

# The Mormon Documents' Day in Court

Seeking the Whole Truth in the Hofmann Case



By Linda Sillitoe

In 1985, four controversial, major document finds preoccupied the Mormon historical community and intrigued the general public. That spring the Church made public the Martin Harris or "salamander" letter. This document was donated by Steven F. Christensen, who purchased it from document dealer Mark

Hofmann and his associate Lyn Jacobs in 1984 for \$40,000. About a week after the announcement, the 1825 "money-digging" letter from Joseph Smith to Josiah Stowell finally was made public after an initial denial that the Church had it. President Gordon B. Hinckley had bought the letter from Hofmann 11 January, 1983, with a

\$15,000 check. Together, the two letters solidified information once deemed anti-Mormon regarding folk religion and magic at the roots of Mormonism.

By June 1985, it was rumored that still another important historical document existed which would, reportedly, substantiate the view of the two letters. The Oliver Cowdery history, a first-person account by Joseph Smith written in Cowdery's hand, was reportedly in the Church's possession. As rumors became media stories, the Church denied knowledge or possession, but the rumors continued. In fact, word spread of still another find, an extensive collection of journals, revelations, papyri and correspondence of William E. McLellin, and 1800's renegade apostle. In July, the *Salt Lake Tribune* reported that this collection had been sold in Texas and the LDS Church was presumed to be its destination.

As the 1985 Symposium approached, the momentum of document finds or reports of finds and Church silence and/or denials helped to create a certain excitement. Evidently, the nitty-gritty of Mormon history was indeed at hand, if historians could only lay *their* hands on it. And the Church, it appeared, was: 1. voraciously seeking documents, and 2. consistently suppressing them.

The 1985 Sunstone Symposium featured many papers on these documents and their implications, as well as vigorous hallway debates. Also, last year, during the usually solemn "Pillars of My Faith" panel, Steve Christensen was also a featured speaker; he amused the audience with an impromptu and irreverent portrayal of himself as bishop of his Centerville, Utah ward. When he settled down and gave his talk, Christensen disappointed some by never once mentioning the salamander letter he had bought from Hofmann and given to the church. In retrospect, we know that by August Steve was involved in a far more complex document deal with Mark. It was extremely confidential, involving high church leaders and a bank loan more than four times the cost of the salamander letter—\$185,000 for a find most people in the know thought had already been sold—the McLellin collection.

In October 1985, the year of documents became the year of the Salt Lake bombings, when pipe bombs murdered Christensen and Kathleen Webb Sheets, the wife of Steve's former business partner, friend, and fellow bishop Gary Sheets, and injured Hofmann. By February, the Church and a handful of collectors, investors, or dealers were named as financial victims of an alleged \$2 million in document fraud and forgery. In early May, Mark Hofmann was bound over to Third District Court on 30 felonies, including two counts of first degree murder with aggravating circumstances.

The murder case, which includes three other bomb charges and seven first and second degree fraud charges involving the McLellin collection, is set for trial in early March 1987. Four separate cases involving document fraud will be tried later. The case involving 11 handwritten documents is now scheduled for trial 2 September 1987.

Because of the sensitivity of the legal issues at this time, this article is based entirely on my courtroom notes and 41 tapes of the preliminary hearing. It does not include research or interviews. All of this material is public information that has been reported on before. I hope to do so in greater depth than has been possible in the media, given the volume of information versus time and space restraints. I emphasize that the material presented here is evidence, not proof and not judgement. It represents the prosecution's case, with the defense's cross-examination; however, since the defense declined to call witnesses its case has yet to be heard.

The documents provide a fascinating mystery, a paper chase extraordinaire. The bombing murders were anything but abstract; they were cold-blooded, cowardly, and brutal. As we examine these academic technicalities, it is important to remember that lives have been lost and others irrevocably changed.

This article's emphasis is not on the provenance or historicity of the documents. Historians who have studied the documents have already noted how snugly the documents generally fit their context. Rather, it presents the forensic evidence on the handwritten documents pronounced forgeries by William Flynn, the questioned documents analyst for the State of Arizona, and his Utah counterpart, George Throckmorton of the State Attorney General's office.

In addition to his government job, Flynn is president of a private company, Affiliated Forensic Laboratories, and a member of the executive board of the Southwestern Association of Forensic Document Examiners. He has testified in many courtrooms and tested documents of diverse sizes and implications, from a name on a credit card to the Hitler Diaries.

