

CHAPTER IV.¹

TWO YEARS OF STRIFE—EXODUS FROM ILLINOIS.

No successor to the Prophet—David Hyrum Smith, the “Son of Promise”—Contest for the leadership—Diplomacy of Brigham Young—Curious trials—All of Brigham’s opponents “cut off”—Troubles renewed—Fights, outrages, robberies and murder—Another election and more treachery—Singular “Wolf Hunt”—Capture and trial of Smith’s murderers—Of the Mormon rioters—Failure and defects of the law—Further outrages on Gentiles—Trouble in Adams County—The “Oneness”—The people of Adams drive out the Mormons—Revenge by the Mormons—Murders of McBratney, Worrell, Wilcox and Daubeny—Retaliation, and murder of Durfee—The Mormons ravage Hancock—Flight of the Gentiles—Militia called and Hancock put under martial law—The Mormons begin to leave Illinois—Fresh quarrels—More Mormon treachery—Bombardment of Nauvoo, and final expulsion of the Mormons.

THE hostility of the Gentiles suddenly relaxed, and a brief period of repose followed. But it was necessary to provide for the government of the Church. The theocratic polity had been fully established by Joe Smith, but no provision made for a successor. The Prophet had, it is true, laid his hands on the head of his eldest son Joseph and ordained him a king and priest in his stead, and but a short time before his death he stated that, “the man was not born who was to lead this people, but of Emma Smith—then promising him an heir—should be born a son who would succeed in the Presidency after a season of disturbance.” This son, named from his father’s direction David Hyrum, was born at the Mansion House, on the 17th of November following. This is the “son of promise” whom thousands of the Mormons still regard as the predestined leader who is finally to bring them back to Jackson County.

But an immediate leader was needed. Many had revelations that Joseph would, like the Saviour, rise from the dead, and some

¹ Original chapter page numbers: 122-154.

LIFE in UTAH; or, the MYSTERIES and CRIMES of MORMONISM

reported that they had seen him coursing the air on a great white horse. But all these were finally condemned by the priesthood as "lying revelations." William Smith, the Prophet's only surviving brother, claimed the succession on that account. Sidney Rigdon, who was one of the First Presidency, from his peculiar relations to the Church, asserted the strongest claim. James Strang had an immediate revelation that he was to lead the people into Wisconsin. Lyman Wight received a divine order to go to Texas, and Gladden Bishop, John E. Page, Cutler, Hedrick, Brewster and others laid in their claims.

On the 15th of August, the Twelve Apostles, headed by Brigham Young, addressed an "Encyclical letter to all the Saints in the world," and the 7th of October, the Saints of Nauvoo and vicinity met in council to determine who should take control. Brigham had been absent in Boston, and Rigdon, very busy among the people, had succeeded in getting a special convention called; but Brigham arrived the very day of the meeting, and signally defeated Rigdon. The people voted that the government should for the present be in the "College of Twelve Apostles," which was in effect making Brigham chief ruler. The next day Brigham made a savage address against Sidney Rigdon, who, meanwhile, had a revelation that all the wealthy members were to follow him to western Pennsylvania, and establish a new "stake" for the others to gather to! Brigham then denounced Rigdon and all his revelations as from the devil, and moved that he be "cut off." Nearly a hundred voted in the negative, when it was immediately resolved they were "in a spirit of apostasy," and they were "cut off." It was then proposed and unanimously carried, that "all who should hereafter defend Rigdon should be cut off," which ended the so-called election. Rigdon took a small band to Pennsylvania, and most of the other aspirants also took off various sects, known in the Brighamite church as "Gladdenites," "Strangites," "Brewsterites," "Cutlerites," "Gatherers," etc. Most of these sects have fallen to pieces. The *Times and Seasons*, a weekly periodical, had been established at Nauvoo soon after its settlement, and in the fifth volume may be found a full account of these curious trials.

LIFE in UTAH; or, the MYSTERIES and CRIMES of MORMONISM

Brigham Young now took entire control, hastened the completion of the upper rooms of the Temple, and hurried the people through their "endowments." These consist of a mystical ceremony representing the various stages in man's progress, during which the candidates are initiated and passed to the various degrees of the priesthood, and sworn to obey all orders of their superiors. The penalties for violation of these oaths are, according to the uniform testimony of various apostates, "having the throat cut," the "bowels slit across," the "heart plucked out," or the "blood spilt upon the ground," according to the several degrees.² Brigham consolidated his power rapidly, but by the opening of 1845, outside hostility again began to be felt, and the leaders secretly resolved to abandon Nauvoo.

The malcontents from the city, and those who had suffered, would run away to anti-Mormon neighborhoods, and stir up hatred against the Saints. Gentiles, who owned property near Nauvoo, found it practically worthless, for they could sell it to no *other* Gentiles; and in the county at large, where the Mormons settled around an old resident, his society was gone; he could have no church nor school privileges; he could not affiliate or be neighborly with the new comers, and often suspected them of trespass and constant annoyance. His land lost half its value, and the near presence of foreigners of the fanatic sect caused him to be forever on his guard. It became a settled conviction in the minds of the people that they could have no peaceful enjoyment of their property while the Saints remained. Gentiles combined in groups for society and protection, and Mormons did the same at command of the Church, to which they were bound by such absolute oaths; and this, of course, led to local and sectional hatred, which, among people who habitually wore arms, soon culminated in blood. Men became afraid to stir abroad, except in squads; riots and regular skirmishes, amounting almost to pitched battles, took place; blood was shed, lives were lost, and the exasperation of both parties was raised to the highest pitch. The Western press teemed with accounts of the enormities of Nauvoo, no doubt, greatly exaggerated, but still with considerable basis of truth. A

² See Chapter XX for specific details.

