearly 30 countries of the world.
 - d. I am a great-great-great grandson of Parley P. Pratt.
 - e. I am not a historian; therefore, I am not constrained by either the skill or wisdom of your craft. I speak today about my personal search for the facts about Parley’s death and burial. I will also speak from my perspective as a lawyer trained to evaluate conflicting evidence. As a lawyer, I always search for the “best evidence” available.

3. It would certainly be reasonable today for you to ask “Why do we still care?” “Why is this still relevant to our family after 150 years?” For the family, Parley’s death in Arkansas was a personal tragedy of monumental proportion.

¹ From 1999-2002, I served as a mission president in a small piece of what was Parley’s mission in the early 1850s, which included California and the islands and coasts of the Pacific Ocean.

- a. *“Parley was the father of 30 children, 15 sons and 15 daughters, 23 of whom survived him.”*²
- b. At the time of his death, his oldest child, Parley, Jr. was 20 years of age³
- c. His next oldest child was Olivia, age 15. This left 22 children age 12 and under fatherless.
- d. The economic status of Parley’s family in 1857 was precarious at best. Parley had been gone on missions for much of the prior 25 years. They were living very humbly with little or no reserves or resources.⁴ The family, with few exceptions, remained poor for many years to come.
- e. When Eleanor Pratt died 17 years later in 1874, she was buried in the pauper’s section of the Salt Lake City Cemetery.
- f. When Kaziah Downs Pratt died a few years after Eleanor, she was buried in what was likely a borrowed grave.⁵
- g. Those wives who did not remarry, eventually purchased a family plot in the Salt Lake City Cemetery. Even today, those wives have no individual headstones (only small footstones), suggesting the ongoing poverty of the family for decades after Parley’s death. Notwithstanding their poverty, they reserved a place in that plot between them for Parley to occupy when his dying wish was fulfilled.⁶
- h. So why do we care? Parley’s death left these families destitute, with no protector or provider for the wives and with no champion to help the children make their way in the world. Notwithstanding all of the national and Church-wide attention, both good and bad about Parley’s murder, his death was very much a deeply personal tragedy for his family. The eastern press largely rejoiced in his murder. Amidst the

² Reminiscences of Mrs. A. Agatha Pratt.

³ His mother, Thankful Halsey, died following childbirth 20 years earlier. He was being raised by Belinda Marden Pratt, another of Parley’s wives and my third great grandmother.

⁴ There was no governmental support for widows and orphans nor was there a Church welfare system in place.

⁵ She is buried in a section of the cemetery in which one of Parley’s brothers, William, is buried with members of his family.

⁶ This year it is the family’s intention to place appropriate headstones on their graves.

tumultuous events of 1857, even his Church did not hold a memorial service to honor one of its greatest missionaries and early leaders.⁷

- i. Most importantly, even today Parley's history and legacy remain in controversy as they are repeatedly swept up in the sometimes bitter religious debate concerning Mormonism. If someone googles "Parley Pratt death" right now (for example, a young descendant working on a school research project about his or her ancestry), the second reference provided contains the following comment written in 2005:

*"Anyone here know the REAL reason this son-of-a-bitch was killed. . . The assailant was none other than the HUSBAND of a woman that Parley Prick seduced into being his NINTH polygamous wife. IMO [in my opinion], Parley got what he deserved."*⁸

4. I suspect that such remarks are more a reaction to Parley's religion than to the man himself. Attacking Parley continues to be a way to attack his religion. So long as Parley's personal legacy remains "at play", his family will most likely choose to respond, not "in kind," at least hopefully to "re-center the pendulum".⁹
5. I believe it was J. R. Tolkien who said that history becomes legend and legend becomes myth. After 150 years, there are now at least two competing myths concerning the life, death, and burial of Parley P. Pratt. I invite you to briefly revisit some of the history with me in search of the truth of the myths that have been created.

⁷ In contrast, when his brother Orson died several decades later, his funeral was celebrated before thousands at General Conference, with words of praise flowing freely from Church leaders and the Mormon press.

⁸ This comment, and many others like it on www.exmormons.org, was written in response to a "First Presidency" message in August, 2005, in which President Gordon B. Hinckley referred to Parley P. Pratt. Its author is identified as Polygamy Porter, and it is dated July 16, 2005.

⁹ His family would hope that eventually those who oppose his religion, and probably know little about the man himself, will leave his memory out of the continuing controversies. Nevertheless, I suspect that more will be said about Parley in 2007 than any other time in the last century.

LEGAL PERSPECTIVE

1. Much has been made over the last 150 years of a few alleged facts, which have allowed defenders or detractors of Parley to spin the story of his death in very different ways.
2. For example, either Parley was responsible for the demise of a happy marriage or Hector McLean was an abusive alcoholic as alleged by Eleanor. **What is the best evidence?**
 - a. The McLeans' first separation occurred in 1844, less than three years after their marriage, due to Hector's abuse of alcohol. At that time Eleanor and Hector exchanged letters in which she refers to the "vice to which you have become a prey" and he responds by saying "I have tried in vain, to live soberly and righteously before God and men, but cannot accomplish it."¹⁰
 - b. As Eleanor later testified, Hector's abuse of alcohol was a significant factor in the demise of their marriage.¹¹

¹⁰ A fuller text of these communications is set forth in _____. Eleanor's letter to Hector read in part:

"Dear Hector: Having used every persuasion (sic) in my power to no effect, I see but three alternatives all ending in misery if not in crime. First, to live a victim (sic) of the vice to which you have become a prey 2nd to seek a home among strangers, or shall the smooth current of the Mississippi be the last page that any may read of my "Ill Fate?" Your Wife. E.J. McLean"

To her letter, Hector responded with the following note containing promises that he never kept although he moved the family to San Francisco to "start over":

*Millikins Bend
December 31, 1844*

"Nea, Ellen neither of these shall ever be your lot. I will cease to grieve your gentle spirit, and we will live together so long as it is the will and good pleasure of a Heavenly Parent we should. . . . I must be saved and reformed--it is impossible to be either here. I have tried in vain, to live soberly and righteously before God and men but cannot accomplish it. Yours sincerely. Hector"

¹¹ See the testimony of Eleanor Pratt before Judge Ogden of the death of Parley P. Pratt. Account of Eleanor Pratt. _____