Flynn first saw the Mormon documents 17 December 1985 at Church Headquarters in Salt Lake City. He and Throckmorton were given a pile of questioned documents—documents that came through Mark Hofmann—from a list provided to the County Attorney's office by LDS historian Dean Jessee. They also requested a stack of known documents from the Church Director of Libraries and Archives, Glenn Rowe.

The two brought powerful microscopes, infrared and ultraviolet lights, and other technical equipment. As they proceeded to examine the

documents, they discovered a curious phenomenon. Under the microscope, one after another of the questioned documents displayed ink with plating or cracking on the surface. They continued their search and found cracked ink on a known document—a promissory note to Isaac Galland. The face of the document showed no cracking. Only the few lines on the back that obligated Joseph Smith did. Further checking showed that the promissory note had come from Hofmann.

Sighting that cracking phenomenon on one document—or even three or four—might not have caused alarm, the experts said. After all, the phenomenon was totally unfamiliar, not a known sign of forgery. The curious thing was that among the 461 19th century documents that Flynn eventually examined, not all the documents linked to Mark Hofmann showed cracked ink—but all the documents with cracked ink came from Mark Hofmann.

Other phenomena appeared under ultraviolet light. There was a bluish hazing, and on some documents the ink line showed uni-directional running. This, like cracking, was invisible to the naked eye. What could cause some portion of the ink to bleed in one direction rather than haloing around the ink line as the document aged?

About that time, the experts began to realize the extent, complexity, and significance of the case. Flynn returned to Arizona, and the two agreed to meet after the first year to compare research and continue their examination.

“There were two problems that I attacked,” Flynn testified. “One was whether or not ink could be artificially aged so that it would not be detectable under normal laboratory procedures, and the other was whether that would crack the ink. My research showed that was indeed the case.”

Flynn began by cutting turkey feathers into “broad tip, medium tip, and fine tip” quills. He mixed up old recipes for iron gallatannic ink from Charles Hamilton’s *Great Forgers and Famous Fakes* and other sources. He heat-aged the modern paper and he purchased blank 19th century cover letters. These were typically oversized sheets that were folded in half, written on, the ends folded up to conceal the contents, and then folded into an envelope shape, addressed and sealed.

When it came to applying ink to paper, Flynn decided he might as well try early Mormon clerk Thomas Bullock’s distinctive bookhand script. Since it is discontinuous, like printing, he found it easier to forge than the flowing hand. Next, Flynn tried a variety of chemicals on the ink, but under the microscope, the ink remained intact.

After considerable research and experimentation, he found a reference in an old text to ammonia as a forger’s tool. He began with modern paper, took iron gallatannic inks he made at the kitchen sink, and exposed them to both ammonia and sodium hydroxide.

“I found that they [the chemicals] did, indeed, artificially age the inks,” Flynn said. “As a matter of fact, the reaction was immediate. The sodium hydroxide, in particular, will immediately take the iron gallatannic inks and turn them a deep rust color on the paper. It won’t crack the inks, however.”

The inks Flynn made were extremely acidic, capable of burning right through the paper. Flynn stabilized the inks by adding sugars or gum arabic, as was done in the 19th century, to give the ink body and act as a preservative.

“When I mixed the iron gallatannic inks and added either the sugars or the gum arabic, and then artificially aged them with sodium hydroxide, I got exactly the same phenomena that I described in the examination of the questioned documents’ ink—both artificially aged and cracked.”

Flynn explained the chemistry. Simply put, as the liquid in the chemical evaporates, the ink turns dark brown under the microscope. It loses its viscosity, cracking the surface. If the document is held vertically while still wet with ammonia, an unknown constituent of the ink bleeds in one direction.

After experimenting with modern paper, Flynn tried cover letters. “When iron gallatannic ink is utilized on old paper and artificially aged, as far as I could determine, there would be no way to ascertain it was not as old as it purported to be. The paper would have been genuine paper, the apparent chemical reaction of the inks would be, as far as could be determined, identical to a natural aging process. So to answer your question, the modern ink, artificially aged on the old paper, cracks just like the questioned writing and is indistinguishable from these documents.”