LIFE in UTAH; or, the MYSTERIES and CRIMES of MORMONISM

horrible murder was committed in Lee County, Iowa, and the perpetrators were traced directly to Nauvoo. At least a dozen Mormons swore positively that the accused were in that city at the time of the murder; and yet so contradictory was their testimony, and so plain the rest of the evidence, that the murderers, two brothers named Hodges, were convicted and hanged at Montrose, Iowa. It was whispered about that they would be rescued by a Mormon force, and nearly every man in southern Iowa, then but eighty miles wide, the rest to the Missouri being Indian country, attended the execution. This case excited all of Iowa as well as Illinois afresh against Nauvoo. Conspicuous among the journals of that period, in advocating the expulsion or extermination of the Mormons, were the *Sangamo Journal*, *Burlington Hawk-eye*, *Quincy Whig* and *Warsaw Signal*. At the same time, the executive of the State was accused openly of favoring the Mormons. Perhaps no fact in Mormon history so fully illustrates the blind unreason of the laity, or the corruption and treachery of their leaders, as their treatment of the Governor, Thomas L. Ford. He had been elected with the aid of their votes, and had always maintained that the crusade against them was only for political effect; he had been their friend in most difficult situations, and had even strained the facts to make a sort of excuse for them; he had done all that was supposed necessary to save the Smiths, and had risked his popularity and life to bring their murderers to punishment. And yet they are never weary of heaping abuse upon him, because he did not accede to other demands on their part; they generally accuse him of conniving at the murder of the Smiths, and heap execrations upon his memory. It must be remembered, that Governor Ford wrote his history the year after the Mormons left, that it is not so much a history of the State as a defence of his administration, that, politically [*sic*], he was more of an enemy to the anti-Mormons of western Illinois than to the Mormons, and consequently inclined to make as favorable a showing as possible for the latter. With this comment, or caution rather, I return to his account:

“About one year after the apostles were installed in power, they abandoned for the present the project of converting the world to the new religion. All the missionaries and members abroad were

ordered home; it was announced that the world had rejected the gospel by the murder of the Prophet and Patriarch, and was to be left to perish in its sins. In the meantime, both before and after this, the elders at Nauvoo quit preaching about religion. The Mormons came from every part pouring into the city; the congregations were regularly called together for worship, but instead of expounding the new gospel, the zealous and infuriated preachers now indulged only in curses and strains of abuse of the Gentiles, and it seemed to be their design to fill their followers with the greatest amount of hatred to all mankind excepting the 'Saints.' A sermon was no more than an inflammatory stump speech, relating to their quarrels with their enemies, and ornamented with an abundance of profanity. From my own personal knowledge of this people, I can say, with truth, that I have never known much of any of their leaders who was not addicted to profane swearing. No other kind of discourses than these were heard in the city. Curses upon their enemies, upon the country, upon Government, upon all public officers, were now the lessons taught by the elders, to inflame their people with the highest degree of spite and malice against all who were not of the Mormon Church, or its obsequious tools. The reader can readily imagine how a city of fifteen thousand inhabitants could be wrought up and kept in a continual rage by the inflammatory harangues of its leaders.

"In the meantime, the anti-Mormons were not idle; they were more than ever determined to expel the Mormons; and, being passionately inflamed against them, they made many applications for executive assistance. On the other hand, the Mormons invoked the assistance of Government to take vengeance upon the murderers of the Smiths. The anti-Mormons asked the Governor to violate the Constitution, which he was sworn to support, by erecting himself into a military despot and exiling the Mormons. The Mormons on their part, in their newspapers, invited the Governor to assume absolute power, by taking a summary vengeance upon their enemies, by shooting fifty or a hundred of them, without judge or jury. Both parties were thoroughly disgusted with Constitutional provisions, restraining them from summary vengeance; each was ready to submit to arbitrary power, to the fiat of a dictator, to make me a king for the time being, or at least

LIFE in UTAH; or, the MYSTERIES and CRIMES of MORMONISM

that I might exercise the power of a king, to abolish both the forms and spirit of free government, if the despotism to be erected upon its ruins could only be wielded for their benefit, and to take vengeance on their [its] enemies. [...]

“Another election was to come off in August, 1844, for members of Congress and for the Legislature; and an election was pending throughout the nation for a President of the United States. The war of party was never more fierce and terrible than during the pendency of these elections. [...] [¶] As a means of allaying the excitement, and making the question more manageable, I was most anxious that the Mormons should not vote at this election, and strongly advised them against doing so. But Col. E.D. Taylor went to their city a few days before the election, and the Mormons being ever disposed to follow the worst advice they could get, were induced by him and others to vote for all the democratic candidates. Col. Taylor found them very hostile to the Governor, and on that account much disposed not to vote at this election. The leading Whig anti-Mormons believing that I had an influence over the Mormons, for the purpose of destroying it, had assured them that the Governor had planned and been favorable to the murder of their Prophet and Patriarch. The Mormons pretended to suspect that the Governor had given some countenance to the murder, or at least had neglected to take the proper precautions to prevent it. [...]

“In the course of the fall of 1844, the anti-Mormon leaders sent printed invitations to all the militia captains in Hancock, and to the captains of militia in all the neighboring counties in Illinois, Iowa, and Missouri, to be present with their companies at a great wolf hunt in Hancock; and it was privately announced that the wolves to be hunted were the Mormons, and Jack Mormons.³ Preparations were made for assembling several thousand men, with provisions for six days; and the anti-Mormon newspapers, in aid of the movement, commenced anew the most awful accounts of thefts and robberies, and meditated outrages by the

³ BEADLE FOOTNOTE: “A slang name applied to Gentiles who favor the Mormons.”

WEES FOOTNOTE: More recently, *Jack-Mormon* has been used to identify a member of the Latter-day Saint fold who is not strictly observant in living the tenets of the faith.