3. Second alleged fact: Parley seduced Eleanor while serving his mission in San Francisco. **What is the best evidence?**
- a. As far as my review of the records show, Hector never accused Eleanor of adultery with Pratt during the San Francisco period. In fact, she had joined the Church well before Parley arrived in San Francisco. Hector's anger was focused primarily on her conversion to Mormonism.
 - b. As with many of the missionaries of his time, Parley was accompanied by Elizabeth Brotherton, one of his wives, on his mission to San Francisco. Eleanor describes Elizabeth as being present during the times she visited at the Pratt residence.¹²
 - c. Although the Latter-day Saints were then practicing polygamy, they looked upon adultery as a sin next to murder, which would cause one in Parley's position to be excommunicated and lose all the blessings he sought through adherence to the gospel.
 - d. Eleanor and Parley both denied any impropriety in their relationship.
 - e. Only later writers have speculatively raised this issue, with little or no supporting evidence.
4. Alleged fact: Eleanor and Parley were at fault because Eleanor had not legally divorced Hector. **What is the best Evidence?**
- a. These were different legal times:
 1. The constitutional doctrine of free exercise of religion was not well developed. The Bill of Rights containing the protection for religious freedom was not made applicable to the states until after the Civil War by passage of the 14th Amendment, and even then, it did not protect against actions of individuals.
 2. Not only was religious freedom not protected, the status of women at that time was very much different than today. The common law doctrine of "coverture" made a wife, her property and her children, the property of the husband. The early women's rights movement had not yet caused significant change in this approach. In many ways, women of the time lived in a male-dominated society where legal restrictions and limitations on their rights were a reflection of the subservient role in which they were viewed and cast.
 - b. Before leaving New Orleans for the last time, Eleanor actually sought legal counsel concerning whether she could regain custody of her

¹² Account of Eleanor Pratt. _____.

- children. She was told that the likely outcome of a court proceeding was that her husband would have her committed to an insane asylum, as he and her brother had threatened to do several times before. There is ample evidence that the charge of religious excitement or frenzy was being used to commit Mormons, Millerites, and other religious adherents at that time.
- c. Under these circumstances, the law did not provide any route for Eleanor to divorce Hector McLean, even though she had ceased to be his wife in fact several years earlier.¹³
5. Alleged Fact: Eleanor stole her children from Hector in New Orleans and he was justified in tracking her down, taking the children from her by force, and killing Parley. **What is the best evidence?**
- a. Under current notions of equity, the legal doctrine of coverture is an antiquated and pernicious remnant of an unenlightened age. Consider with me how this story would have played out in our day.
 - b. Hector took the children from Eleanor and sent them across state lines from San Francisco to New Orleans without her knowledge or consent, which today would constitute federal kidnapping. In fact, we now have the Amber Alert system to protect children and spouses from exactly this kind of treatment.¹⁴
 - c. With respect to Eleanor leaving New Orleans with the two youngest children, it is important to remember that the children were not living with Hector. The oldest of the three children had been sent to boarding school in Ohio and the two younger children were in the care of Eleanor's parents. As far as we are aware, her parents had no established right to keep the children from her.¹⁵ In today's legal setting, Hector would have been charged and prosecuted for kidnapping and Eleanor's

¹³ It should also be noted that with respect to the "laws of marriage" the Latter-day Saints at that time believed the laws of God superseded the laws of men, and a divorce from Hector may have been viewed by Eleanor as an unnecessary formality.

¹⁴ When Hector took the children, he apparently had no intention to function as their father, but sent them to New Orleans to live with Eleanor's parents. Even if he had some right to take the children in San Francisco, as a parent, he certainly had no right to take them and to deliver them to a third-party custodian.

¹⁵ Hector was not a grieving father over the loss of his children. As far as the record shows, he never cared for them after they were taken from Eleanor. In fact, the winning defense against the charge that Eleanor and/or Parley had stolen the clothing the children were wearing, was that Hector had never provided the clothing in the first place.

children would have been returned to her until a court decided the dispute between them.

- d. From a modern perspective, perhaps the greatest abuse in the entire sequence of events is that when Eleanor is arrested in Indian Territory, the children are immediately given to Hector by the U.S. Marshall and the army patrol.
- e. Set in the male-dominated paradigm of the mid-1800s, such injustice to women may have been tolerated, but such would never be the case today. One can certainly understand the injustice and helplessness that Eleanor felt under a system that deprived women of the most fundamental rights concerning family relationships.¹⁶

6. Alleged Fact: Parley's mission for the Church was a subterfuge to permit Parley to assist Eleanor in obtaining her children. **What is the best evidence?**

- a. Parley was on a mission he did not choose or want, but went obediently. His wife, Ann Agatha Pratt, recalled later:

“He came into my house one day about the middle of August, and said to me, “Agatha, I have bad news for you.” ...His words and manner sent a strange thrill through me. I said, “What is it!” He replied, “I am called to go on a mission.” I said, “Why do you call it bad news? You have been on missions before.” He said, “Because I feel as if I shall never come back.”¹⁷

- b. Parley had served missions during most of the prior 25 years having traveled to Europe and the British Isles on several occasions and as far south as Chile. His family was living very humbly and he had hoped to remain in Salt Lake City for an extended period to care for them and improve their condition. In addition, anti-Mormon sentiment in the east was growing worse by the day and the “Mormon issue” was dealt with daily in the national press. The eastern branches of the Church and their members were under extraordinary pressure. Those who went east to publicly represent the Church at this time, particularly those who, like Parley, had earlier been arrested in, and escaped from, Missouri, were in danger of being re-arrested, imprisoned, or worse.

¹⁶ It's interesting to note that years later we find one of the two younger children living in Utah with Eleanor, the oldest son many years later is listed as a resident of Sacramento, California, and the other child may have also visited or spent time in Utah with Eleanor.

¹⁷ Reminiscences of Mrs. A. Agatha Pratt.