Meanwhile, in Salt Lake City, George Throckmorton, a questioned documents analyst for the Attorney General’s office who also runs a private laboratory, experimented with deacidification, bleaching and washing procedures. Perhaps the ink had been affected after the documents were purchased. Like Flynn, he worked on a variety of samples—examining 688 19th century documents in all—finally deacidifying actual documents such as a letter from Joseph Smith to Maria and Sarah Lawrence. He found that these procedures sometimes removed part of the ink surface, but they did not cause microscopic cracking or uni-directional running.

In court, Flynn identified ink or other anomalies on the following documents: the Anthon

Transcript; the Samuel Smith Bible, which housed the Anthon Transcript; the Joseph Smith III blessing; four White Notes; the Lucy Mack Smith letter; the Josiah Stowell letter; the E.B. Grandin contract; the Martin Harris letter; the General Dunham letter; the Whitmer to Conrad letter; the Betsy Ross letter; the Spaulding/Rigdon contract; the Thomas Bullock to Brigham Young letter; a promissory note to Isaac Galland; the Lawrence sisters letter; the Whitmer to Todd letter; and various types of currency.

The Anthon Transcript was purchased by the Church from Hofmann 3 October 1980 in return for a first edition of the Book of Mormon, a \$5 gold coin minted in 1850; a set of Deseret Currency in \$1 through \$50 denominations; a \$5 countersigned Kirtland note; a \$10 countersigned Kirtland note, and five Nauvoo notes, for a value of \$20,000. It purports to contain hieroglyphs Smith copied from the gold plates, as well as a statement by Smith on the back.

The ink on the Anthon Transcript showed no microscopic cracking or running, a fact which interested both Judge Paul Grant and defense attorneys. (Ironically, former LDS archivist Donald Schmidt testified that this document—Hofmann's first major find—had been viewed under infrared light before purchase by BYU anthropology professor John Sorenson, a procedure that was not repeated with further purchases.) The ink on the Anthon Transcript was extremely acidic, Flynn testified, because it had no sugar or gum added. The handwriting had burned through both ways on the paper. Also, the transcript clearly showed uneven brown marks, produced by manual heating to age the paper, Flynn said. Throckmorton testified he had reproduced the phenomenon several times.

The transcript was reportedly found between two pages of a Bible that apparently came from Samuel Smith, brother of the prophet. Eight handwritten pages had been inserted into the Bible, and the insert was signed 'Samuel Smith.' The fact that the pages bore an 1819 watermark was not necessarily a problem, but other factors were. Both experts testified that if the transcript had been housed in the Bible for decades, the hieroglyphs on the document would have burned through onto the Bible's pages.

What's more, Flynn testified that the Samuel Smith signature was not genuine, that another signature had been eradicated before the Samuel Smith was signed, the ink in the signature differed from the ink in the text,—and the ink in the signature showed microscopic cracking, linking the Anthon Transcript to the other documents.

The Joseph Smith III blessing, given by Smith to his son promising him succession, was pur-

chased by the Church from Hofmann on 2 March 1981, for a first edition of the Book of Mormon and printed White Notes (the first currency used in the Salt Lake valley) for a value of \$20,000. Amid RLDS accusations of Hofmann double dealing the document, the Church traded the blessing to the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints for their Book of Commandments. Hofmann told Schmidt the blessing was part of the Bullock collection obtained from an Allen Bullock in Coalville. In court, coin dealer Al Rust testified that he had invested \$10,000 to help Hofmann purchase the blessing.

The blessing showed extensively cracked ink under the microscope, as well as one-directional running. The blessing's format differed from Bullock's usual indentation format, Flynn testified, but he could render no judgement on the handwriting, since Bullock had several styles. (Flynn was quite satisfied with his own forgeries of Bullock's hand, although he classified himself as "not a very good writer".) A Bullock letter to Brigham Young, which followed the blessing to the Church Archives and strengthened the blessing's provenance, also had cracked ink, Flynn said.

The next major purchase the Church made from Hofmann came shortly thereafter when Hofmann came up with handwritten White Notes, four of which he sold to the Church. These and several other articles were also from the Bullock collection. It was known that handwritten notes preceded the printed notes like the Church had traded Hofmann for the blessing, but none were extant. This time the Church gave Hofmann \$20,000 of printed Mormon money, mostly Kirtland Safety Society notes, in exchange for the handwritten White Notes.