Mormons. The Whig press in every part of the United States came to their assistance. The Democratic newspapers and the leading Democrats, who had received the benefit of the Mormon votes to their party, quailed under the tempest, leaving no organ for the correction of public opinion, either at home or abroad, except the discredited Mormon newspaper at Nauvoo. But very few of my prominent Democratic friends would dare to come up to the assistance of their Governor, and but few of them dared openly to vindicate his motives in endeavoring to keep the peace. They were willing and anxious for Mormon votes at elections, but they were unwilling to risk their popularity with the people, by taking a part in their favor, even when law and justice and the Constitution were all on their side. Such being the odious character of the Mormons, the hatred of the common people against them, and such being the pusillanimity of leading men, in fearing to encounter it.

“In this state of the case I applied to Brigadier-General J.J. Hardin of the State militia, and to Colonels Baker and Merriman, all Whigs, but all of them men of military ambition, and they together with Colonel William Weatherford, a Democrat, with my own exertions, succeeded in raising about five hundred volunteers; and thus did these Whigs, that which my own political friends with two or three exceptions, were slow to do, from a sense of duty and gratitude.

“With this little force under the command of General Hardin, I arrived in Hancock County on the 25th of October. The malcontents abandoned their design, and all the leaders of it fled to Missouri. The Carthage Grays fled almost in a body, carrying their arms along with them. During our stay in the county the anti-Mormons thronged into the camp, and conversed freely with the men, who were fast infected with their prejudices, and it was impossible to get any of the officers to aid in expelling them. Colonels Baker, Merriman and Weatherford volunteered their services if I would go with them, to cross with a force into Missouri, to capture three of the anti-Mormon leaders, for whose arrest writs had been issued for the murder of the Smiths. To this I assented, and procured a boat which was sent down in the night, and secretly landed a mile above Warsaw. Our little force arrived

LIFE in UTAH; or, the MYSTERIES and CRIMES of MORMONISM

at that place about noon; that night we were to cross the Missouri at Churchville, and seize the accused there encamped with a number of their friends; but that afternoon Colonel Baker visited the hostile camp, and on his return refused to part[i]cipate in the expedition, and so advised [all] his friends [against joining it]. There was no authority for compelling [the] men to invade a neighboring State, and for this cause, much to the vexation of myself and others, the matter fell through. [¶] It seems that Colonel Baker had already partly arranged the terms for the accused to surrender. They were to be taken to Quincy for examination under a military guard; the attorney for the people was to be advised to admit them to bail, and they were to be entitled to a continuance of their trial at the next Court at Carthage; upon this, two of the accused came over and surrendered themselves prisoners. [...]

“I employed able lawyers to hunt up the testimony, procure indictments and prosecute the offenders. A trial was had before Judge Young in the summer of 1845. The Sheriff and panel of jurors selected by the Mormon Court were set aside for prejudice, a new panel was ordered and elisors⁴ were appointed for this purpose; but as more than a thousand men had assembled under arms at the court, to keep away the Mormons and their friends, the jury was made up of these military followers of the court, who all swore that they had never formed or expressed an opinion as to the guilt or innocence of the accused. The Mormons had one principal witness,⁵ who was with the troops at Warsaw, had marched with them until they were disbanded, heard their consultations, went before them to Carthage and saw them murder the Smiths. But before the trial came on they had induced him to become a Mormon; and being much more anxious for the glorification of the Prophet than to avenge his death, the leading Mormons made him publish a pamphlet giving an account of the murder, in which he professed to have seen a bright and shining light descend upon the head of Joe Smith, to strike some of the

⁴ This section originally included the following text: “*were appointed to select a new jury. One friend of the Mormons and one anti-Mormon*”

⁵ William M. Daniels (age 24 at the time of Joseph and Hyrum’s death).

conspirators with blindness, and that he heard supernatural voices in the air confirming his mission as a Prophet! Having published this in a book, he was compelled to swear to it in court, which of course destroyed the credit of his evidence. This witness was afterwards expelled from the Mormons, but no doubt they will cling to his evidence in favor of the divine mission of the Prophet. Many other witnesses were examined who knew the facts, but, under the influence of the demoralization of faction, denied all knowledge of them. It has been said, that faction may find men honest, but it scarcely ever leaves them so. This was verified to the letter, in the history of the Mormon quarrel. The accused were all acquitted. [...]

“At the next term, the leading Mormons were tried and acquitted for the destruction of the heretical press. It appears that, not being interested in objecting to the Sheriff or jury selected by a court elected by themselves, they, in their turn, got a favorable jury determined upon acquittal; and yet the Mormon jurors all swore that they had formed no opinion as to the guilt or innocence of their accused friends. It appeared that the laws furnished the means of suiting each party with a jury. The Mormons could have a Mormon jury to be tried by, selected by themselves; and the anti-Mormons, by objecting to the Sheriff and regular panel, could have one from the anti-Mormons. [From] Henceforth no leading man on either side could be arrested without the aid of an army, as the men of one party could not safely surrender to the other for fear of being murdered; when arrested by a military force, the Constitution prohibited a trial in any other county without the consent of the accused. No one would be convicted of any crime in Hancock; and this put an end to the administration of the criminal law in that distracted county. Government was at an end there, and the whole community [were] delivered up to the dominion of a frightful anarchy. If the whole State had been in the same condition, then indeed would have been verified to the letter what was said by a wit, when he expressed an opinion that the people were neither capable of governing themselves, nor of being governed by others.”

LIFE in UTAH; or, the MYSTERIES and CRIMES of MORMONISM

Late in 1845, the Mormon Charters were revoked by the Legislature, which act that body evidently considered a cure for all the evils of Mormonism.

