

CHAPTER XVII.¹

RECUSANT SECTS OF MORMONS.

*Repression not unity—Great break-up at Nauvoo—
Sidney Rigdon's Church—J.J. Strang—Cutler, Brewster and Heddrick:
"The Gatherers"—The "Truth Teller"—Lyman Wight in Texas—
San Bernardino Mormons—Apostasy, Spiritualism and insanity—
Brigham supreme in Utah—First secession, the "Gladdenites"—
Persecution and murders—Blood-atonement introduced—
Second secession, the "Morrisites"—War with the sect—
Massacre of the "Morrisites"—Governor Harding's adventure—
General Connor protects the recusants—Soda Springs—
Another Prophet—The "infant Christ"—Beginning of the Josephites
Emma and her sons—The "Reorganized Church"—First Mission—
Mission of the "Smith Boys"—Excitement at Salt Lake—
Priestly lying—The Godbe schism—Liberal principles—
Hopeful indications—After Brigham, who?—Orson Hyde?—
Daniel H. Wells?—George A. Smith?—Probable future of the Church.*

BUT all this hedging about with officials, and double-lock of civil, ecclesiastical and secret governments, has not always held the Mormons in perfect unity or prevented schism and revolt. Perfect conformity in religion can only be secured by the rack, the stake, and the dungeon of the inquisition; Mormonism carried within its bosom the germs of disintegration, long latent though they might be, and the original organization has from time to time given rise to no less than twenty-five sects, *ites* and *isms*, of which six or seven, besides the main branch under Brigham, still preserve a sort of moribund existence. Like the non-juring bishops of Anglican history², secession once begun constantly repeated itself; the recusant and deposed priests in turn denounced and deposed all who questioned their prophetic right, and each of the sects

¹ Original chapter page numbers: 402-434.

² The term "non-juring bishops" refers to a group of bishops within the Anglican Church who refused to take an oath of allegiance to the ruling monarch. This situation arose in England in the late 17th century.

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solemnly points to all the others, as blind and erring apostates, whose feet are treading on the straight line to hell. During the life of Joe Smith there seem to have been no organized secessions, though many apostasies. The living oracle could be consulted, with no dispute as to the meaning of his words; Joe Smith Mormonism was true or none was, and there was no other alternative. But his death cut off the source of infallible interpretation, and opened the way at once for a variance in doctrine. Some account has already been given of the struggle for succession, and it only remains to briefly note the course of the diverging sects, in the ever shifting phases of their pseudo-theology and protean forms of error. Of all the scattering sects no other had a leader with the executive ability, the iron nerve, and the cruel, remorseless ambition of Brigham Young; and, in consequence, as fast as they came in contact with purer faiths, most of their organizations dissolved and fell away.

Sidney Rigdon led a large colony, and that of the best material, to Pennsylvania; but there was not sufficient ignorance in the laity or secretive cunning in the leader, and little by little they scattered among the Gentiles, a few only, with Apostle Wm. Marks at their head, returning to the Brighamite Church, from which they afterwards turned away to young Joe Smith. J.J. Strang had multitudinous revelations, that Wisconsin was to be the next "gathering place" of the Saints, and a few thousand followed him to the unsettled portion of that new State. He afterwards settled the remnant on Beaver Island, in Lake Michigan, and maintained some organization till his death; no prophet arising after him, some of his flock went "hunting for Zion" in Iowa and Missouri, some went to Salt Lake, more went back to the "re-organized Church" at Plano, Illinois, and many went crazy.

The small party which followed William Smith, only surviving brother of the Prophet, to Northern Illinois, soon dissolved. Elder Brewster took another party to Western Iowa, and Bishop Heddrick, a considerable sect into Missouri, both of which fell to pieces on the death of the leaders; but the remnants have lately got together under a new prophet, and formed the sect known as "Gatherers." They are attempting to gather and settle again in Jackson County, and are numerous enough to have an organ

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called "*The Truthteller*," a weakly periodical, published in Western Missouri. Bishop Cutler also led off a small party in Northern Iowa, and after his death most of them returned to the "Reorganized Church."

When the Church set out from Nauvoo, the Apostles issued orders to Elder Sam Brannan, then in New York, to proceed with a party by sea to their intended destination in California. He accordingly sailed soon after in the ship Brooklyn, with a body of two hundred and forty-six foreign converts, and \$60,000 in gold, the property of the Church; but, arriving at San Francisco (then Yerba Buena), when the country was first attracting attention, he, and most of his party, apostatized and remained there. He invested the Church funds in real estate, and became one of San Francisco's wealthiest citizens; but has since repaid the money to the Church with interest.

Soon after, Bishop Lyman Wight led another large party to Texas, where they increased greatly, and were for some years highly prosperous. They at first acknowledged allegiance to the Twelve Apostles, but when Brigham took the reins they grew restive; when polygamy was avowed, Wight solemnly "cut-off" the Salt Lake Mormons, and no long time after, was himself cut off by death, and his flock scattered for want of a shepherd.

Soon after the founding of Salt Lake City, a large colony of Mormons was also established in San Bernardino County, California; but they were too far from headquarters, to be governed either by Apostles or "Dani[t]es," and soon became entangled in the politics and public interests of the State. Orders were issued for their return to Utah, a few obeyed, and the remainder "lost the spirit and fell into apostasy." But it is a fixed fact, that ninety-nine out of a hundred who have believed Mormonism for ten years, are ever after unfit for any sensible faith; apostates from Mormonism are generally infidels or visionaries, Millenarians, Adventists or Lunatics; and the San Bernardino schismatics, in a body, embraced Spiritualism. From the unseen world a revelation was received, that a youth of one of the old Mormon families would in time be called as a prophet, and unite the whole Chu[r]ch; but unfortunately the young man died soon after, and San Bernardino was left without a prophet. A few returned to the

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parent organization, and a few to the "Re-organized Church;" insanity prevails to an amazing extent among the remainder, who long contributed from twelve to twenty additions, per year, to the insane asylum at Stockton; and it is reported, that institution now contains a hundred of the sect, and would have five hundred more if it were not full.