- c. Parley was actively fulfilling his missionary calling in the months prior to his death, writing letters to his family from a number of eastern cities where he traveled in late 1856 and early 1857.
- d. He spoke at a conference of the Church just the week before he headed for Indian Territory to meet Eleanor and her children and return to his home in the west. He had not gone to New Orleans with Eleanor but had proceeded east on his mission. At the time of his arrest, he had not seen Eleanor in many months.
- e. Some have alleged that Parley's priesthood leaders, specifically President Brigham Young, were unaware of his efforts to assist Eleanor. We have recently discovered a letter from Erastus Snow, the Apostle in charge of missionary work in St. Louis, to President Young just shortly before Parley was killed. The letter told how Parley had narrowly escaped from St Louis, Missouri:

“The Hare [Parley] however escaped narrowly but silently by a way they knew not and the blood hounds have lost every scent of his trail. The Bird [Eleanor] with her Young [her children] had flown over the Gulf [New Orleans] and her beak headed towards the high places of the Mountains [Utah].”¹⁸

- Unless Brigham Young was aware of the attempt to recover Eleanor's children, this obvious reference would have made no sense to him. I believe Parley was pursuing this objective with the knowledge of Erastus Snow, Brigham Young, and others.¹⁹
- f. The best evidence is this: Parley was on a mission that he did not seek; he spent months traveling through the Eastern States fulfilling his missionary call; he preached at a Church conference just a week prior to leaving for Indian Territory; and his Church leaders were aware that Eleanor was attempting to recover her children.²⁰

¹⁸ Letter dated _____ from Erastus Snow to President Brigham Young. Brigham Young Collection, Archives of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

¹⁹ We can be very sure that Erastus Snow was aware of her efforts because Eleanor specifically refers to “borrowing \$100 from the Church in St. Louis” to make her journey to New Orleans to obtain her children.

²⁰ In the law, we have a concept of a “frolic”. A frolic is when you are acting on another's behalf, but then take leave of your assignment to go do something that your employer or leader is unaware of. Parley was not on a frolic at the time of his death.

PARLEY'S DYING WISH

The Effort to Find & Move Parley

1. As he lay dying near Fine Springs, Arkansas in 1857, Apostle Parley P. Pratt requested that his remains be moved to Utah where he could be buried among his family. In the succeeding 150 years, his family and descendants (now numbering in the tens of thousands) have attempted to locate and remove his remains from the Wynn Family Cemetery in Fine Springs to the space reserved for him in the family plot in Salt Lake City. The Pratt family made efforts to find and/or move Parley in 1857, the 1890s, the early 1900s, the 1910s, the 1930s and the 1950s.²¹ Using records drawn from family, LDS Church, and other sources, I would like to describe these efforts. with significant new evidence, I can tell a story today regarding Parley's death, burial, and grave that has never been told before, and certainly not in Arkansas.
2. The most detailed account of Parley's dying wish comes from the recollections of John A. Peel, who was among the large company that followed Hector McLean and the other two primary assailants out of Van Buren when it was learned that Parley P. Pratt had been acquitted and released by Judge Ogden. In an interview with Elder Frank T. Pomeroy in 1898, Peel recalls:

“We followed rapidly, and when within about half a mile of the parties we heard pistol shots and a few moments later met Mr. McLean returning. He did not speak to any of us, but rode on into Van Buren and took a steamer down the river. We went to where the shooting had taken place and found Pratt sitting against a tree, he having crawled some distance from the road. We went up and conversed with him. He said he knew he was going to die and desired us to communicate with the Mormon train and have some of them return and take his body to Utah . . . His voice grew weaker and weaker and finally he breathed no more. We returned to Van Buren and reported the killing.”²²²³

²¹ Logistical problems, conflicting eyewitness accounts of the manner and place of his burial, and continued animosity against Mormonism resulting from the Mountain Meadows Massacre hindered these efforts.

²² Account of John A. Peel, Church Archives. Peel specifically states that Parley requested that communication be sent to the Mormon wagon train that was then heading west, which Eleanor

1. 1857
 - a. The first family effort to move Parley to Salt Lake was immediately initiated by Eleanor Pratt herself in 1857 when she asked Apostle Erastus Snow to send elders to recover and move Parley's body to Utah. Other events in 1857, including the Utah War, made it difficult, if not impossible, to undertake such an effort.
2. 1890's
 - a. The facts concerning the second known effort in the 1890s by the Pratt family to find Parley's grave and move his remains come from an unlikely source, the "Memoirs of Mountain Meadows Massacre" [?] as recalled by Mrs. Elvrene Baker, aged 98, in about 1928.²⁴

and Parley had hoped to join. The train was now on its way to Utah and his request that they "return" to recover his body would make sense in an historical context unknown to Peel.

²³ Pomeroy's account of his interview with John Peel appears to have been delivered to the Church on or about April 11, 1898. Whether or not it was a motivating factor for those who initiated the effort to recover Parley's body in 1902 is unknown, but a connection appears likely.

²⁴ She states that she and her family survived the massacre because their wagon had fallen behind the main train passing through Southern Utah. Her account, although fundamentally inaccurate about the story of Parley, Eleanor, and Hector prior to the events in Van Buren, does contain significant detail that corroborates other accounts about the events in Arkansas in 1857. Her recollections include the following account:

"Captain John Stewart, 88 year old Confederate veteran and ex-sheriff of Crawford County, who was born in three miles of the scene of Pratt's death, is without doubt the only living man or woman possessing any knowledge of the final chapter of the tragedy. Captain Stewart has been living in Van Buren many years and is Crawford County's oldest native born son or daughter. Born in 1840, he was 16 years old at the time and impressions made upon his mind by the tragedy at that time are still vividly and accurately recalled. The Stewart homestead where he was born in the present site of Lancaster, a small station on the Frisco railroad in the Frog Bayou valley three miles north of the Wynn blacksmith shop. Captain Stewart's father was operating a sawmill at that time, cutting pine, walnut and such other timbers as the meager demand called for. In discussing the matter Captain Stewart said that Blacksmith Wynn, the afternoon of the tragedy dispatched a neighbor to the Stewart home with an order and the proper measurements for a coffin with the information that a man had been killed at the blacksmith shop. The order was received late that afternoon and as lumber for the coffin had to be dressed by hand, it was not finished until 10 o'clock next morning, when it was loaded into an ox wagon and young Stewart sent to deliver it and told that he might remain for the funeral, much to his satisfaction.