[...] “Nauvoo was now a city of about 15,000 inhabitants and was fast increasing, as the followers of the Prophet were pouring into it from all parts of the world; and there were several other settlements and villages of Mormons in Hancock County. Nauvoo was scattered over about six square miles, a part of it being built upon the flat, skirting and fronting on the Mississippi River, but the greater portion of it upon the bluffs back, east of the river. The great Temple, which is said to have cost a million of dollars in money and labor, occupied a commanding position on the brow of this bluff, and overlooked the country around for twenty miles in Illinois and Iowa. [...]

“The anti-Mormons complained of a large number of larcenies and robberies. The Mormon press at Nauvoo and the anti-Mormon papers at Warsaw, Quincy, Springfield, Alton, and St. Louis, kept up a constant [continual] fire at each other; the anti-Mormons all the time calling upon the people to rise and expel, or exterminate the Mormons. The great fires in [at] Pittsburg and in other cities about this time, were seized upon by the Mormon press to countenance the assertion that the Lord had sent them[,] to manifest his displeasure against the Gentiles; and to hint that all other places which should [might] countenance the enemies of the Mormons, might expect to be visited by ‘hot drops’ of the same description. This was interpreted by the anti-Mormons to be a threat by Mormon incendiaries, to burn down all cities and places not friendly to their religion. About this time[,] also, a suit had been commenced in the circuit court of the United States against some of the Twelve Apostles, on a note given in Ohio. The deputy marshal went to summon the defendants. They were determined not to be served with process, and a great meeting of their people being called, outrageously inflammatory speeches were made by the leaders; the marshal was threatened and abused for intending to serve a lawful process, and here it was publicly declared and agreed to by the Mormons, that no more process should be served in Nauvoo. [¶] Also, about this time, a leading anti-Mormon by the name of Dr. Marshall made an assault upon

Gen. Deming, the Sheriff of the County, and was killed by the Sheriff in repelling the assault. The Sheriff was arrested and held to bail by Judge Young, for manslaughter; though, as he had acted strictly in self-defence, no one seriously believed him to be guilty of any crime whatever. But Dr. Marshall had many friends disposed to revenge his death, and the rage of the people ran very high, for which reason it was thought best by the judge to hold the Sheriff to bail for something, to save him from being sacrificed to the public fury.

“Not long after the trials of the supposed murderers of the Smiths, it was discovered on the trial of a right of property near Lima, in Adams county, by Mormon testimony, that that people had an institution in their Church called a “Oneness,” which was composed of an association of five persons, over whom one was appointed as a kind of guardian. This one was trustee for the rest, was to own all the property of the association; so that if it were levied upon by an execution for debt, the Mormons could prove that the property belonged to one or the other of the parties, as might be required to defeat the execution. And not long after this discovery, in the fall of 1845, the anti-Mormons of Lima and Green Plains held a meeting to devise means for the expulsion of the Mormons from their neighborhood. They appointed some persons of their own number to fire a few shots at the house where they were assembled; but to do it in such a way as to hurt none who attended the meeting. The meeting was held, the house was fired at, but so as to hurt no one; and the anti-Mormons suddenly breaking up their meeting, rode all over the country, spreading the dire alarm that the Mormons had commenced the work of massacre and death.

“This startling intelligence soon assembled a mob, [...] which proceeded to warn the Mormons to leave the neighborhood, and threatened them with fire and sword if they remained. A very poor class of Mormons resided there, and it is very likely that the other inhabitants were annoyed beyond further endurance by their little larcenies and rogueries. The Mormons refused to remove; and about one hundred and seventy-five houses and hovels were burnt, the inmates being obliged to flee for their lives. They fled to Nauvoo in a state of utter destitution, carrying their wom-

LIFE in UTAH; or, the MYSTERIES and CRIMES of MORMONISM

en and children, aged and sick [(it was then the height of the sickly season)], along with them as best they could. The sight of these miserable creatures aroused the wrath of the Mormons of Nauvoo. As soon as authentic intelligence of these events reached Springfield, I ordered General Hardin to raise a force and restore the rule of law. But whilst this force was gathering, the Sheriff of the County had taken the matter in hand. General Deming had died not long after the death of Dr. Marshall, and the Mormons had elected Jacob B. Backinstos to be Sheriff in his place. [...] Being just now regarded as the political leader of the Mormons, Backinstos was hated with a sincere and thorough hatred by the opposite party.

“When the burning of houses commenced, the great body of the anti-Mormons expressed themselves strongly against it, giving hopes thereby that a posse of anti-Mormons could be raised to put a stop to such incendiary and riotous conduct. But when they were called on by the new Sheriff, not a man of them turned out to his assistance, many of them no doubt being influenced by their hatred of the Sheriff. Backinstos then went to Nauvoo, where he raised a posse of several hundred armed Mormons, with which he swept over the country, took possession of Carthage, and established a permanent guard there. The anti-Mormons everywhere fled from their houses [homes] before the Sheriff, some of them to Iowa and Missouri, and others to the neighboring counties in Illinois. The Sheriff was unable or unwilling to bring any portion of the rioters to battle, or to arrest any of them for their crimes. The posse came near surprising one small squad, but they made their escape, all but one, before they could be attacked. This one, named McBratney, was shot down by some of the posse in advance, by whom he was hacked and mutilated as though he had been murdered by the Indians.