Deducting all preliminary secessions, nearly 20,000 followed the Twelve Apostles from Nauvoo, of whom less than 10,000 ever reached Utah. Throughout their Iowa pilgrimage bands and parties fell away like sparks from a flying meteor, and almost every "stake" soon became a village of recusant Mormons; Garden Grove, Mount Pisgah, Council Bluffs, Florence and Columbus were originally settled by these apostates, and considerable bodies gathered to Nebraska City, Omaha and other river towns. Dr. Isaac Galland died in extreme poverty in Iowa, and nearly all the old Nauvoo allies of Joe Smith ended their days in the gutter, the penitentiary or the poor house. But thousands of those who had honestly embraced Mormonism, and abandoned it only when convinced of the imposture, became valuable citizens among the Gentiles.

In all these branch organizations there was no isolation from the world, no repressive power, and no one man to seize the reins and drive ruthlessly forward, regardless alike of the sufferings of his people and the lives of his enemies; hence, inherent weakness increased, and they fast decayed. But in Utah Brigham was absolute; he had perfect isolation, and talent without the troublesome adjunct of a conscience, and there despotism has been a success. Nevertheless, even in Utah there have been no less than four distinct and organized attempts to throw off the yoke of Brigham, and "return to a more perfect faith." None of these bodies have professed a desire to break up the Church, only to purify it.

The first was by the sect known as "Gladdenites." It will be remembered that Gladden Bishop was condemned at Nauvoo; but he soon after came back to the Church, and other recusants were beginning to return, when, in 1852, polygamy was avowed, and to this and other new features the Gladdenites were opposed. Their mission in Salt Lake City was headed by one Albert Smith, from Saint Louis, and seems to have made sufficient progress to stir up

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the Brighamites, who have left about the only history we have of the Sect in Utah. The following extract from a "sermon" by Brigham will clearly indicate how this movement was crushed:

"I will ask, What has produced your persecutions and sorrow? What has been the starting-point of all your afflictions? They began with apostates in your midst; those disaffected spirits caused others to come in, worse than they, who would run out and bring in all the devils they possibly could. That has been the starting-point and grand cause of all our difficulties, every time we were driven. I am coming to this place,—I am coming nearer home. ... Do we see apostates among us now? We do.

"When a man comes right out like an independent devil, and says, 'Damn Mormonism and all the Mormons,' and is off with himself to California, I say he is a gentleman by the side of a nasty, sneaking apostate, who is opposed to nothing but Christianity. I say to the former, 'Go in peace, sir, and prosper if you can.' But we have a set of spirits here, worse than such a character. When I went from meeting last Sabbath, my ears were saluted with an apostate, crying in the streets here. I want to know if any one of you who has got the spirit of Mormonism in you, the spirit that Joseph and Hyrum had, or that we have here, would say, 'Let us hear both sides of the question. Let us listen and prove all things.' What do you want to prove? Do you want to prove that an old apostate, who has been cut off from the Church thirteen times for lying, is anything worthy of notice? I heard that a certain picture-maker in this city, when the boys would have moved away the wagon in which this apostate was standing, became violent with them, saying, 'Let this man alone; these are Saints that you are persecuting.' [Sneeringly.]

"We want such men to go to California, or anywhere they choose. I say to those persons, 'You must not court persecution here, lest you get so much of it you will not know what to do with it. Do not court persecution.' We have known Gladden Bishop for more than twenty years, and know him to be a poor, dirty curse. Here is sister Vilate Kimball, brother Heber's wife, has borne more from that man than any other woman on earth could bear; but she won't bear it again. I say again, you Gladden-

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ites, do not court persecution, or you will get more than you want, and it will come quicker than you want it.

“I say to you, Bishops, do not allow them to preach in your wards. Who broke the roads to these valleys? Did this little nasty Smith, and his wife? No. They stayed in St. Louis while we did it, peddling ribbons, and kissing the Gentiles. I know what they have done here—they have asked exorbitant prices for their nasty, stinking ribbons. [Voices, ‘That’s true.’] We broke the roads to this country.

“Now, you Gladdenites, keep your tongues still, lest sudden destruction come upon you. I say, rather than that apostates should flourish here, I will unsheathe my bowie-knife, and conquer or die. [Great commotion in the congregation, and a simultaneous burst of feeling, assenting to the declaration.] Now, you nasty apostates, clear out, or ‘judgment will be laid to the line, and righteousness to the plummet.’ [Voices generally, ‘Go it, go it.’] If you say it is all right, raise your hands. [All hands up.] Let us call upon the Lord to assist us in this and every other good work.”³

It must be remembered that all these sermons are quoted exactly as reported by the Mormons themselves and printed in the Church paper, that Brigham carefully revises them before they are printed; and that they are frequently so pared down and modified, with most of the oaths and obscenity struck out, that it is difficult for the hearer to recognize the published form. In another part of the above harangue, Brigham warns the Gladdenites that they “were not playing with shadows, but were trying to fool with the voice and hand of the Almighty, and would find themselves badly mistaken.”⁴ The effect of such preaching was horrible, and that some of the Gladdenites were murdered outright is beyond a doubt. But the Church authorities seem to have been fearful that a spirit of rebellion might still lurk in the minds of the people, and determined to stamp out the last traces of apostate

³ BEADLE FOOTNOTE: “March 27, 1853, *Jour. of Dis.*, vol. i, p. 82.”