The White Notes were engraved with the Seal of the Twelve Apostles, a handstamp known only by its impression. Last November, the handstamp turned up in a box of materials being catalogued in the Church museum, according to testimony from Schmidt and Rowe.

Two different inks were used to sign the White Notes, Flynn testified, one of which showed plating under the microscope. Heber Kimball's signature showed extensive cracking.

On 29 July 1982, Utah County collector and attorney Brent Ashworth bought the Lucy Mack Smith letter, which describes Smith's translation of the Book of Mormon. He gave Hofmann a Benjamin Franklin letter; a rare John Brown letter of 1857; the 13th amendment to the Constitution signed by 151 members of Congress; an Andrew Jackson letter of 1820, a Solomon Mack book, and a Lorenzo Snow inscribed history, for a \$30,000 value. Ashworth

testified that he understood that Hofmann got the Lucy letter from a cover letter dealer in upstate New York for \$25. Al Rust testified that he invested \$15,000 in the letter. As with the Joseph Smith III investment, he was repaid.

The three-page letter showed extensive ink cracking under the microscope, Flynn testified, and, on the last page, one-directional running under ultraviolet light.

The David Whitmer to Walter Conrad letter was purchased by the Church from Hofmann 20 October 1982 for \$10,000 in check. The letter reaffirmed Whitmer's testimony of the Book of Mormon, Schmidt testified, and had been purchased by Hofmann from a stamp collector.

The letter had evidently been washed and fixed so that much of the ink surface was removed. What remained, Flynn testified, was cracked.

The Josiah Stowell letter discussing money-digging, purchased 11 January 1983 by the Church for \$15,000, replaced the Anthon Transcript as the earliest Joseph Smith holograph. The ink showed both cracking and running when examined, and Flynn believed the handwriting was too neat for Joseph Smith, particularly in 1825. Throckmorton testified that the right-hand side of the letter had been cut.

The E.B. Grandin contract to print the Book of Mormon was purchased from Hofmann, again by Hinckley, 3 March 1983 for \$25,000. Schmidt was told that Hofmann had found materials with a Grandin family member, he testified, and so was not surprised when Hofmann came up with the contract.

The entire document had extensively cracked ink, Flynn testified, and one-directional running. He was unable to reach a conclusion regarding the Joseph Smith and Martin Harris signatures.

The Martin Harris letter was sold by Mark Hofmann in association with Lyn Jacobs to Steven Christensen in January 1984. Eastern collector Kenneth Rendell testified that Hofmann told him of the letter in November 1983. Hofmann said the letter belonged to Lyn Jacobs, and he asked Rendell to authenticate it. Jacobs testified that Hofmann told him that he bought the letter from a stamp collector, and asked Jacobs to become its legal owner. Jacobs agreed, taking the letter to the Church in December. After the opportunity to purchase it was declined by Hinckley and later by Ashworth, Jacobs testified, Hofmann arranged a sale to Christensen, with Hofmann receiving the lion's share of the profit.

The letter's confused provenance was strengthened after the bombings by a Book of Common

Prayer Hofmann purchased in September 1985 from Deseret Book and traded to the Church 3 October for about \$1,500 in Mormon currency. The book, which once belonged to Nathan Harris, Martin's father, contained family signatures. In the back was a verse, apparently in the same handwriting as the Martin Harris or salamander letter—up to that point the only extensive sample of Martin Harris' script.

Flynn testified that the handwriting on the back of the prayer book and that in the Martin Harris letter do, in fact, match. Throckmorton testified that the poem in the back has ink different than the other handwriting in the book, and that the page appears to have been inserted. Frances Magee, a Californian who married a Harris descendant, testified that she owned the prayer book until 1973 when it was mistakenly sold to Deseret Book with a collector's estate. When she had the book, she testified, there was no verse in the back.

The Harris letter had extensive cracking on the ink surface, Flynn testified, one edge had been cut with scissors, and the ink did not feather away from the ink line normally. Throckmorton objected to the way the cover letter had been cut, apparently in half, so that even when folded the letter's contents could be read. That also left the seal off-center. Both experts believed the paper to be genuine, and possibly the postmark and address.

The David and Peter Whitmer letter to Bithell Todd had also been cut, and showed the cracking and bleeding problems in the ink. It was purchased by the Church 16 April 1985 for \$1,500, along with another letter.