“The Sheriff was also in continual peril of his life from the anti-Mormons, who daily threatened him with death the first opportunity. As he was going in a buggy from Warsaw in the direction of Nauvoo, he was pursued by three or four men to a place in the road where some Mormon teams were standing. Backinstos passed the teams a few rods, and then stopping, the pursuers came up within one hundred and fifty yards, when they

LIFE in UTAH; or, the MYSTERIES and CRIMES of MORMONISM

were fired upon, with an unerring aim, by some one concealed not far to one side of them. By this fire⁶ Franklin A. Worrell was killed. He was the same man who had commanded the guard at the jail at the time the Smiths were assassinated; and there made himself conspicuous in betraying his trust, by consenting to the assassination. It is believed that Backinstos expected to be pursued and attacked, and had previously stationed some men in ambush, to fire upon his pursuers. He was afterwards indicted for the supposed murder, and procured a change of venue to Peoria County, where he was acquitted of the charge. About this time also, the Mormons murdered a man by the name of Daubeneyer, without any apparent provocation; and another anti-Mormon, named Wilcox, was murdered in Nauvoo, as it was believed, by order of the twelve apostles. The anti-Mormons also committed one murder. Some of them, under Backman, set fire to some straw near a barn belonging to Durfee, an old Mormon of seventy years; and then lay in ambush until the old man came out to extinguish the fire, when they shot him dead from their place of concealment. The perpetrators of this murder were arrested and brought before an anti-Mormon justice of the peace, and were acquitted, though their guilt was sufficiently apparent.

“During the ascendancy of the Sheriff and the absence of the anti-Mormons from their homes, the people who had been burnt out of their homes assembled at Nauvoo, from whence, with many others, they sallied forth and ravaged the country, stealing and plundering whatever was convenient to carry or drive away. When informed of these proceedings I hastened to Jacksonville, where, in a conference with General Hardin, Major Warren, Judge Douglas, and the Attorney General, Mr. McDougall, it was agreed that these gentlemen should proceed to Hancock in all haste, with whatever forces had been raised, few or many, and put an end to these disorders. It was now apparent that neither party in Hancock could be trusted with the power to keep the peace. It was also agreed that all these gentlemen should unite their influence with mine to induce the Mormons to leave the

⁶ BEADLE FOOTNOTE: “It has since transpired that ‘Port’ Rockwell fired the fatal shot; and the gun he used is still preserved as a triumphant relic, in Salt Lake City.”

LIFE in UTAH; or, the MYSTERIES and CRIMES of MORMONISM

State. General Hardin lost no time in raising three or four hundred volunteers, and when he got to Carthage he found a Mormon guard in possession of the Court House. This force he ordered to disband and disperse in fifteen minutes. The plundering parties of Mormons were stopped in their ravages. The fugitive anti-Mormons were recalled to their homes, and all parties above four in number on either side were prohibited from assembling and marching over the country.

“Whilst General Hardin was at Carthage, a convention previously appointed assembled at that place, composed of delegates from the eight neighboring counties. The people of the neighboring counties were alarmed lest the anti-Mormons should entirely desert Hancock, and by that means leave one of the largest counties in the State to be possessed entirely by Mormons. This they feared would bring the surrounding counties into immediate collision with them. They had, therefore, appointed this convention to consider measures for the expulsion of the Mormons. The twelve apostles had now become satisfied that the Mormons could not remain, or if they did the leaders would be compelled to abandon the sway and dominion they exercised over them. They had now become convinced that the kind of Mahometanism which they sought to establish could never be maintained [established] in the near vicinity of a people whose morals and prejudices were all outraged and shocked by it, unless indeed they were prepared to establish it by force of arms. Through the intervention of General Hardin, acting under instructions from me, an agreement was made between the hostile parties for the voluntary removal of the greater part of the Mormons in the spring of 1846.

“The two parties agreed that, in the meantime, they would seek to make no arrests for crimes previously committed; and on my part, I agreed that an armed force should be stationed in the county to keep the peace. The presence of such a force, and amnesty from prosecutions on all sides, were insisted on by the Mormons that they might devote their time and energies to prepare for their removal. General Hardin first diminished his force to one hundred men, leaving Major William B. Warren in command. And this force being further reduced [diminished] during the winter to fifty, and then to ten men, was kept up until the last of May,

LIFE in UTAH; or, the MYSTERIES and CRIMES of MORMONISM

1846. This force was commanded with great prudence and efficiency during all this winter and spring by Major Warren; and with it he was enabled to keep the turbulent spirit of faction in check, the Mormons well knowing that it would be supported by a much larger force whenever the Governor saw proper to call for it. In the meantime, they somewhat repented of their bargain, and desired Major Warren to be withdrawn. Backinstos was anxious to be again [left] at the head of his posse, to goster over the country and to take vengeance on his enemies. The anti-Mormons were also dissatisfied, because the State force preserved a threatening aspect toward them as well as the Mormons. He was always ready to enforce arrests of criminals for new offences on either side; and this pleased neither party [the Mormons nor the anti-Mormons]. Civil war was upon the point of breaking out more than a dozen times during the winter. Both parties complained of Major Warren; but I, well knowing that he was manfully doing his duty, in one of the most difficult and vexatious services, [ever devolved upon a military officer,] steadily sustained him against the complaints on both sides. Great credit is due General Hardin and Major Warren for their services, which had the happiest results, and prevented a civil war in the winter time, when much misery would have followed it.⁷

“During the winter of 1845-’46, the Mormons made the most prodigious preparations for removal. All the houses in Nauvoo, and even the Temple, were converted into work[-]shops; and before spring more than twelve thousand wagons were in readiness. The people from all parts of the country flocked to Nauvoo to purchase houses and farms, which were sold extremely low, lower than the prices at a sheriff’s sale, for money, wagons, horses, oxen, cattle, and other articles of personal property, which might be needed by the Mormons during their exodus into the wilderness. By the middle of May it was estimated, that sixteen