WEES FOOTNOTE: Brigham Young - 27 March 1853, *Journal of Discourses - Volume 1* (Liverpool, England: F.D. and S.W. Richards, 1854), 82-83.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 84.

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sy. To this end, the doctrine of "blood-atonement" was introduced and preached regularly for many years. This doctrine was urged particularly with a wild and savage earnestness by Jedediah M. Grant, who, it is but charity to suppose, was insane on the subject; a blood-crazy wretch, legitimately succeeded by Daniel H. Wells. Like the latter he was First Counselor to Brigham, Mayor of the city and Chief of the secret police; and like him, too, he regarded murder as a holy act, if done in accordance with the rites of the Church; and there is testimony that some of these unfortunate apostates were actually sacrificed in the Endowment House, "to atone for their sins and save their souls." Young Mormons, who were children then, have often told me of hearing this J.M. Grant preach his favorite doctrine of blood-atonement, with furious mien and gestures, and actually foaming at the mouth in the intensity of fanatic rage. If any should doubt the possibility of men going to such lengths in a bloody doctrine, let them peruse this extract from one of Grant's sermons, delivered March 12th, 1854, as recorded in the Mormon publication, the *Deseret News*; and remember, too, that it is only the mildest possible language which is published, compared with that actually used.

"Then what ought this meek people who keep the commandments of God do unto them? 'Why,' says one, 'they ought to pray to the Lord to kill them.' I want to know if you would wish the LORD to come down and do all your dirty work? Many of the Latter-day Saints will pray, and petition, and supplicate the Lord to do a thousand things they themselves would be ashamed to do.

* * * * *

"When a man prays for a thing, he ought to be willing to perform it himself. But if the Latter-day Saints should put to death the covenant-breakers, it would try the faith of the very meek, just, and pious ones among them, and it would cause a great deal of whining in Israel.

"Then there was another odd commandment. The Lord God commanded them not to pity the person whom they killed, but to execute the law of God upon persons worthy of death. This should be done by the entire congregation, SHOWING NO PITY. I have thought there would have to be quite a revolution among the Mormons before such a commandment could be obeyed completely by

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them. For instance, if they can get a man before the tribunal administering the law of the land, and succeed in getting a rope around his neck, and having him hung up like a dead dog, it is all right. *But if the Church and Kingdom of God should step forth and execute the law of God, O, what a burst of Mormon sympathy it would cause! I wish we were in a situation favorable to our doing that which is justifiable before God, without any contaminating influence of Gentile amalgamation, laws, and traditions; that the People of God might lay the ax to the root of the tree, and every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit might be hewn down.*

“What! do you believe that people would do right and keep the law of God by *actually putting to death the transgressors?* Putting to death the transgressors *would exhibit the law of God, no matter BY WHOM it was done.* That is my opinion.

“You talk of the doings of different Governments—the United States, if you please. What do they do with traitors? What mode do they adopt to punish traitors? Do traitors to that Government forfeit their lives? Examine also the doings of other earthly Governments on this point, and you find the same practice universal. I am not aware that there are any exceptions. But people will look into books of theology, and argue that the people of God have a right to try people for fellowship, but they have no right to try them on property or life. *That makes the devil laugh,* saying: I have got them on a hook now; they can cut them off, and I will put eight or ten spirits worse than they are into their tabernacles, and send them back to mob them.”⁵

Brigham follows up this reasoning with a plain declaration that *none can expect finally to escape,* and sooner or later the vengeance of the Church will overtake them. But he uses a different phraseology, as follows:

“There is not a man or woman who violates the covenants made with their God, that will not be required to pay the debt. The blood of Christ will never wipe that out, your own blood must atone for it; and the judgments of the Almighty will come

⁵ Jedediah M. Grant – 12 March 1854 (Salt Lake City UT: Deseret News, 27 July 1854), 2.

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sooner or later, and every man and woman will have to atone for breaking their covenants.”⁶

With these plain directions to an ignorant and fanatical people, from those they looked upon as the incarnate voice of God, the fate of the Gladdenites is easily foreseen. Those who could, escaped to California; the others recanted or “atoned,” and we hear no more of them after 1854.

Second in order of time was the Sect known as “Morrissites,” whose history is substantially as follows:

Joseph Morris was a native of Manchester, England, and came to Utah among the early converts. Like thousands of others, he thought that the pure truth delivered by Joseph Smith had been corrupted, and conceived the design of effecting a grand reformation in the Church. According to his own account, while engaged in reflection on the subject, he was one day in the pastures beyond Jordan, when he was favored with a glorious vision, and by command of Christ, Enos, (son of Seth,) John the Baptist, and the archangel Michael, who constitute the triune mission of Mormonism, appeared and endowed him with the holy priesthood, as the true successor of Joseph Smith.

On announcing his mission, he was at once an object of interest to all persons at South Weber, his residence, some thirty miles north of this city, and in a short time had converted to his views Bishop Cook, of Weber settlement, his brother, John Cook, and several others.