The body had been carried into the Wynn home and prepared for burial as fast as they could. Mrs. McLean, to whom the death of Pratt had been announced, was present. In

- b. The most intriguing part of her account to the Pratt family is her statement that a “descendant of Parley Pratt” had made an effort to locate the grave in 1894:

“As late as 1894 when Captain Stewart was serving his fourth and last year as sheriff, a middle aged man visited in the latter’s office explaining that he was a descendant of Parley Pratt and that his mission was to locate the grave with a view of removing the remains. He had been told that Captain Stewart as a boy had hauled the body to the graveyard and witnessed the interment and as a last incentive, offered the sheriff \$500 if he could locate the grave, but this was impossible in the mind of Captain Stewart and he declined to consider the offer.”

To date we are unaware of any family or Church records that tell us any more about this effort in the 1894.

3. 1902

- a. The next effort to locate Parley’s grave was in 1902.
- b. In that year, Samuel Russell, a grandson of Parley, wrote to John Neal, ex-Mayor of Van Buren, Arkansas, concerning the location of Parley’s grave.
- c. John Neal’s reply was given to the First Presidency of the Church, which responded to Samuel Russell as follows:

“. . . send a copy of [Mayor Neal’s letter] to President J. G. Duffin of the Southwestern States Mission with the request that he get one of the Elders laboring in the vicinity of VanBuren, Arkansas, to endeavor to find the grave of your grandfather, the late Elder Parley P. Pratt, with a view to bringing his remains to this city for interment. We commend

the absence of a minister, an impromptu service was held, Mrs. McLean, calm and with dry eyes taking part. She eulogized the slain elder, closing with a statement Captain Stewart says he has never forgot, and in which she declared Pratt, like his Savior, had been crucified.

Following the services at the Wynn home, Stewart’s wagon and ox team were pressed into service again to haul the body to a small community graveyard where a grave had been prepared by volunteers. At the graveside, as related by Captain Stewart, a short services was conducted by James Orme, a justice of the peace in that community, who entirely ignorant of the cause of the tragedy, paid many compliments to the dead and asked that his slayer be apprehended and adequately punished.”

your endeavors to accomplish this purpose and certainly hope they will meet with the success they merit”²⁵

d. President Duffin, on December 16, 1902, responded with a report to President Anthony H. Lund, Church Historian, concerning his investigation in which he had traveled to Van Buren and interviewed three witnesses:

i. The first witness was James Orme, the Justice of the Peace who was sent for when Parley was attacked, held an inquest, and conducted a graveside service.²⁶ With respect to Parley’s burial, Orme stated:

“A man by the name of Stewart was employed to make the coffin and take the body to the grave yard. The team was driven by a sixteen year old son of Mr. Stewart. His name is John and he is still living in Van Buren. The coffin was of yellow pine and when laid in the grave was inclosed in a pine box. The body was buried in what was known as Sherman’s graveyard, now known as Fine Springs.

ii. Duffin also reported in 1902, the following about the grave’s location:

“Mr. Orme was very emphatic that it [Parley’s grave] could not be definitely located, but both Mr. Neal and Mr. Stewart . . . informed me that there were two brothers by the name of

²⁵ Letter from Joseph F. Smith and First Presidency to Elder Samuel Russell, May 19, 1902, which suggested that Russell seek help in his quest.

²⁶ He recounted as follows McLean’s speech to the crowd in Van Buren after Parley’s arrest:

“McLean, in a speech to the crowd in the street after the arrest of Apostle Pratt, said that he had sent his children from California to New Orleans to be cared for by Mrs. McLean’s parents, she having previously left him and married Apostle Pratt, thus breaking up his family. Learning that her children were _____ Mrs. McLean returned to her father telling him that McLean had mistreated her and she wished to come and live with her children. After _____ some time she got the children on board a boat and took them to Galveston. From Galveston she brought them by way of Houston, Texas, to Ft. Gibson, Indian Territory. Here she met Apostle Pratt who had come from St. Louis to get her. He, McLean learning of the abduction of his children started in pursuit. Such in brief was McLean’s account of his wives connection with Apostle Pratt.”

Fine, living near the old grave yard who say that they can identify the grave. . . .”

- iii. Duffin also interviewed John Neal and John Steward who both reportedly confirmed Orme’s account.²⁷
- iv. We have found no further record concerning Samuel Russell’s efforts in 1902 to locate Parley’s grave but the 1912 effort described below may have been a continuation of Russell’s 1902 attempt.

4. 1912

- a. The next attempt to determine the location of Parley’s grave was a decade later in 1912. This 1912 effort provides the most detailed information concerning where Parley may be buried.²⁸ Two of the interviewees, Mary Frasier²⁹ and John Steward, were teenagers when

²⁷ The only exception being that Neal recalled that the coroner’s inquest under Orme’s direction issued an indictment for murder against Hector McLean.

²⁸ The 1912 information is taken from a typed record in the Church historian’s office, but the author is not identified.

²⁹ Before the war, we know that at least one person was buried there, a Mrs. O’Bryan, whose daughter was Mary O’Bryan Frasier, who was one of the 1912 witnesses and whose son was named Willie or William O’Bryan. After the war, her grave could never be exactly located. We don’t know whether she was buried before or after Parley but we are certain that she was buried before the Civil War. The fact that she was not a “Wynn”, suggests that Sherman’s Cemetery and the Wynn Family Cemetery were adjacent but not identical. Why would an O’Bryan be buried in the Wynn Family Cemetery?

Sometime after the war, a Mr. Will Frasier was buried somewhat near but also south of Parley. Will Frasier’s widow, we believe, was named Manda James Frasier Lytle. Her maiden name was James. She married Will Frasier, who died, and probably remarried a man named Lytle who owned the Wynn farm by this time. Manda Lytle’s father may have been named R.C. James who also had a daughter referred to as Mrs. Bradley and a son named Billie or William James. Billie farmed the property where Parley and Will Frasier were buried, but supposedly never plowed under the strip where the graves were actually located.

In addition, Billie or William James’ grandmother is also buried somewhere near Parley’s and Will Frasier’s graves.

Descendants of these people would include the descendants of a James family, the descendants of a Frasier family (some of the names were Will, Andrew, and Job), the descendants of an O’Bryan family, and the descendants of the Wynn family.