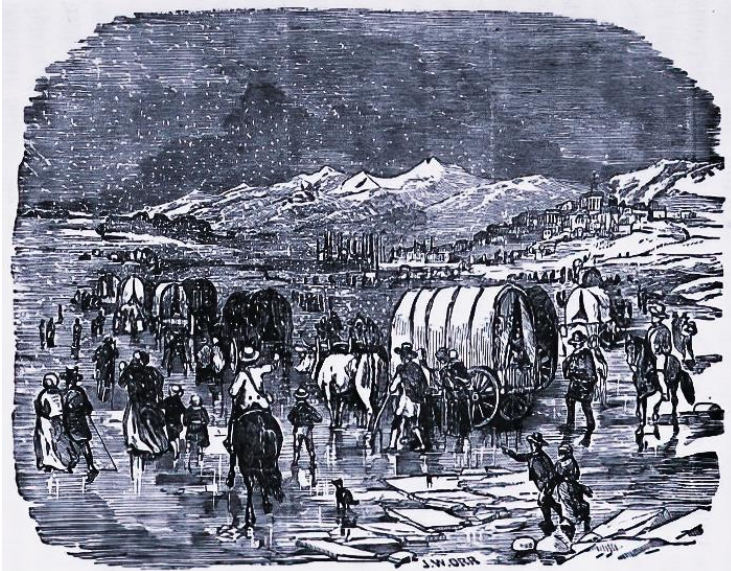
⁷ Ford’s original text reads: “It is but just to Major Warren to say here, that he gained a lasting credit with all substantial citizens for his able and prudent conduct during this winter. Of General Hardin, too, it is but just to say, that his expedition this time had the happiest results. The greater part of the military tract was saved by it from the horrors of a civil war in the winter time, when much misery would have followed from it, by the dispersion of families and the destruction of property.”

LIFE in UTAH; or, the MYSTERIES and CRIMES of MORMONISM

thousand Mormons had crossed the Mississippi and taken up their line of march westward [across the continent to Oregon or California]; leaving behind them in Nauvoo a small remnant of a thousand souls, being those who were unable to sell their property, or having none to sell, were unable to get away.

“The twelve Apostles went first with about two thousand of their followers. Indictments had been found against nine of them in the Circuit Court of the United States for the district of Illinois, at its December term, 1845, for counterfeiting the current coin of the United States. The United States Marshal had applied to me for a militia force to arrest them; but in pursuance of the amnesty agreed on [for old offences, believing that the arrest of the accused would prevent the removal of the Mormons, and that if arrested there was not the least chance that any of them would ever be convicted], and consequent considerations, I declined the application unless regularly called on by the President [of the United States] according to law. [...] The arrest of the leaders would end the preparations for removal, and it was notorious that none of them could be convicted; for they always commanded evidence and witnesses enough to render conviction impossible.⁸ But with a view to hasten their removal they were made to believe that the President would order the regular army to Nauvoo as soon as navigation opened in the spring. This had its intended effect; the twelve with about two thousand [of their] followers immediately crossed the Mississippi before the breaking up of the ice. But before this, the deputy marshal had sought to arrest the accused without success.

⁸ Ford's original text reads: “*It was generally agreed that it would be impolitic to arrest the leaders and thus put an end to the preparations for removal, when it was notorious that none of them could be convicted; for they always commanded evidence and witnesses enough to make a conviction impossible.*”



MORMONS DRIVEN OUT OF NAUVOO, CROSSING THE MISSISSIPPI ON THE ICE.

“Notwithstanding but few of the Mormons remained behind, after June, 1846, the anti-Mormons were no less anxious for their expulsion by force of arms; being another instance of a party not being satisfied with [the attainment of] success [its wishes] not [unless] brought about by themselves, and by measures of their own. It was feared that the Mormons might vote at the August election of that year; and that enough of them yet remained to control the elections in the county, and perhaps in the district for Congress. They, therefore, took measures to get up a new quarrel with the remaining Mormons. And for this purpose they attacked and severely whipped a party of eight or ten Mormons, which had been sent out in the country to harvest some wheat in the neighborhood of Pontoosuc, and who had provoked the wrath of the settlement by hallooing, yelling, and other arrogant behavior. Writs were sworn out in Nauvoo against the men of Pontoosuc, who were kept for several days under strict guard until they gave bail. Then, in their turn, they swore out writs for the arrest of the constable and his posse who had made the first arrest, for false

imprisonment. The Mormon posse were no doubt really afraid to be arrested, believing that instead of being tried they would be murdered. This made an excuse for an anti-Mormon posse of several hundred men [to assist in making the arrest]; but the matter was finally adjusted without any one being taken. A committee of anti-Mormons was sent into Nauvoo, who reported that the Mormons were making every possible preparation for removal; and the leading Mormons on their part agreed that their people should not vote at the next election.

“The August election soon came [on shortly afterwards], and the Mormons all voted the whole Democratic ticket. I have since been informed by Babbitt, the Mormon elder and agent for the sale of Church property, that they were induced to vote this time from the following considerations: [¶]

“The President of the United States had permitted the Mormons to settle on the Indian lands on the Missouri River, and had taken five hundred of them into the service as soldiers in the war with Mexico; and, in consequence of these favors, the Mormons felt under obligations to vote for Democrats in support of the Administration; and so determined were they that their support of the President should be efficient, that they all voted three or four times each for a member of Congress.

“This vote of the Mormons enraged the Whigs anew against them; the probability that they might attempt to remain permanently in the country, and the certainty that many designing persons for selfish purposes were endeavoring to keep them there, revived all the excitement which had ever existed against that people. In pursuance of the advice and under the direction of Archibald Williams, a distinguished lawyer and a Whig politician of Quincy, writs were again sworn out for the arrest of persons in Nauvoo, on various charges. But to create a necessity for a great force to make the arrests, it was freely admitted by John Carlin, the constable sent in with the writs, that the prisoners would be murdered if arrested and taken out of the city. [...] And now having failed to make the arrests, the constable began to call out the *posse comitatus*. This was about the 1st of September, 1846. The posse soon amounted to several hundred men. The Mormons, in their turn, swore out several writs for the arrest of lead-

ing anti-Mormons, [and under pretense of desiring to execute them, called out a posse of Mormons.] Here was writ against writ; constable against constable; law against law, and posse against posse.