Persecution by his neighbors soon followed, and his life was frequently threatened; but little attention was paid to the matter by the regular authorities, as Morris was an exceedingly simple and illiterate man, who was thought incapable of giving the slightest trouble. Meanwhile, he continued to receive voluminous revelations, and, under the supposed influence of the Holy Spirit, composed two letters directed to Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball, which he took to the city and delivered in person. Brigham treated the matter lightly at first, but it soon grew so serious that John Taylor and Wilford Woodruff, both apostles,

⁶ Brigham Young - 16 March 1856, *Journal of Discourses - Volume 3* (Liverpool, England, Orson Pratt, 1856), 247.

were sent to Weber to investigate the matter. They called a Church meeting, in executive session, on the 11th of February, 1861, when Taylor rose and demanded whether there was a man in that ward who claimed to be a prophet, and if so, whether he had any followers? To the consternation of the Brighamites seventeen persons, with Bishop Cook at their head, arose and avowed their belief that "Joseph Morris was sent of God, and was the true priestly successor of Joseph Smith." It is to be noted that the Morrisites never denied the right of Brigham to be First President, by election, and temporal head of the Church; but they claimed that he was "neither a prophet, nor the son of a prophet."

A violent discussion followed, in which an old man named Watts said that the Morrisites "ought to be cut off under the chin and laid away in the brush," for which he was sternly rebuked by Bishop Cook. After the customary "admonition," by Taylor and Woodruff, all the adherents of Morris were formally excommunicated, and "delivered over to the buffetings of Satan for a thousand years." Morris established his church by baptizing five persons in the Weber River, on the 6th of April, 1861, exactly thirty-one years from the first baptism by Joseph Smith. Converts flocked rapidly from all parts of the Territory, and the new sect soon numbered three hundred. It never exceeded five hundred. Morris employed two scribes to take down his revealed gospel, and his followers now have six volumes of them, each containing two or three hundred manuscript pages.

The spring review of 1862, of the Nauvoo Legion, the Territorial militia, came on, and the Morrisites refused to drill, for which several of them were arrested and fined \$60 and \$80 each. Other troubles arose between them and the surrounding Mormons, about which there is great conflict of testimony. I have the story from those of the Morrisites now at Camp Douglas, from various Brighamites, and from official papers and testimony left by Judges Waite, Drake, and Titus. The Sect occupied a portion of the Weber Valley, with their town made in a sort of encampment in a circular hollow, below which was their cultivated land. They had all things in common, and every new convert divided his surplus property among the needy, while their common cow-herd was attended by a detailed herder among the mountain hollows.

Intelligent Mormons, then resident on the Weber, tell me they took a large number of cattle from their neighbors, and committed other depredations; which the Morrisites deny, saying that they only retaliated where they had been robbed. At length one Jones seized a load of flour belonging to the Morrisites at a mill near Salt Lake, and detained it and the two boys in charge, as he alleged, in satisfaction for injuries done him.

The Morrisites sent out a strong posse, retook the load, and brought Jones and two confederates, as prisoners to their camp. Meanwhile, the Sheriff had appeared, and purposed to arrest all those who could not, or would not pay the fines assessed for refusal to drill, but he was refused admission to the settlement. Complaint was at once made to Chief Justice Kinney, who issued writs for the arrest of the leading Morrisites, and Robert T. Burton, Sheriff of Salt Lake County, attempted to serve them, but returned to the city unsuccessful. The Nauvoo Legion was at once ordered out, with several cannon, and placed under Burton's command. On their way they were joined by reinforcements from Ogden, Kaysville, and Farmington, till early on the morning of June 13, 1862, they arrived before the Morrisite Camp, with a thousand well armed men, and five pieces of artillery. They captured the Morrisites' cow-herd, killing such as they desired for beef, and sent the boys attending it into the camp, with Burton's proclamation, calling for surrender. The camp, or fort, consisted of a few houses made of willows, woven together and plastered, and covered wagons, surrounded by some rude fortifications. Morris called his men together, when they received another note to remove the women and children, as firing would begin in one hour. In about twenty minutes a cannon was fired, of which the ball entered the fort, killing two women, and carrying away the jaw of another.

Meanwhile, Morris had donned his priestly robe, and taken his divining rod, and was waiting for a revelation as to what course should be taken. After an hour or two of fanatic supplication, no revelation was received; and as the Brighamites had begun to surround the camp, the Prophet divided his forces, placed a band at each of the weak points, and assumed the responsibility of fighting. His camp was upon a knoll in the hollow of the Weber,

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a mile or so below the present railroad station of Uintah, while the Brighamite posse occupied the adjacent slopes. The latter soon opened a general fire upon the camp, when the Morrisites at once flew to arms and the battle began. The cannon and long-range rifles of the Brighamites completely raked the fort, to which the Morrisites could only reply with their ducking-guns and a few Spanish *scopeetes*, which inflicted only slight wounds. The cannon, too, were often loaded with small balls, which tore down the wicker-work and pierced the sandy hillocks, wounding the women and children who had taken refuge behind them. Still these deluded people would not surrender, and for three days, fighting with the desperate energy of religious fanaticism, maintained the unequal battle. At intervals, during that time, they often called on Morris to intercede with the Lord for their deliverance, to which he made reply: "If the Lord will, we shall be delivered and our enemies destroyed; but let us do our duty." On the evening of the third day, some one raised a white flag; when Morris saw it, he said: "Your faith has gone and the Lord has forsaken us. I can now do nothing more."