Parley died and were participants in the events surrounding the burial. A number of other witnesses present at the interviews may or may not have had first-hand knowledge of the actual burial, but several had lived in the area of the graveyard for many decades.^{30 31}

- b. With respect to Parley's burial itself, John Steward, then 72, in an individual interview, provided the following information:

“Father made a walnut coffin for Pratt – also pine box. I took coffin and box about 4 miles to Wynn’s where Pratt was. The days following hauled box on wagon drawn by yoke of cattle. Buried in the field across the field 100 yards northwest of the Baptist Church. Was buried little south of large red oak tree. Pratt was buried within 20 or 30 feet from thicket. Hauled coffin to grave. Was buried 40 or 50 yards west of Fayetteville road. Pratt was buried in a grave by himself.”

- c. With respect to the burial, Mary Frasier, also then 72, stated that she

“. . . went down to help cook as great crowds had assembled at Mr. Wynn’s. Pratt was killed one evening about 3 or 4 o’clock in the evening. Was buried next evening at 3 o’clock. . . . He was put away well. People walked to graveyard—Serman’s burying ground. Pratt was buried at the edge of a road 4 or 5 feet from road. Grave was west of road. Fayetteville was passed to the east of the graveyard. There was a large red oak near foot of grove on north side of grave—

One of the most interesting things about the 1912 account is a clear statement by Mrs. Mary Frasier, then 72, that Zealey Wynn is also buried in the cemetery with two wives (I would assume sequentially not concurrently).

In addition, it appears that a William Wynn, the father of the buried five-year-old, had visited the cemetery recently and been shown where his son's grave was purportedly located, but the account suggests he did not believe it was in the right place. He was shown the grave by Will James. According to the account, this William Wynn passed away in the spring of 1911 or 1912. Recently, a national cemetery database was updated to state that an Edna Wynn, age 10, was buried in the cemetery in the 1890s.

³⁰ People interviewed included Mrs. Mary Frasier, then 72, whose maiden name was apparently O'Bryan (or O'Brien), John Fine, Carol Fine (a male), Manda Lytle (or Little), widow of William Frasier, John Steward, 72, son of William Steward.

³¹ The primary debate centered around whether Parley was buried in or outside of a grove of trees that existed in 1912.

east near foot of grave. He was buried in a place by himself, northeast from the thick part of the graveyard. Road had been moved out from graveyard.”

- d. Although it appears that John Fine, Carol Fine, and Hamilton Fine were all interviewed, no reference is made to any of them attempting to identify an exact location of Parley’s grave, even though Carol Fine purportedly identified the exact site 25 years later in 1937. Carol Fine would have been an infant at the time Parley was buried, but grew up very close to the graveyard.³²
 - e. We have found no further record concerning the 1912 effort to locate Parley’s grave.
5. 1936 and 37
- a. The next effort to locate Parley’s grave occurred a quarter century later in 1936 and 37.
 - b. This effort involved Church members from the region, some local residents (particularly the Park family and Carol Fine), and the Pratt family.
 - c. Several members of the Church living in Oklahoma initiated this effort by traveling to Van Buren, but based upon faulty information they were searching south of Van Buren, many miles away from Fine Springs. Luckily, they were directed to Hugh Park and his wife who knew where the graveyard was located and took them to meet Carol Fine, then a very old and frail man who had lived in the area all his life but was only an infant when Parley was buried. The Parks and Carol Fine accompanied these Church members to the cemetery where Carol Fine, as they turned over stones in the undergrowth, identified what he believed to be the location of the grave. Without the considerable help of the Parks, the 1936-37 effort would have ended in failure.
 - d. The information obtained from the search was conveyed to President Harold Pratt, a great grandson of Parley then serving as a Mission President in Mexico. In 1937 he and his wife visited the gravesite and

³² One interview with Carol Fine suggests that he walked close enough to Parley’s grave each day while growing up to be able to spit on it.

took photographs to preserve the assumed location of Parley's grave identified by Carol Fine.³³

- e. The current monument likely stands where the 1937 pictures show that Parley's gravesite was identified in that year, although this location appears to conflict with most of the evidence from the eyewitness accounts in 1902 and 1912. We have found no evidence that those conducting the 1936 and 37 search were aware of the 1902 and 1912 interviews or relied at all on the 1902 and 1912 investigations.

6. 1950's

- a. The 1950s effort was probably not initiated by the Pratt family, but by Hugh and Ruie Ann Park, local residents of the area where Parley was buried. In the late 1940s or early 50s, Hugh Park, the editor of the Press Argus, a local newspaper, and his wife Ruie Ann attended a national newspaper convention in Salt Lake City. A cemetery history of Crawford County states that Hugh Park suggested:

“. . . to some of the men there, who were members of the Mormon church that the grave of Parley Parker Pratt should be marked. This stirred up considerable interests and some of the officials of the Mormon church contacted Mr. Park in regard to this. Ruie Ann Park located some elderly people in Crawford County who rememberd where the grave was located. Mrs. Park took the two persons and some Mormon officials to the spot where the grave was located. A large monument was erected by the Mormon church at his gravesite.”³⁴

- b. We do not know the details concerning what happened between 1937 and the Parks' visit to Salt Lake City more than a decade later, but it is clear that the Parks' interest helped motivate the family to move forward with identifying and preserving Parley's gravesite.

³³ As noted above, Carol Fine did not identify the location of the grave in 1912, even though he appears to have been involved in the interviews. One must ask if his recollection or willingness had improved in the quarter century that followed?

³⁴ “History in Headstone”, Crawford County, Arkansas, compiled by Susan Stevenson's Swinburn and Doris Stevenson West. Press: Argus Printers, Van Buren, Arkansas, Arkansas Historical Series, Number 16, November 1970. This brief account appears to combine history from the 1937 effort described above when the Parks' led those seeking to identify the grave to Carol Fine and then to the Fine Spring Cemetery, at which the location of the grave was supposedly identified.

- c. The 1950s effort was led by John Giles, husband of Una Giles, a granddaughter of Parley.³⁵ John Giles directed the effort to erect the monument from Salt Lake City, hiring the Putnam Funeral Home to assist in placing the monument and John Fine [?] to clear the site and design and install the landscaping, fencing, and a gravel parking area.
 - d. When the monument was erected in the early 1950s, the family was approaching the 100th anniversary of Parley's death. Those involved in locating the grave in the 50s, were clearly using the photographs taken by Harold Pratt in 1937 as a guide, relocating the purported gravesite by its relationship in those pictures to the Wynn child headstone.³⁶
 - e. From sketches in the Giles records, it appears that during his efforts John Fine may have located two other possible graves. In response, Giles expanded the area he was purchasing to protect the location of those graves as well.³⁷ But the records clearly show that at the time of both the 1937 and 50s efforts, the only actual "headstone" in the cemetery belonged to the Wynn family child.³⁸
7. The following is a partial history of the graveyard based upon the foregoing accounts and efforts during the first century after Parley was buried in 1857:
- a. The graveyard or graveyards in this immediate vicinity were referred to as Sherman's burial ground, the Fine Springs Cemetery, the Wynn Family Cemetery or by other similar names. The boundaries of these

³⁵ John Giles had assisted the Church in locating and preserving other historic sites.