“Whilst the parties were assembling their forces, the trustees of Nauvoo being new citizens, not Mormons, applied to the Governor for a militia officer to be sent over with ten men, they supposing that this small force would dispense with the services of the civil posse on either side. There was such a want of confidence on all sides, that no one would submit to be arrested by an adversary, for fear of assassination. [...]

“In looking around over the State for a suitable officer, those upon whom I had relied in all previous emergencies having gone to the Mexican war, the choice fell upon Major Parker, of Fulton County. He [Major Parker] was a Whig, and was selected partly for that reason, believing [that a whig] now, as in previous cases, [as had been the case before with Gen. Hardin and Major Warren,] a Whig would have more influence in restraining the anti-Mormons than a Democrat. [...]

“The posse continued to increase until it numbered about eight hundred men; and whilst it was getting ready to march into the city, it was represented to me by another committee, that the new citizens of Nauvoo were themselves divided into two parties, the one siding with the Mormons, the other with their enemies. The Mormons threatened the disaffected [new citizens] with death, if they did not join in defence of the city. For this reason, I sent over M. Brayman, Esq., a judicious citizen of Springfield, with suitable orders restraining all compulsion, in forcing the citizens to join the Mormons against their will, and generally to inquire into and report all the circumstances of the quarrel. [¶] Soon after Mr. Brayman arrived there, he persuaded the leaders on each side into an adjustment of the quarrel. It was agreed that the Mormons should immediately surrender their arms to some person to be appointed to receive them, and to be re-delivered when they left the State, and that they would remove from the State in two months. This treaty was agreed to by General Singleton, Colonel Chittenden and others on the side of the Anties, and by Major Parker and some leading Mormons on the other side. But when

LIFE in UTAH; or, the MYSTERIES and CRIMES of MORMONISM

the treaty was submitted to the anti-Mormon forces for ratification, it was rejected by a small majority. General Singleton and Colonel Chittenden, with a proper self respect, immediately withdrew from command; they not being the first great men placed at the head of affairs at the beginning of violence, who have been hurled from their places before the popular frenzy had run its course. And with them also great Archibald Williams, the prime mover of the enterprise, he not being the first man who has got up a popular commotion and failed to govern it afterwards. Indeed, the whole history of revolutions and popular excitements leading to violence, is full of instances like these. Mr. Brayman, the same day of the rejection of the treaty, reported to me that nearly one-half of the anti-Mormons would abandon the enterprise and retire with their late commanders, 'leaving a set of hair-brained fools to be flogged or to disperse at their leisure.' It turned out, however, that the calculations of Mr. Brayman were not realized; for when Singleton and Chittenden retired, Thomas S. Brockman was put in command of the posse. This Brockman was a Campbellite preacher, nominally belonging to the Democratic party. He was a large, awkward, uncouth, ignorant, semi-barbarian; ambitious of office, and bent upon acquiring notoriety. [...] After the appointment of Brockman, I was not enabled to hear in any authentic shape of the movements on either side, until the anti-Mormon forces had arrived near the suburbs of the city, and were about ready to commence an attack. The information which was received, was by mere rumor of travelers, or by the newspapers from St. Louis. And I will remark that during none of these difficulties, have I been able to get letters and dispatches from Nauvoo by the United States mail, coming as it was obliged to do, through anti-Mormon settlements and Post Offices."⁹

The Governor's account proceeds to state the efforts and failure to raise an additional force of militia to quell the disturbance; that, if any had been raised, it would have only operated to increase the excitement and the anti-Mormon force; that, it was his

⁹ Thomas Ford, *A History of Illinois* (Chicago, IL: S.C. Griggs & Co., 1854), 360-418.

LIFE in UTAH; or, the MYSTERIES and CRIMES of MORMONISM

solemn conviction, no sufficient force could have been raised, to fight in favor of the Mormons; that, no force could have more than temporarily suppressed the difficulties, and such was the public prejudice against the Mormons, that, ten chances to one, any large force of militia which might have been ordered there would have joined the rioters, rather than fought in favor of the Mormons.

“The forces under Brockman numbered about 800 men; they were armed with the State arms, which had been given up to them by independent militia companies in the adjacent counties. They also had five [pieces of] six-pounder iron cannon, belonging to the State, which they had obtained in the same way. The Mormon party and their allies, being some of the new citizens under the command of Major Clifford, numbered at first about two hundred and fifty men, but were diminished by desertions and removals, before any decisive fighting took place, to about one hundred and fifty. Some of them were armed with sixteen shooting rifles, which experience proved ineffective in their hands, and a few of them with muskets. They had four or five cannon, rudely and hastily made by themselves out of the shaft of a steamboat. [¶] The Mormons and their allies took position in the suburbs, about one mile east of the temple, where they threw up some breastworks for the protection of their artillery. The attacking force was strong enough to have been divided and marched into the city, on each side of this battery, and entirely out of the range of its shot; and thus the place might have been taken without the firing of a gun. But Brockman, although he professed a desire to save the lives of his men, planted his force directly in front of the enemy’s battery, but distant more than half a mile; and now both parties commenced a fire from their cannon, and some few persons on each side approached near enough to open a fire with their rifles and muskets, but not near enough to do each other material injury.