They threw down their arms and the Legion marched in. Amid the wildest confusion the men and women were separated, and the former placed under guard. Few of the women could speak English, and all expected nothing but destruction. Burton shot Morris, his Lieutenant, Banks, and two women, after the arms were given up, while the soldiers plundered the houses, took all the watches, jewelry and money, and destroyed all they could not carry away. Here, too, there is great conflict of testimony. Some of the boys who were with the Brighamite forces say that Morris ordered his men to take their arms and fight again, for which he was shot. Still others say that Banks was only slightly wounded, and called for water, when a cup was handed him by the Brighamite surgeon, Dr. Jeter Clinton; that he drank of it and expired in a few minutes. The Morrisites are confident he would have recovered, if he had not been poisoned. The following affidavit will give most clearly the Morrisite version of the affair:

"United States of America, Territory of Utah, ss.

"Alexander Dow, of said Territory, being duly sworn, says:



MASSACRE OF THE MORRISITES.

“In the spring of 1861, I joined the Morrisites, and was present when Joseph Morris was killed. The Morrisites had surrendered, a white flag was flying, and the arms were all grounded and guarded by a large number of the *posse*.

“Robert T. Burton and Judson L. Stoddard rode in among the Morrisites. Burton was much excited, and said: ‘Where is the man? I don’t know him.’ Stoddard replied, ‘That’s him,’ pointing to Morris. Burton rode his horse upon Morris, and commanded him to give himself up in the name of the Lord. Morris replied: “No; never, never.” Morris said he wanted to speak to the people. Burton said, ‘Be d—d quick about it.’ Morris said, ‘Brethren, I have taught you true principles’—he had scarcely got the words out of his mouth, when Burton fired his revolver. The ball passed in his neck or shoulder. Burton exclaimed, ‘There’s your Prophet.’ He fired again, saying, ‘What do you think of your Prophet now?’

“Burton then turned suddenly and shot Banks, who was standing five or six paces distant. Banks fell. Mrs. Bowman, wife of James Bowman, came running up, crying, ‘Oh! you blood-thirsty wretch!’ Burton said, ‘No one shall tell me that and live,’ and shot her dead. A Danish woman then came running up to Morris, crying, and Burton shot her dead also. Burton could have easily taken Morris and Banks prisoners, if he had tried. I was standing but a few feet from Burton all the time. And further saith not.

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“ALEXANDER DOW.”

“Subscribed and sworn to before me, this 18th day of April, A.D., 1863.

“CHARLES B. WAITE.

“Associate Justice, Utah Territory.”

All the loose property of the Morrisites having been “confiscated,” the dead bodies of Morris, Banks and eight others were thrown into a wagon, with Morris’ robe, crown and rod, and succeeded by the captured Morrisites, they were guarded to the city. Young and old turned out to see them, with mingled emotions of glee and horror, and the bodies of Morris and Banks, lying for several days in the City Hall, were visited by great crowds, eager to see the noted “schismatic.” The vast majority of these people regarded it simply as the proper punishment due to one who had “set himself up to teach heresy in Zion and oppose the Lord’s anointed.” During the entire battle two Brighamites and ten Morrisites were killed, and a very large number wounded.

Ninety-three of the Morrisites were at once arraigned before Judge Kinney, but there was so much popular excitement, and as it was probable more would die of their wounds, he proceeded to place them all under bonds of \$1,500 each, for their appearance in April, 1863. Only five of them would sign the bond; few of the rest could speak English, and those who could protested against the entire proceedings, and announced their determination “to lie in jail till the Devil’s thousand years were out,” before they would even by implication confess that they were treated legally.

But as the five signers still owned considerable property, Judge Kinney ruled that, as in a sort of community, they could bind all the rest, as their representatives. When the April term (1863) came on, twenty of them were out of the territory, and one was dead, but most of the rest appeared. Kinney said that “their absence made no difference; he was glad to see that so many had appeared;” and proceeded to enter a fine of one hundred dollars each against the present, dead and absent. In addition, several leaders were put on trial, and sentenced to the penitentiary for from five to fifteen years each.

In June, 1862, Kinney was the only United States Judge in Utah, and the compliant tool of the Brighamites. But Governor

Harding and Judges Waite and Drake had arrived in time to hear the trial of the Morrisites, and were convinced that great injustice had been done them, or even if they were guilty of resistance to legal process, the law had been strained to inflict a cruel and unusual punishment. It was known, too, as it is now, that sentence to a long imprisonment in Utah simply means DEATH, if the keepers in charge are so instructed. Petitions began to circulate for their pardon, signed by Gentiles and some of the Mormons who relented at such severity. Quite an excitement was created by these attempts, and Governor Harding was warned by the more violent Brighamites not to interfere with the sentence of law. Bishop Woolley called upon the Governor with an earnest remonstrance against the proposed pardon, adding in conclusion, "Governor, it stands you in hand to be careful. Our people are much excited; they feel it would be an outrage to pardon these men, and if it is done they *might proceed to violence*," etc., etc.

To this truly Mormon attempt at intimidation the Governor responded with his usual firmness. While the petition, with names attached, was still in his possession, not acted upon, the Governor was aroused from sleep one night, between mid-night and morning, by a furious knocking at the door; it was opened by his son, Attila, who acted as his private secretary, and there presented himself a stranger of rough aspect, who demanded peremptorily to "see the Gov'n'r." No representations of the unseasonableness of the hour appeared to move him; he insisted that his business was too important for delay; he had ridden thirty miles over bad roads, could not arrive sooner and must return at once. With precautions against surprise they admitted him to the Governor's room, and he at once began: "I understand that you have a petition for the pardon of some of the Morrisites—that you won't act on it because you don't think there are enough o' Mormon names on it—or Mormons that are well known. An' you say some Mormons want to sign it, want 'em pardoned, but are afeard to sign. Gi' me that paper an' I'll show you one Mormon that's not afeard to sign—an' one that's purty well known, too. An' I've rid thirty miles this night on purpose to sign it." The petition was procured and handed him, and after a rapid survey of the names,

he seized the pen and in broad, sprawling Roman capitals, extending entirely across the sheet, inscribed the well known name,

B I L L H I C K M A N .

