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JOSEPH SMITH.

THE PROPHET OF PALMYRA

MORMONISM

Reviewed and Examined in the Life, Character, and Career of its Founder, from "Cumorah Hill" to Carthage Jail and the Desert

TOGETHER WITH A COMPLETE

HISTORY OF THE MORMON ERA

In Illinois, and an Exhaustive Investigation of the "Spalding Manuscript" Theory of the Origin of the Book of Mormon

BY

THOMAS GREGG

NEW YORK
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TO THE READER.

MRS. PADDOCK, in the Preface to one of her remarkable portrayals of the inner life of Mormonism, has the following paragraph:

"Surely, to-day, whoever inflicts an additional volume upon a long-suffering public, ought to be able to set up an unassailable plea in justification thereof."

While this is true in a general sense, it is doubly so in its relation to that band of people—knaves and fanatics—who, more than fifty years ago began a scheme of deception in New York, which, in its progress since, has caused so much misery and crime in many of the States, and now aims at insubordination and independence in Utah.

Many books have been written on the subject of MORMONISM; some of them honest, trustworthy, and valuable; others, sensational and unreliable; and still more, utterly unworthy. Yet, notwithstanding all this, the great Christian public in America and abroad remains to-day strangely indifferent to, and ignorant of, the origin, character, and purposes of the miserable fraud.

The undersigned offers no apology for the matter of the following pages. Content with his purpose to add to the mass of credible history, and to aid in exposing a most silly and dangerous delusion, he leaves it with an intelligent and discerning public, hoping neither to escape censure nor disarm criticism.

TH. GREGG.

Hamilton, Illinois, 1889.

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CHAPTER I.

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SOLOMON SPALDING—FALSE PROPHETS IN ALL AGES—JOSEPH SMITH, THE FOUNDER OF MORMONISM--COMPARED TO MAHOMET—HIS CHARACTER AND AIMS—ORIGIN OF MORMONISM—AN ABSORBING QUESTION.

POOR, unfortunate, somewhat unbalanced, yet honest and well-meaning SOLOMON SPALDING! His name will go down to posterity as the innocent originator of one of the most stupendous and wicked frauds ever perpetrated upon the world. Had he lived to witness the result of his work—work in which he took so much delight and spent so many days of his life—his gray head would have been bowed down with sorrow. But he was kindly spared the infliction. He died in 1816, and the fraud perpetrated upon his work and his good name was not committed till some ten or twelve years after he had been laid peacefully in his grave. The story of his connection with the Mormon scheme will be fully told in future chapters of this work.

Prophets have flourished ever since the world was peopled. But, unfortunately for the world, many of them have been false prophets; and prophesying, instead of being a vehicle of God's will to man, has been used for base and selfish ends and purposes, and to impose on the credulous and unwary. People of every age have been prone to run after false prophets. Hence the boldest, most daring and unscrupulous among them—he who has put on the most sanctity and arrogated to himself the highest authority—has generally been the most successful. As a rule, their careers have been short and their influence limited. The claims and pretensions of a few, however, have wrought great evil upon the world, and added many dark and bloody pages to its history. One, and not the least of these, will be the subject of these pages. That such a career as was his, with such remarkable results following, could be run in this enlightened Nineteenth Century, and in a land where Christianity and Civilization have shed their benign rays, is a mystery which the writer prefers to leave his readers to solve.

On the 27th of June, 1844, was killed by a mob at the jail in Carthage, Hancock County, Illinois, JOSEPH SMITH, the founder of the sect of Latter-Day Saints, and who claimed to have been divinely commissioned as a "Prophet, Seer, and Revelator."

Born in the State of Vermont, reared in Western New York, residing three or four years in Ohio, about as long in Missouri, and over five years in Illinois, he had adopted a policy which made him inimical to the people everywhere, and finally brought him to a violent and bloody death.