Throckmorton demonstrated how a quarto sheet cover letter can be cut in half, then new content forged in the half that contains the genuine postmark and address. This method is described, he said, in Hamilton's book. Detective Jim Bell, Salt Lake City Police Department, testified that a copy of the book was removed from Hofmann's home.

The letter from Joseph Smith to General Dunham, written from Carthage Jail on the day of the martyrdom, was purchased by Brent Ashworth 29 July 1985. He gave Hofmann \$18,500 in check and three valuable letters, one from Brigham Young to George A. Smith.

Testimony revealed that Hofmann had originally sold the Dunham letter to collector Richard Marks for \$20,000. He later sold it to Deseret Book for \$90,000. Hofmann bought it back for \$110,000 and sold it the same day to Ashworth for \$60,000.

The letter was compared to other Carthage

letters owned by the RLDS. The RLDS letters, were written on identical paper. The paper in the General Dunham letter differed which was curious since Smith was imprisoned. Also, the General Dunham letter had microscopic cracking on the ink surface that had survived extensive washing. He reached no conclusion on the Joseph Smith signatures.

**A**lso named a forgery, and related to fraud charges is a contract signed by Solomon Spaulding and Sidney Rigdon, among others. Since Rigdon was Smith's counselor, and Spaulding had long been viewed by some as a source for Smith, such a document, proving the two knew each other, would be controversial and valuable. Elder Hugh Pinnock of the First Council of Seventy testified that Hofmann showed him this document as part of the McLellin collection. Hofmann later sold it to Steve Barnett of Cosmic Aeroplane, a Salt Lake City bookstore. This was at a reduced price, Barnett testified, since Barnett discovered the date made the signature of *the* Spaulding impossible.

Flynn said the document was apparently genuine, but it had been altered. The Spaulding and Rigdon signatures had been written by the same hand in a different ink than the text or other signatures. The date had been changed from 1722 to 1822. Throckmorton's testimony elaborated in several cuts in the document. Similar alterations were described on the Betsy Ross letter charged in a separate fraud case. In that letter the date was purportedly changed and "Ross" added to the signature "Betsy," the experts said, resulting in an anachronism concerning the postmaster.

**P**rinted documents, charged in three separate cases, include Deseret Currency, the Emma Smith hymnal, and Spanish Fork notes. The Deseret Currency and Spanish Fork notes were known to have been issued, but were not extant in the denominations that Mark Hofmann sold. Working by serial number, Throckmorton identified a note that he said was an original from which a negative was made, which was used to make an engraving plate that printed several other notes in evidence. The Spanish Fork notes, Throckmorton said, were identical to impressions from wood-mounted stamps, and the blue, red and green inks matched Carter's inks.

The Emma Smith hymnal was traded to Lyn Jacobs by Donald Schmidt several years ago. Hofmann sold it to Brent Ashworth 30 November 1984 for a \$5,000 check and a Brigham Young to Emmeline Free Young letter. The final page in the book contains a modern printing on what once was the book's flysheet, Flynn and Throckmorton testified, after identifying a negative for a printing plate. Ashworth testified that

when he bought the hymn book, Hofmann told him that Lyn Jacobs had previously owned it, and that it had come from the McLellin collection.

Throckmorton explained the photographic process from original artwork to negative to plate to product: "What this means is after this is touched up and photographed, this negative is unique among all other negatives any place. And it's slightly different than the original documents . . ."

The microscopic flaws or "trash marks" are not touched up as are the visible flaws, he said. They transfer from the negative to the finished product. Thus, by tracking the trash marks, the negative and finished product can be positively identified.

Prosecutors linked the alleged forgeries to the handwritten documents with Jim Bridger notes, which were sold for around \$5,000 each. They introduced into evidence a negative for an unsigned note, a positive taken from Hofmann's possession, and four notes signed by Bridger's X with several co-signatures. All four notes were printed by the plate made from the negative, Throckmorton testified. Flynn testified that the signatures on three of the four notes showed ink cracking and running under the microscope, and declared the three forgeries.

**T**he strength of the forensic testimony lay in its comprehensive nature, from the cracked ink in the Smith Bible—the document that put Hofmann in business—to the more recent salamander letter. Obviously, it was important that the defense disrupt that impression of historically interesting documents written on old paper with homemade ink, which was then chemically aged.