It was indeed the redoubtable "Danite" captain. "There," said he, holding it off at arm's length, "there is a Mormon name they all know, an' they can read it without specks. Talk o' bein' afeard o' Brigham Young! I tell you Brigham Young is a good deal more afeard o' Bill Hickman than Bill Hickman is o' Brigham Young." Thus speaking he departed as unceremoniously as he came, nor did any further explanation of this singular affair ever reach the Governor. After a short imprisonment, the Morrisites were pardoned; no violence was attempted or threatened against Governor Harding, but another singular occurrence took place soon after.

One beautiful evening, while the bright sun of Utah was sinking behind the Lake island hills, into a "sea of glass, mingled with fire," tipping with a golden glory the gray peaks of the Wasatch, two women might have been seen descending the hill from the Morrisite settlement near Camp Douglas, and seeking the residence of the Governor. The elder was a brawny and sunburned Danish woman, of most coarse and common clay, who assisted the other's steps till they stood before the Governor. The younger woman was of a frail and delicate aspect that indicated either long sickness and privation, or a nervous organization worn to exhaustion by excitement; her dark, sunken eyes glowed with a strange, unearthly fire, and the blue veins of her forehead stood out from a skin of marble whiteness, while her long delicate fingers clasped and intertwined with intense earnestness as she told her mission. It was the widow of Banks, the murdered Morrisite. She had, according to her faith, been in communion with the soul of her husband," and thence received knowledge of a plot against the Governor, not to take his life but to place him in the same category with Steptoe and Dawson. She related all the particulars of the purposed attempt, with that convulsive trembling, that dilation and upward roll of the eye and that unearthly hollow tone so familiar to those who have investigated the phenomena of mesmerism and psychology, in their purely physical effects upon the nervous female. "Oh, Governor, Governor," she exclaimed, her thin, *spirituelle* form quivering with intense feeling, "friend and

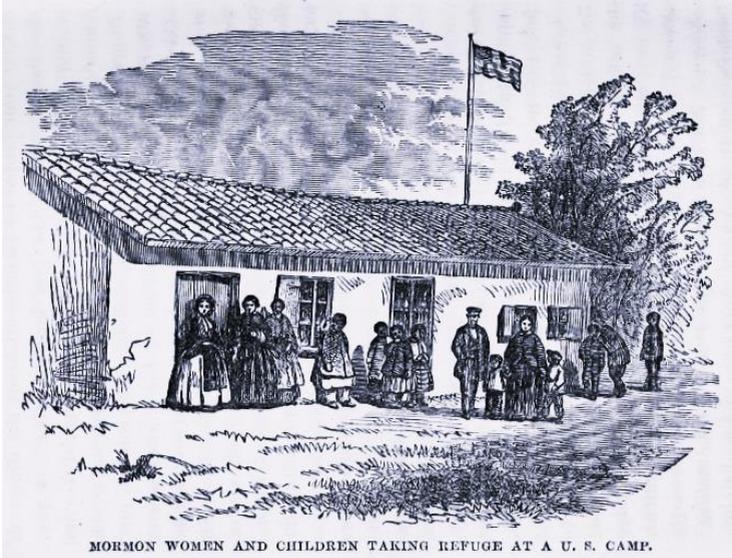
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saviour of our people! Beware, beware. The spirit of the Lord and his martyred prophet is upon me, to warn you of this danger. It will come to you in the form of a beautiful woman; but be guarded, and if, within a fortnight you are introduced to a fair woman who presents a great temptation to you, think of this warning and do not yield." The Governor, being gallant as well as brave, was taken somewhat aback by the fact that the *seer* had so well anticipated the temptation best calculated to overcome him; but the rest of the story is best related in his own words:

"Well, I wondered how the woman got her information, but, as the boys say, I 'wa'n't afeard,' I rather liked the idea. A few days after the 'temptation' came. I was called from my room to receive some company in the parlor, and was there introduced to *two* ladies whose beauty exceeded anything I had seen in Salt Lake. They remained to tea with my landlady, after which we had a delightful evening. The youngest and most beautiful, (I withhold the name given by the Governor,) made herself particularly agreeable to me, and was my partner in several games at cards. When the time for starting came, it was pretty plainly intimated by my landlady that I was to see the lady home.

"But this was not my programme. As she stood pulling at her gloves, evidently waiting for me to 'make a break,' I stepped forward, shook hands with her and merely said, 'Ladies, I should be pleased to act the complimentary, but I understand it is not the custom among your people for Gentiles to escort the women of the Saints. So I bid you good evening.' I then retired to my room. I afterwards learned beyond doubt that this was the beginning of a scheme which, if carried out, would have seriously compromised me." Whether the Governor's virtue or his astuteness enabled him to escape the evil, the writer will not pretend to say; but it is rather curious how the Morrisite woman received her first impressions of such a plot, for we cannot doubt that it was a previous mental impression acting upon her peculiar temperament which led to her dream or "vision," whichever it was.