³⁶ Assuming that headstone had not been moved in the intervening years, the monument appears to be correctly located where Carol Fine identified the gravesite in 1937. Whether that location is accurate is still a matter of debate, although Harold Pratt in the 1930s and the Pratt Family in the 1950s were confident that they were close. They, in fact, left a grassy area in front of the monument where they believed Parley's grave was located, surrounded by a concrete path.

³⁷ Contrary to most perceptions, the site was not purchased by the Church, but by Giles personally and the monument was paid for by the Pratt family with funds being raised by a committee under the direction of _____, the father of Ernie Robison Pratt, who has led the ground-penetrating radar studies this last year. The site was contributed to the Church in the 1970s.

³⁸ Although news articles in Salt Lake City suggested that it was the family's intention to dedicate the site when it was completed, the recollection of those involved is that John Giles died and the dedication never occurred. The concept of dedication in the Mormon religion relates to "dedicating" or "transferring" a building, structure, or other real or personal property to the Lord for its use for religious purposes. Normally, the assets so dedicated must be free and clear of financial liens or encumbrances.

areas may not have been coincident and the extent of their exact overlap has been obscured over time.

- b. Before the civil War, a woman named O'Bryan (who was Mary O'Bryan Frasier's mother) and Apostle Parley P. Pratt were buried there for sure. A third person, an unnamed grandmother, was also buried there before or after the War.³⁹
- c. During the Civil War, the troops stationed at or near the cemetery cut down the trees and burned the fences, obliterating pre-War landmarks. After the War, the O'Bryan grave could never be relocated by her daughter although she thought she may have relocated Parley's grave.
- d. Whether Parley's grave was ever marked is disputed by the witnesses.⁴⁰
- e. At various times after the War, the records suggest that the following additional people may have been buried in the cemetery area:
 1. William Wynn, son of William Wynn, age 5.
 2. Will Frasier, husband of Manda James Frasier Lytle.
 3. Zealey Wynn and two wives.
 4. Edna Wynn.

This gives a total of nine known individuals possibly buried in the cemetery, although Wynn family lore suggests that neither Zealey Wynn nor any of his wives are buried there, reducing the probable number to six, one of whom is Parley. Edna Wynn appears to have been buried last in the 1890s, nearly 120 years ago.

8. Elvrene Baker's account relates some of the post-Civil War changes:

“Then came, following the war, a rapid development of farm land in that community and within a few years the land was cleared of its timber and put under cultivation, only the half dozen graves that had been marked with tombstones [are] remaining in what is now a commercial peach orchard fronting on the Jefferson highway.”

³⁹ She is identified as the grandmother of the following three people: Billie James, a Mrs. Bradley, and Manda James Frasier Lytle, who was married to Will Frasier. (The grandmother's husband or son may have been named R.C. James.)

⁴⁰ It is interesting that Elvrene Baker specifically states that Parley's gravesite *“had never been marked by a stone. . . .”* Other accounts suggest a rock shaped like South America identified the site.

The land in and/or around the cemetery, not only went through phases of crop planting, becoming an orchard, and then a cattle pasture, the main road abutting the cemetery was also moved one or more times.

9. In 1894, 1902, and again in 1912, some of the eyewitnesses expressed serious doubts about locating Parley's grave and/or disagreed about exactly where it was.
10. In several of the historic accounts the only actual headstone referred to is that of the Wynn child buried soon after the Civil War and that headstone remains today, although it may have been moved 10 to 15 feet.⁴¹
11. Parley's monument is located today in the place identified by Carrol Fine in 1936 and 1937, although the earlier eyewitness accounts suggest a somewhat different location.

12. 1988-90's

- a. Much time has passed since Parley was buried in Arkansas. Generations of the family have passed away.⁴²
- b. When I became president of the Jared Pratt Family Association in the 1980s, I was often accosted at reunions by very old members of the family asking, sometimes forcefully, if we should not fulfill Parley's dying wish and move his remains to Salt Lake City. For years, I resisted these efforts telling them that I thought it was highly unlikely we could locate the exact grave, or that we could find "enough of Parley" to move. For nearly two decades I hoped that this issue would go away to no avail. I resisted until late 2005, when Ernie Robison and Paul DeBry swept me up in their energetic effort to reevaluate the possibility.

13. 2006-Present

- a. Now to the present effort. Early in the spring of 2006, Ernie Robison and Paul DeBry visited the Fine Springs area, interviewed local residents, surveyed the possible locations for the events surrounding Parley's death and burial, and used a metal detector to try and locate any metallic signals at the Wynn Family Cemetery that might suggest

⁴¹ In 1912, there was only one headstone in the cemetery, that of 5-year-old William Wynn son of William Wynn, buried ten years after Parley in 1867. (1912 Account.) This is the headstone that is still located near Parley's monument.

⁴² The last of his grandchildren probably survived into the late 1900s, with 20 or more great grandchildren still living today.

buried objects.⁴³ Their investigation suggested the outline of at least one potential adult-sized burial site and several other smaller burial sites.