Parallels to this man's remarkable career have been sought in history. It has been likened to that of Mahomet. When at Mecca, in Arabia, the great founder of Islamism began his eventful career, he was doubtless honest in his purposes, which were to reform and improve the idolatrous worship of his people. But he was an enthusiast and a fanatic. With an ardent temperament and a restless and uneasy spirit, he could not brook opposition. His efforts met first with neglect, then ridicule and contumely, and finally with resistance and violence. Friends and neighbors turned to enemies, and their opposition increased till he was compelled to fly from his native city to save his life. The vindictive persecution and violence to which he was subjected, changed the character of the man, and henceforth revenge and ambition became his ruling passions.

But his career, in whatever light it may be regarded, was a most remarkable one. Living amongst the idolatries of the Pagan, Jewish, and Christian systems, in one of the darkest of the

Dark Ages of the world, he built up a system, which, to say the least, was superior to, and an improvement upon, anything by which he was surrounded. His successes were unprecedented in the world's history. During his own lifetime and that of his faithful friend and co-worker, Abou-Bekir, his creed, through his zeal—aided by the sword and scimiter, potent agents in the work of propagandism in all ages—had become the recognized faith through all Arabia, and was fast undermining all the other systems about him.

The curious career of the Prophet of Mormonism has sometimes been contrasted with that of this great leader. But the contrast affords but slight parallel. When "Joe Smith"—as the Mormon Prophet was always designated in his youth (a title which stuck to him through life)—began his career at Palmyra in the State of New York, his motives were not honest, nor was he prompted by either revenge or ambition. His untutored and feeble intellect had not yet grasped at anything beyond mere toying with mysterious things. It is evident that he had at first no higher purpose in view. He was one of those indolent and illiterate young men, too numerous in all communities, who hope to shun honest labor, and who have imbibed the pernicious doctrine embraced in the phrase: "The world owes me a living." Any means that would enable

him to obtain that living he was ready to employ. Hence we find him at an early age, trying his skill at little tricks to impose on the credulity of his ignorant associates. As he grew in years, searching for lost treasure became one of his favorite employments; for was it not better, he reasoned, to obtain the golden thousands from the nooks and crevices of the earth, where Captain Kidd and the pirates and robbers had secreted them, and live in ease and idleness, than to obtain a small competency by the slow and uncertain processes of honest labor? And thus he plodded on, till accident opened a new career for him. A petty theft, by himself or one of his co-workers, placed the Spalding "Manuscript Found" in his hands; and then it was that the idea of a new sect, a new creed, a new and deeper play upon popular ignorance and credulity, and consequent power, and place, and fortune, were gradually developed and boldly and persistently and most wickedly carried forward—aided by confederates as bad as himself and with similar purposes in view.

No; the character and aims of these two false prophets afford but slight parallel; in their successful career, a stronger resemblance is to be traced.

Mormonism had its origin and incipient growth in Western New York, where it attracted little at-

tention beyond the ridicule of sensible people and the gaping wonder of a few seekers after the new and the marvellous—and it sought fresh fields. In Northern Ohio it gained strength by contact with the world; and there, too, its leaders made the discovery that the way to notoriety and success was to create opposition; and an aggressive policy was boldly adopted, and aggressive tenets engrafted into the creed. In North Missouri it increased greatly in strength; but in its violent contests with its neighbors and the authorities, it became dismembered and broken, and was finally violently expelled from the State. Poor, disheartened, and scattered—its prophet and some other leaders in prison—all of its members who could muster courage and means made their way eastward across the State to Illinois, where their forlorn condition attracted the sympathy and aid of all classes of people. Settling in the latter State, at Commerce, in Hancock county, in time the same aggressive policy was pursued; and after eight years of arrogant pretension, active proselytism, and stupendous folly, it met the fate it had encountered in Missouri, together with the loss of its daring prophet and leader. Later, under an equally daring and more able successor, it sought isolation and a home among the rugged crags and mountains and fertile valleys of Utah—where it

has for more than a third of a century increased in an astonishing degree, and developed into what it now is, an ugly and troublesome excrescence on the body politic, and a disgrace to the nation and to civilization.