Meanwhile, the bonds of the absent Morrisites were declared forfeited by Judge Kinney, and execution issued against the property of those still in Utah, who had any, to collect the penalty. Abraham Taylor, a prominent Morrisite, had his property in the



MORMON WOMEN AND CHILDREN TAKING REFUGE AT A U. S. CAMP.

city, worth \$3000, levied upon and announced for sale. He applied to Judge Waite, who found, on examination, that the records of the court showed no judgment against the delinquents, which fact he represented to Judge Kinney, and applied for an injunction against the officer. The application was refused by Judge Kinney, who stated that, "if there was no judgment, he could render one, as the Court *had not permanently adjourned, but only to meet again on his own motion.*" Taylor's homestead was put up at once and sold to one Joseph A. Johnson, Clerk of Judge Kinney's Court, for \$200, and the family literally forced into the street.

They remained a few days in the street in front of the house, then took refuge at Camp Douglas.

After General Connor arrived with two regiments of California volunteers, and established Camp Douglas, the Morrisites gathered there; and in May, 1863, the General sent eighty families of them, including over 200 persons, to Soda Springs, Idaho, where they now have a flourishing settlement. Abraham Taylor, one of their leaders, remained at Camp Douglas, and in 1866, by Major Chas. H. Hempstead, his attorney, filed a bill in the United States District Court, Judge Titus presiding, praying for resti-

tution of his property; and, after two years of delay and chicanery by the Mormon lawyers, and some of the hardest swearing that ever "reeked to heaven," at the October term, 1868, a decree was made in his favor by Judge Wilson, giving him possession of his old homestead, with rents for five years. The popular Mormon idea of justice may be seen from the fact that three-fourths of the people looked upon this decree as a gross outrage on a Utah citizen by a United States Judge, and a severe act of "persecution."

Taken all in all, the Morrisites deserved a better fate. True, their religion was a wild compound of materialism, spiritism, diabolism and deism run mad, but their code was far better than that of the Brighamites.

Another prophet named Davis arose among them in Idaho, but before his Church was well established he had a revelation that all the rest were to deed their property to him as trustee, and practice communism, which soon weakened his prophetic hold. Not long after, they got some sort of revelation that a little child among them was to be their future Christ, and kept the child "set apart" and dressed in white for some time; but lately their organization has broken up, and many of them removed to Nevada.

The most successful of all the recusant and anti-polygamous sects, is that under the leadership of young Joseph Smith, self-styled the "Re-organized Church of Latter-Day Saints," but generally known as "Josephites." It will be remembered that Joseph Smith, the Prophet, obtained gratis from Dr. Galland, most of the land upon which Nauvoo was built. After the revelation for his people to gather there, he sold them the lots at high prices, and realized an immense fortune, reported as high as one million dollars by the best informed. With this he paid all his old debts in Ohio, lived in considerable style, supported a dozen women, and still left a considerable fortune, mostly in houses and lots in Nauvoo. Spiritual wives having no legal rights in Illinois as in Utah, all this property was held by his widow Emma, who refused to emigrate and remained with her three sons, Joseph Jr.,⁷ William Alexander and David Hyrum, in Nauvoo. The oldest and youngest had been in turn blessed and dedicated to the leadership by

⁷ Joseph Smith "III"

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their father, the latter before his birth; and when the Strangites organization had dissolved, Strang's successor went "hunting for Zion" in Northern Iowa, where he met the remnants of the Cutlerites, and together they decided that "Young Joe was the man," formed a church and made overtures to him accordingly. He responded that he had received no "call" but expected one; the Church rapidly augmented from the *debris* of the scattered sects, and finally, in 1860, Young Smith was "called as a Prophet" and the "Re-organized Church" was set up, with head-quarters at Plano, Illinois. They number twenty or thirty thousand in the West, and have flourishing missions in Great Britain and Scandinavia. In July, 1863, E.C. Briggs and Alex. McCord, their first missionaries to Utah, reached Salt Lake and created quite a sensation; Brigham intimated to them that their lives were in danger, and refused them the use of any public building in the city. But General Connor was then in command at Camp Douglas, with a small provost guard in the city, and the Brighamites dared not try violence; Briggs visited the people at their homes and preached wherever Gentiles would open their houses to him, and soon had many converts. Nearly two hundred of these left the Territory in 1864, under a military escort furnished by General Connor, and since that time many more have left Utah, and their missions there include over five hundred members.

But all the excitement connected with Briggs' visit was as nothing to that of last summer, when it was announced that William Alexander and David Hyrum, "sons of the Prophet and Martyr," had reached Salt Lake to advocate the reformed faith. They obtained Independence Hall, the only public building belonging to the Gentiles, for their meetings; and on their first service it was crowded by the Mormons, among them most of the widows of Heber C. Kimball and the wives of Brigham Young. Unable to dispute the revelation in favor of David, the Brighamites maintain that he "is now in apostasy, and when he embraces the true faith and comes in the right way, they will receive him." This they confidently believe he will yet do. The evident absurdity of dictating to a foreordained Prophet, in just what way he shall come, does not seem to affect their views. The Brighamites were startled clear out of their propriety, abandoned their silent

policy and organized a series of meetings in opposition to the "Smith boys." But Brigham was entirely too shrewd to take the lead, and put forward Apostle Joseph F. Smith, son of "Hyrum the Martyr," to manage the opposition meetings. The writer attended most of the meetings, and fully realized the force of the maxim in regard to gleaning the truth from the disagreement of rogues. The controversy was one of that peculiar kind where both parties "know they are right," and can prove all they wish by abundant testimony.