- b. Over Easter weekend in April, 2006, my wife, Linda, and I traveled to Arkansas and spent several days again meeting with local residents and visiting the site.
- c. Soon thereafter, the Jared Pratt Family Association engaged the services of Hager GeoSciences of Massachusetts, a highly reputable independent firm, to conduct ground penetrating radar and electromagnetic investigations of the cemetery.⁴⁴ In January, 2007, Hager Geosciences issued their report identifying the most likely location for Parley's gravesite while identifying 3 additional burial sites.
- d. Ernie Robison, who holds a PhD, also spent many hundreds of additional hours evaluating the scientific data. He has written an extensive report suggesting possible locations for a few additional graves.⁴⁵
- e. I would like to briefly show you PowerPoint slides from the two scientific reports.
 1. The first is from the Hager study and shows the locations of graves or potential graves their study identified. Their conclusion is that Parley is most likely buried in Grave 1 located in the southeast corner of the property now owned by the Church and within one foot of the southern boundary line of the property.
 2. The second slide shows the potential graves suggested by Ernie Robison's review of the scientific evidence. As you can see, he believes there is a possibility of more graves, although the evidence is debatable for several of these, including two that Hager believes are anomalies created by tree roots.
 3. The third slide shows must appear to be the boundaries of the historic Wynn Family Cemetery. The fourth slide, show the

⁴³ There are a number of accounts that suggest that Parley was wearing a metal breastplate (similar to a bullet-proof vest) at the time of his death, or that the coffin had a metal plate on it.

⁴⁴ Data was gathered at the cemetery for several days in August, 2006, with Ernie Pratt assisting Hager scientists in gathering large amounts of data from the entire Wynn Family Cemetery (the portion owned by the Church) and parts of the fields to the south.

⁴⁵ Ernie's study was completed in early February, 2007. In addition, there has been continued analysis of all of the historic accounts concerning the burial in an attempt to improve the certainty concerning Parley's burial site.

probable locations for the old Fayetteville road, a path, and several possible underground tree stumps.

4. This last slide shows the six areas suggested by geographical descriptions in the 1902 and 1912 historical accounts as possible locations for Parley's grave. As you can see, only Hager Grave 1 and Robison Grave 1 and 2 are located within this area. The existing monument is located at the site of two or three other graves that are contiguous. It is important to remember that several of the accounts state that Parley was buried by himself.⁴⁶ In my view, the evidence points to the conclusion that Parley is not buried in the area of the monument.⁴⁷

14. In light of these discoveries, what are the families' choices?

- a. The first alternative is to leave Parley where he is and perhaps erect a marker recognizing the other people who we now know are buried in or near the cemetery.⁴⁸
- b. Second, if Parley's remains are to continue to be located at this site, then perhaps some additional property to the south should be acquired to protect it from encroaching inconsistent uses.
- c. A third alternative is for the family to open his likely grave site and move Parley's remains for re-interment in the place reserved for him in the family plot.⁴⁹ We have confirmed that current DNA technology could verify Parley's remains. Of course, the family would hope that the monument would remain and that an additional marker or markers for the others buried there could be erected with the help of their families.
- d. The family has made no decisions. Any actions taken would need to be consistent with Arkansas law. Before any decisions are made,

⁴⁶ It would make little sense for local residents to bury their kin right next to a buried Mormon apostle, particularly following the Mountain Meadow Massacre.

⁴⁷ Interestingly, the only record we have that suggests people of the same family that might be buried together is the two Wynn children or Zealey Wynn and two wives. I would suggest that these are most likely the graves near the monument, although we are far from certain.

⁴⁸ On my trip to Arkansas, we heard rumors that some believe that those who constructed and/or upgraded the memorial site either destroyed or removed headstones of some of the other people buried there. The historical accounts, on the other hand, suggests that the Wynn child headstone was the only one located in the cemetery as early as 1902.

⁴⁹ My conception is not an archaeological dig, but removing the block of earth reflected in the GPR studies as the location of the coffin.

however, we are attempting to locate descendents of others who may be buried in the cemetery and discuss these choices with them.

- e. This will always be a special and sacred place for the Pratt family, even if Parley is moved to Utah. This is the place where he drew his last breath and gave his last testimony in defense of the gospel of Jesus Christ he preached and the Church that he loved.

**THE HISTORIC DILEMMA:
Where, When, and By Whom was Parley Really Buried?**

1. Finally, after all of the historical and scientific research, I still have a nagging feeling that there is much we do not know about Parley's death and burial.⁵⁰ My concern that there is more to the story is driven largely by my experience as a lawyer. Often lawyers and judges are presented with conflicting evidence; sometimes one party is lying and the other is telling the truth, or the other party is lying and the first party is telling the truth. But there is always a third possibility that both parties are accurately describing actual experiences and the two sets of testimony must be fitted together like a complex jigsaw puzzle. From all of the historical records, there are two conflicting accounts of how, when, where, and by whom Parley was buried.
 - a. The first account is drawn from the statements, although many years later, of those who were eyewitnesses that day in the community. In essence, those statements tell us that Parley's body was prepared for burial in the Wynn home, that both a coffin and a pine box were prepared, that John Steward delivered the coffin and the box to the Wynn blacksmith shop, a grave was dug by volunteers in the Wynn Family Cemetery, later in the day John Steward drove the coffin or box to the Wynn Family Cemetery followed by a group of local residents, a short graveside service was held, and the coffin or box was buried at 3:00 or 4:00 in the afternoon the day after he was killed.
 - b. The second account of the burial is given by George Higginson, also many years later. He wrote:

“...after his martyrdom I rode through the homes of the mobocrats and obtained possession of his corpse and buried it with a mob all around me at 10 o'clock of the night of the 14 of May, AD 1957, without the presence of a brother or sister.”⁵¹

⁵⁰ This process has, in fact, given me a new heightened respect for historians who search the records for answers and are then left to draw their own conclusions from inconsistent or incomplete stories of our past.

⁵¹ Letter written to Andrew Kimball by George B. Higginson, 1892. He further stated that: *“In this matter I presume I ran as much, if not more, risk than did B.H. Roberts [in] the matter of the Tennessee martyrs, but I never received a kind word or any recognition for my service in that direction and it has been remarked “Died Parley as a fool dieth.”*

Higginson says he buried Pratt by himself with no assistance or aid at 10 o'clock at night.⁵²

- c. Let me add a few more facts about George Bouncer Higginson. Higginson was a young, strong man, half of Parley's age. He was the 25-year-old missionary who had been chained to Parley in Indian Territory and forced to Van Buren, Arkansas, even though he was accused of no crime. After Parley was murdered, he accompanied Eleanor Pratt from Van Buren to the Wynn blacksmith shop where he helped prepare Parley's body for burial.⁵³ We know that Eleanor helped prepare the body for burial and then left under the protection of the marshall to return to Van Buren before dusk. George Higginson stayed behind, although none of the eyewitness accounts mention him being present. Why did Higginson remain?⁵⁴
- d. Can one reconcile these two conflicting accounts? Is it possible that both accounts are true? Did George Higginson later on the 14th of May, 1857, return to the cemetery and bury or rebury Parley in a secret grave to protect his body from desecration until it could later be recovered? Were there two burials and are there two graves, one a decoy and one where his remains were actually laid to rest?⁵⁵ Certainly there is insufficient historical evidence to support such a conclusion, but the thought has crossed my mind and perhaps we see evidence in the scientific studies to heighten my suspicions.⁵⁶

⁵² Incidentally, there was no moon that night and so anything Higginson did was in the "pitch black".