Defense attorney Bradley Rich stressed the differences between documents—some had little ink surface left, some had broad strokes with cracking around the edges of the ink line, the Anthon Transcript had no cracking at all. Under cross-examination, Flynn maintained that the phenomena of microscopic cracking and unidirectional running were consistent, only the extent differed.

Through "two simple tests" involving ink, Rich accused, you have come to court and pronounced all these document forgeries—even though some exhibited no other peculiarities. "Cracked ink—bogus document, simple as that," Rich said.

Understandably, the apparent novelty of the ink phenomena, the pioneering research, and the record-setting nature of the testimony did not score points for the defense.

"Has anyone ever testified in court, so far as you know, about the ink-cracking phenomenon?"

Rich asked Flynn.

"I've found no reference in the literature to the ink-cracking phenomenon in the thousands of pages—literally thousands of pages—I've read, nor have any of the modern forensic experts that I've discussed the ink cracking phenomenon."

"All right. I take it it has never been used as a test for legitimacy or illegitimacy of a document before."

"As far as I know, it has not. Remember that the research on iron gallatannic ink came to a screeching halt in the forties because most modern forensic documents are not written with iron gallatannic ink. And so a lot of the modern analytical techniques that could have been applied . . . have never been used."

"I take it you're the first expert to use this test in a courtroom, so far as you know, to claim a particular document to be a forgery," Rich challenged.

"Yes, I may well be the only expert that has ever seen artificially-aged iron gallatannic ink."

**D**avid Hewett, representing the *Maine Antique Digest* came to Salt Lake City for the lengthy preliminary hearing and has since written several extensive articles. In an editorial note midway through the hearing, he advised his audience, "We think this is an important story for all those interested in antiques. If the prosecution's charges are true, we may have witnessed the birth of a new and ominous facet of document fraud in America. The implications of that event are staggering. The immensity of the fraud is huge."

If Hewett was stunned by the implications the case bears for the national document market, the case's local implications for this culture and its politics are truly overwhelming. In Mormon country and consciousness, history is the turf upon which faith is declared, authority is revered, questioned or criticized, and change is justified or resisted. From evangelical critics to church leaders to research historians, what happened 150 years ago is anything but dead. Undeniably, two people connected to those documents are.

When the hearing began, many—press included—felt that the forgery charges were superfluous to the state's case and might represent a kind of prosecutorial overkill. The weeks of testimony, however, revealed that the fraud and murder charges are tightly interwoven, with documents at the very core.

Conversely it would seem that the defense might effectively damage the state's entire case by cutting out that core through producing provenance and expert evidence, or introducing into evidence such unseen finds as the McLellin

collection. Thus far that has not happened, and Judge Paul Grant ruled there was probable cause to believe that the theft-by-deceptions charged on these documents were committed and that the defendant committed them.

Last year these important, new finds were discussed in an atmosphere of discovery and controversy. This year the discussion centers on whether the Hofmann documents are genuine, or—more defensively than rationally—whether the documents are historically important. This is the other side of the looking glass. Much that was familiar, accepted, believed, stands challenged. Now papers that only a year ago inspired research, publications, investments, secrecy and collegial trust, are despaired of, defended or discounted.

Last year only a few Hofmann documents were widely known. This year, scores of others are publicly known, along with date of purchase, price and purchaser for some. Those fragile papers with the oxidized ink, seen only by a few, privileged researchers, came to court in a gray archival box marked, examined and discussed. They were entered into evidence along with parts of killer bombs.

The Mormon historical community has long taken pride in asking the tough questions. Courage is also necessary to confront answers. By the time the Sunstone Symposium convenes next year, the documents may be about to return to court. Kenneth Rendell testified that if forgery exists the evidence must be in the ink. Microscopically damaged ink is important to the state's case. Its appearance asks of this community many difficult questions about friendship, scholarship, money, religious belief, secrecy and trust, as the legal system labors to decide whether these documents became a matter of life and death.

(EDITOR'S NOTE:

"*The Mormon Documents' Day in Court*" was originally presented as a paper at the August 1986 Sunstone Theological Symposium in Salt Lake City, Utah. Portions of this article also appeared in a slightly different form, in "Documents of Death," an article Linda Sillitoe wrote for the September 1986 issue of *Utah Holiday* magazine.)

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