While the "Latter-Day Saints" remained in Ohio, Missouri, or Illinois, the "Mormon Question" was only one of local or State concern. But since they have withdrawn to the wilderness, and there within the territory and under the jurisdiction and flag of the United States, have assumed an independent position and arrayed themselves in open hostility to the government, the matter takes a new shape. From a State problem it has advanced to a National one, and one that is daily becoming of greater magnitude, now seriously agitating the minds of the best statesmen of our country.

It bids fair to overshadow all other social questions. It is therefore highly important and necessary that the reading public should be fully informed, not only as to what Mormonism now is, but made acquainted with the origin, history and development of this the most wicked and dangerous folly of the Nineteenth Century, and with the life, character, and purposes of its founders. Such is the task before us, and to which these efforts are directed.

The term "Mormonism" is a coinage of the

present century. It is derived from the name of one of the chief writers of the so-called *Book of Mormon* (though why after Mormon, rather than Nephi, Moroni, Alma, Enos, or Lehi, it would be hard to tell)—a silly and little worthy, but in the eyes of its deluded believers, the most sacred of all books. It is less interesting and far feebler than the Koran, the holy book of Islam. Its chief ingredients are ignorance and arrogance, and it abounds in blasphemy; it is full of falsehood, injustice toward man and impiety toward God. To accept the claims and adopt the teachings of its chief adherents, is to eschew holiness and goodness, and to dethrone the Almighty.

CHAPTER II.

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE IMPOSTURE.

DISAGREEING STATEMENTS—IMPOSSIBLE CLAIMS—THE SMITH FAMILY—IGNORANCE AND SUPERSTITION—THE PROPHET'S OWN STORY—"HISTORY OF JOSEPH SMITH"—THE ANGEL NEPHI—PLATES REVEALED—THE URIM AND THUMMIM—SECOND, THIRD, AND FOURTH VISIONS—HILL OF CUMORAH—STONE BOX—THE PROPHET'S MARRIAGE—"PERSECUTIONS"—AFTER FOUR YEARS—MARTIN HARRIS AND THE TRANSLATION.

IN the matter of the early life of JOSEPH SMITH there is great contrariety of statement. The testimony of the Smith family, and of his faithful believers, goes to show that he was a most exemplary youth, truthful, without guile, and ever seeking for the highest religious truth. As this is the testimony of interested witnesses only, we are bound to reject it for that of his neighbors, who, with great unanimity, tell a far different story—that he was indolent, ignorant, untruthful, and superstitious.

This counter-testimony has been obtained from a great many sources—people in several sections of the country where he was best known, and some of whom, in high standing, are still living to reaffirm statements made long ago by themselves and

others, and who could have no reason for falsifying or traducing his character. Coupled with much of his conduct after he had reached years of mature manhood, it furnishes irresistible proof that his youth was such as would render it preposterous and impossible that he should have been selected through divine agency to carry a God-given revelation to mankind and lead in a great reformation. To adopt any other theory would require that we should accept entirely new ideas of God's providence and of divine things.

The Smith family to which he belonged was of Yankee origin; Joseph, the elder, having removed from Vermont to Western New York when that country was new and sparsely settled. He is said to have been a soldier of the Revolution. Ignorance and superstition seem to have been traits in the family. The district in which they had resided in Vermont, had for several years been the home of an arrant pretender to supernatural things, living upon the credulity of the people, and who had committed gross crimes under the plea of religious inspiration—crimes which he afterwards expiated in the State's prison.* Some of the practices of the Mormon Prophet in after years, in New York and elsewhere, show a remarkable resemblance to the doings of this Vermont pretender, leading to

* Stephen Burrows.

the conclusion that he must have been at least familiar with them.

Mr. E. D. Howe, in his valuable work, *Mormonism Unveiled* (Painesville, Ohio, 1834), presents the testimonials of eighty-one persons, neighbors and acquaintances of the Smith family, all attesting to their illiteracy and generally worthless and disreputable character, especially that of the son "Joe," as he was called. Among the most damaging of these statements, perhaps, is that of Isaac Hale, of Harmony, Pa., whose daughter the would-be prophet married. These testimonials, it will be remembered, were obtained in 1833, only three years after the *Book of Mormon* appeared, and after the Smiths had left Palmyra and Manchester, where *most* of these certifiers resided.