The Brighamites can prove beyond a doubt that Joseph Smith practised polygamy, while the Josephites can prove, by equal personal and documentary evidence, that he denied and reprobated the doctrine till the last day of his life. Sixteen women swore most positively, and allowed their affidavits to be published in the "Expositor," at Nauvoo, that Joe Smith made proposals to them to become his concubines; twelve women now in Salt Lake City make affidavit that they were the spiritual wives of Smith at Nauvoo; Joseph F., son of Hyrum Smith, testifies that he knew certainly of his father having more than one wife, and hundreds of old Mormons testify that Joe and Hyrum taught them the doctrine, and sealed them to extra wives.

The proof on the other side is equally clear, as already detailed,⁸ making the question one which can never be settled by evidence, which means eternal controversy. A Gentile would find an easy way out of the dilemma by considering Joe Smith a lying impostor; but that would never do for these sects, each of which claims to be his only true Church. The Brighamites, however, flatly acknowledge that all these denials were made; freely admit that their Prophet often found it necessary to lie to save his life, and generally state that their "religion occasionally makes it necessary for the priesthood to lie," all of which their history abundantly proves to be the case. But the "Smith boys" accomplished little in Utah. They were not the men to organize a revolution; they were in no respect shrewd enough to contend with the leading Brighamites, nor half crazy and violent enough to excite the people; they were, in fact, hopelessly mediocre. Their position was

⁸ BEADLE FOOTNOTE: "See Chapter XIV."

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weak and untenable; their claims for their father easily disproved, and their propositions inherently absurd. The writer, from personal acquaintance with William and David, is disposed to esteem them highly as citizens, and respect them as honest in their aims; but would respectfully ask: If you "purify the Church," if you blot out polygamy, incest, blood-atonement, "Adam-worship," and "Danites," what will you have left? How much Mormonism will there be in your Church?

The "Re-organized Church" has a number of periodicals, and a lengthy "Confession of Faith," from which I extract those tenets dis[t]inguishing them from the Brighamites:

"We believe in being subject to kings, queens, presidents, rulers, and magistrates; in obeying and honoring the law.

"We believe that the Church in Utah, under the presidency of Brigham Young, have apostatized from the true order of the Gospel.

"We believe that the doctrines of polygamy, human sacrifice, or killing men to save them, Adam being God, Utah being Zion, or the gathering place for the Saints, are doctrines of devils, instituted by wicked men, for the accomplishment of their own lustful desires, and with a view to their personal aggrandizement.

"We believe in being true and loyal to the Government of the United States, and have no sympathy or fellowship for the treasonable practices or wicked abominations endorsed by Brigham Young and his followers."

Young Joe has had but two revelations, both very mild, and seems to be slow in the business of Prophet. But whoever leads off the ignorant of Utah must outbrigham Brigham, must go to greater lengths of fanaticism and have copious revelations daily. This accounts in part for Morris' success; he was as crazy as any of his followers.

The last revolt against the power of Brigham is headed by several prominent men in Salt Lake City, among them Wm. S. Godbe, Henry Lawrence, W.H. Shearman and—Tullidge. This sect has been long in growing, consisting of those who supported the *Utah Magazine* as the organ of independent thought; but it was not till last autumn that the leaders boldly announced the policy of opposition to the excessive temporal government of the priest-

hood. The First Presidency promptly condemned the *Utah Magazine*, and Brigham issued a general order forbidding all true Saints to patronize or read it. The Editor and proprietors were cited before the *High Council*, and refusing to recant and ask pardon were summarily "cut off." A few who voted against this excision were called upon to explain their votes, and failing to do so were also "cut off." The schism increased, the new party contained some wealthy and influential men, and in a short time they had established a new weekly paper, the *Mormon Tribune*, to promulgate their views. They call their new organization the "Church of Zion," and at last accounts numbered nearly five thousand in the Territory. Their platform lays down the principles, that the Priesthood are only teachers, and have no right to control the people in all their social and business relations; that the mines should be developed, and trade free and unrestricted with all classes; that tithing should consist of a tenth of all one's increase, and not a tenth of his yearly proceeds, and many other liberal principles. This is so far the most sensible and promising set of principles from any of the recusant sects. They still claim to be good Mormons, maintain polygamy and every man's right to revelation. Many of the leaders are spiritualists; most are evidently honest in their views, and it is to be hoped they are sufficiently crazy to outdo Brigham in fanaticism and carry the matter through. The present year will probably witness strange changes at Salt Lake. Granted that Mormonism is to work out its own destiny without governmental interference, the question at once arises: After Brigham, what? Who will be his successor? There is no one in the church who can entirely fill his place, and five or six probable aspirants, of whom one is about as well fitted as another. According to precedent in the case of Brigham himself, Orson Hyde, President of the Twelve Apostles, would succeed; but he is a blundering and impulsive scamp, mean enough for the place, but lacking in discretion. He is besides rather old, and has apostatized once. Daniel H. Wells is next in rank, but his blood-thirsty fanaticism would involve the people in war in a short time. Orson Pratt is the most learned of the Apostles, but is a dreaming astronomer, quite impractical. George A. Smith is an easy going, good-natured sensualist; unscrupulous enough for the

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place, perhaps, but without executive ability. Should Brigham die at an early day,⁹ the strong probability is that the Church would divide into at least three bodies. Many of the English and Americans would follow David Hyrum Smith; the most enlightened and liberal would enter the "Church of Zion," and the ignorant mass would follow the lead of the Twelve Apostles as before, eventually coming under the rule of one. Having brought down our history to near the present time, let us take a brief view of the material interests and resources of Utah. The notes in the two succeeding chapters are the result of a year's travel and residence in Utah, aided by a study of the best authorities, to which due credit is given in passing.

⁹ Brigham Young passed away on 29 August 1877. His successor, John Taylor, assumed leadership just over three years later, on 10 October 1880.