“In this manner they continued to fire at each other, at such a distance, and with such want of skill, that there was but little prospect of injury, until the anti-Mormons had exhausted their ammunition, when they retreated in some disorder to their camp. They were not pursued, and here the Mormons [Mormon party]

committed an error, for all experience of irregular forces has shown, that however brave they may be, [that] a charge on them when they have once commenced a retreat, is sure to be successful. Having waited a few days to supply themselves [anew] with ammunition from Quincy, the Anties again advanced to the attack, but without coming nearer to the enemy than before, and that which at the time was called a battle, was kept up three or four days, during all which time the Mormons admit a loss of two men and a boy killed, and three or four wounded. The Anties admit a loss on their side of one man mortally, and nine or ten others not so dangerously wounded. The Mormons claimed that they had killed thirty or forty of the Anties. The Anties claimed that they had killed thirty or forty of the Mormons; and both parties could have proved their claim by incontestable evidence, if their witnesses had been credible. But the account which each party renders of its own loss should be taken as the true one, unless such account can be successfully controverted. During all the skirmishing and firing of cannon, it is estimated that from seven to nine hundred cannon balls, and an infinite number of bullets, were fired on each side, from which it appears that the remarkable fact of so few being killed and wounded, can be accounted for, only by supposing great unskill[1]fulness in the use of arms, and by the very safe distance which the parties kept from each other.

“At last through the intervention of an anti-Mormon committee of one hundred from Quincy, the Mormons and their allies were induced to submit to such terms as the posse chose to dictate, which were that the Mormons should immediately give up their arms to the Quincy committee, and remove from the State. The trustees of the Church and five of their clerks were permitted to remain for the sale of Mormon property, and the posse were to march in unmolested, and to leave a sufficient force to guarantee the performance of these stipulations.

“Accordingly the constable’s posse marched in with Brockman at their head, consisting of about eight hundred armed men, and six or seven hundred unarmed, who had assembled, from all the country around, from motives of curiosity, to see the once proud city of Nauvoo humbled, and delivered up to its enemies, and to the domination of a self-constituted and irresponsible power.

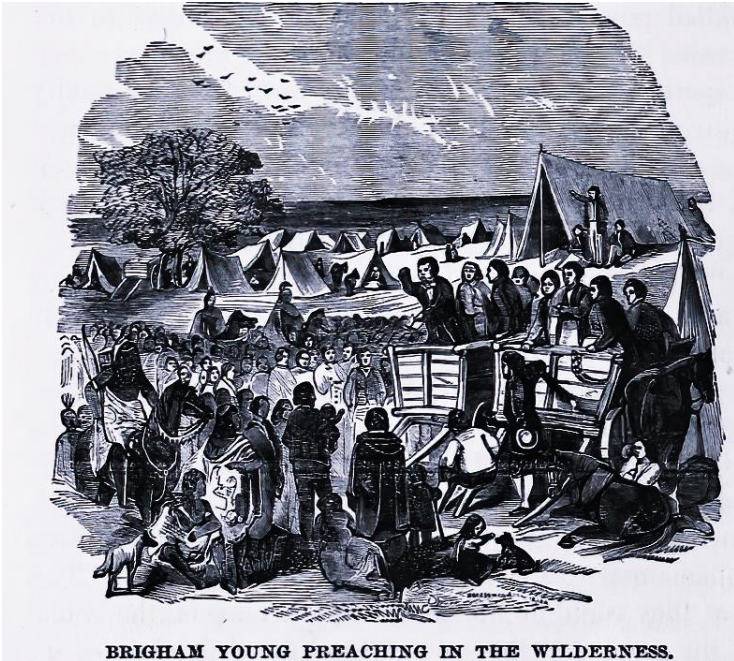
LIFE in UTAH; or, the MYSTERIES and CRIMES of MORMONISM

They proceeded into the city slowly and carefully, examining the way from fear of the explosion of a mine, many of which had been made by the Mormons, by burying kegs of powder in the ground with a man stationed at a distance to pull a string communicating with the trigger of a percussion lock affixed to the keg. This kind of contrivance was called by the Mormons a 'hell's half-acre.' When the posse arrived in the city, the leaders of it erected themselves into a tribunal to decide who should be forced away and who remain. Parties were dispatched to hunt for Mormon arms and for Mormons, and to bring them to the judgment, where they received their doom from the mouth of Brockman, who then sat a grim and unawed tyrant for the time. As a general rule, the Mormons were ordered to leave within an hour or two hours; and by rare grace some of them were allowed until next day, and in a few cases longer.

"The treaty specified that the Mormons only should be driven into exile. Nothing was said in it concerning the new citizens, who had, with the Mormons, defended the city. But the posse no sooner obtained possession, than they commenced expelling the new citizens. Some of them were ducked in the river, being in one or two instances actually baptized in the name of the leaders of the mob; others were forcibly driven into the ferry boats, to be taken over the river, before the bayonets of armed ruffians; and it is asserted [believed] that the houses of most of them were broken open and their property stolen during their absence. [...]

"[A]lthough the mob leaders, in the exercise of unbridled power, were guilty of many enormities to the persons of individuals, and though much personal property was stolen, yet they abstained from materially injuring houses and buildings. The most that was done in this way was the stealing of the doors and sash of the windows from a few houses by somebody; each party equally alleging that it was done by the other. [...]

"[T]he Mormons had been forced away from their homes unprepared for a journey. They and their women and children had been thrown houseless upon the Iowa shore, without provisions or the means of getting them, or to get away to places where provisions might be obtained. It was now the height of the sickly season. Many of them were taken from sick beds, hurried into the



BRIGHAM YOUNG PREACHING IN THE WILDERNESS.

boats, and driven away by the armed ruffians now exercising the power of government. The best they could do was to erect their tents on the banks of the river, and there remain to take their chances of perishing by hunger, or by prevailing sickness. In this condition the sick, without shelter, food, nourishment or medicines, died by scores. The mother watched her sick babe, without hope, until it died, and when she sunk under accumulated miseries, it was only to be quickly followed by her other children, now left without the least attention; for the men had scattered out over the country seeking employment and the means of living. Their distressed condition was no sooner known, than all parties contributed to their relief; the anti-Mormons as much as others.”¹⁰

¹⁰ Thomas Ford, *A History of Illinois* (Chicago, IL: S.C. Griggs & Co., 1854), 421-426.