⁵³ I believe Higginson dressed Parley's body in appropriate burial clothing that he personally provided.

⁵⁴ Parley's body was prepared for burial. The coffin delivered. The inquest completed. The grave dug. A justice of the peace and other sympathetic or interested residents were committed to providing Parley with a good Christian burial. Years later George Higginson stated that he had destroyed his personal journal to protect Parley. If the journal was destroyed before Parley's arrest, it could have been to protect his whereabouts and to prevent his arrest. But what if the journal was destroyed after Parley's burial?

⁵⁵ Was there reason to believe that Parley's gravesite or body might be later desecrated if the whereabouts were publicly known? Like Joseph Smith, Parley may have had outstanding warrants or a bounty on his head relating to his escape from Missouri many years earlier. It is likely that Higginson would have known that Joseph's and Hyrum's bodies had been buried in one place and then secretly reburied to protect them.

CONCLUSION

It should now be painfully clear to you that I was not trained as an historian; and certainly I have no training as a psychologist or sociologist to fairly evaluate why people acted the way they did in the events surrounding Parley's capture, trial, death and burial. Nevertheless, I have a few thoughts I would like to share:

1. First concerning the power of roles and commitments. Judge Ogden had sworn an oath to uphold the law. It appears he also may have been a member of the Masonic Order and had sworn an oath of protection to fellow Masons, one of whom was Parley P. Pratt. Did those commitments guide his behavior, even offering Parley a pistol and a knife to defend himself, which Parley rejected? Was Mr. Smith, the hotel keeper, who defended Eleanor from threats of lynching, responding in part to the ancient custom that one protects the guests under one's roof. James Orme also acted within his role as justice of the peace. Many of those who participated in burying Parley, were obviously Christians who understood the significance of a Christian burial to those who were believers. Is there power in the roles we commit to that sustain us in doing good even in the face of strong opposition?
2. I would suggest another reason as well. We often attack our enemies by distancing, discrediting, denigrating, and dehumanizing them. Often, it is only when we break down the barriers between us and come face to face with our prejudices, that we are guided by our better instincts. Many of those who treated Parley and Eleanor with kindness and respect did so after seeing firsthand the brutal results of the anger and violence of Hector McLean as the unarmed Parley lay bleeding to death in the dust of Arkansas. Even though they may have strongly disapproved of Mormonism, these good people could not condone the brutality of Parley's attack and murder. to what extent can personal experience with others overcome prejudice?
3. As I have studied the story of my great-great-great grandfather, Parley P. Pratt, I have experienced a wide array of emotions. In the midst of all that occurred, it is easy to forget that there were some in Van Buren and in the area of Fine Springs, who aided Eleanor and Parley. For a moment I would like to express the Pratt family's belated thanks to this community for the kindnesses that were shown to them 150 years ago this coming month.
Thanks to:

- a. Judge Ogden who acquitted Eleanor and Parley after recognizing that the charges against them were ill founded and a ruse, who kept Parley over night in protective custody, who kept McLean in his office until 2 am trying to convince him not to pursue Parley and trying to prevent a mob from attacking the jail, who offered Parley a knife and pistol to protect himself, and who eventually gave Eleanor money to go to New Orleans.
- b. Mr. Smith, the proprietor of the local hotel, who protected Eleanor from a threatened lynching, and said they would have to do it over his dead body, who gave Eleanor the finest linen in his hotel in which to wrap Parley's body, and who did not charge Eleanor for staying at his hotel. She said that he was 'all the time very kind to me and escorted me onto the boat'd to New Orleans.
- c. Marshall Hays who kept her informed of the court's consideration of Parley's case, who arrange a safe escort for her and George Higginson to Fine Springs so she could prepare Parley for burial and then provided her with safe passage back to Van Buren.
- d. The wife of the Methodist minister who drove Eleanor in the carriage to Fine Springs and to the two unnamed armed escorts that accompanied them with the Marshall.
- e. Zeally Wynn, the Frazier brothers, and other witnesses who sent for the justice of the peace, provided Parley with water to drink and were with Parley when he died.
- f. Zeally and Liley Wynn who opened their home to prepare Parley for burial and to hold an inquest concerning the murder, who made Eleanor and Higginson welcome. and provided a place in their family burial ground for Parley. Eleanor said of them that if Parley had been their own brother, "I know not what more they could have done."
- g. To William Steward who prepared the walnut coffin and pine box for Parley's burial. (One account says William knew Parley in New York many years earlier and may have given his own fine casket to Parley.)
- h. James Orme who conducted an honest inquest, may have issued an indictment against McLean, ordered the coffin, and conducted and spoke at Parley's grave side service.
- i. The unnamed volunteers who dug the grave, and others who attended the service in Parley's behalf.
- j. All the good people of the Fine Springs who provided Parley a good Christian burial.
- k. To John Steward, Mary Frazier, Carrol Fine and others who all did their best to help the family find Parley's grave site

- l. Especially to Hugh and Ruie Ann Park for their help to the family in the 1930s and 50s, that led to the purchase of the property and the placement of the monument.
 - m. The Crawford County Genealogical Society and its members who are helping us look for the families of the others buried near Parley.
 - n. Finally, if Higginson actually reburied Parley late on a moonless night in a secret grave to protect his body, thank you to those who concocted the plan, helped him, and kept their silence (probably Zeally Wynn and William Steward), and to George Higginson who stayed behind that night to do so.
 - o. All these actions witness to the goodness of people and to our common humanity that ties us together. Such is our hope of the kinder, gentler world that we all seek. We, as Parley's family and on his and Eleanor's behalf, hope you will accept our belated and heartfelt thank you.
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1. Thanks from the Family to those who have planned, sponsored and participated in the conference.