The prophet's own story of his early life, and the manner in which he was called to the high position he claimed to occupy, is to be found in the third volume of the *Times and Seasons*, the organ of the Mormon Church at Nauvoo, of which he was editor—page 706. It purported to have been prepared at the request of Hon. John Wentworth, editor of the Chicago *Democrat*. A few of the leading paragraphs were also contributed to, and are to be found in, a volume entitled, *History of the Religious Denominations of the United States*,

published in Philadelphia. The more important portions are herewith given:

JOSEPH SMITH'S STATEMENT.

"I was born in the town of Sharon, Windsor county, Vermont, on the 23d of December, 1805. When ten years old my parents removed to Palmyra, N. Y., where we resided about four years, and from there we removed to the town of Manchester, a distance of six miles.

"My father was a farmer, and taught me the art of husbandry. When about fourteen years of age, I began to reflect upon the importance of being prepared for a future state, and upon inquiring the plan of salvation, I found there was a great clash in religious sentiment; if I went to one society they referred me to one plan, and another to another, each one pointing to his own particular creed as the *summum bonum* of perfection. Considering that all could not be right, and that God could not be the author of so much confusion, I determined to investigate the subject more fully, believing that if God had a church it would not be split up into factions, and that if He taught one society to worship one way, and administer in one set of ordinances, He would not teach another principles which were diametrically opposed. Believing the word of God, I had confidence in the declaration of James: 'If any man lack wisdom, let him ask of God, who giveth to all men liberally and upbraideth not, and it shall be given him.'

"I retired to a secret place in a grove, and began to call upon the Lord. While fervently engaged in supplication, my mind was taken away from the objects with which I was surrounded, and I was enrapt in a heavenly vision, and saw two glorious personages who exactly resembled each other in features and likeness, surrounded by a brilliant

light which eclipsed the sun at noon-day. They told me that all the religious denominations were believing in incorrect doctrines, and that none of them were acknowledged of God as His Church and Kingdom. And I was expressly commanded 'to go not after them,' at the same time receiving a promise that the fulness of the gospel should at some future time be made known to me.

"On the evening of the 21st of September, A.D. 1823, while I was praying unto God, and endeavoring to exercise faith in the precious promises of Scripture, on a sudden a light like that of day, only of a far purer and more glorious appearance and brightness, burst into the room; indeed, the first sight was as though the house was filled with consuming fire. The appearance produced a shock that affected the whole body. In a moment a personage stood before me, surrounded with a glory yet greater than that with which I was already surrounded. The messenger proclaimed himself to be an angel of God, sent to bring the joyful tidings that the covenant which God made with ancient Israel was at hand to be fulfilled; that the preparatory work for the second coming of the Messiah was speedily to commence; that the time was at hand for the gospel in all its fulness, to be preached in power unto all nations, that the people might be prepared for the millennial reign.

"I was informed that I was chosen to be an instrument in the hands of God to bring about some of his purposes in this glorious dispensation.

"I was informed, also, concerning the aboriginal inhabitants of this country, and shown who they were and from whence they came; a brief sketch of their origin, progress, civilization, laws, governments, of their righteousness and iniquity, and the blessings of God being finally withdrawn from them as a people, was made known to me. I was also

told where there was deposited some plates, on which was engraved an abridgment of the records of the ancient prophets that had existed on this continent. The angel appeared to me three times the same night, and unfolded the same things. After having received many visits from the angel of God, unfolding the majesty and glory of the events that should transpire in the last days, on the morning of the 22d of September, A. D. 1827, the angel of the Lord delivered the records into my hands.

"These records were engraven on plates, which had the appearance of gold; each plate was six inches wide and eight inches long, and not quite so thick as common tin. They were filled with engravings in Egyptian characters, and bound together in a volume as the leaves of a book, with three rings running through the whole. The volume was something near six inches in thickness, a part of which was sealed. The characters in the unsealed part were small and beautifully engraved. The whole book exhibited many marks of antiquity in its construction, and much skill in the art of engraving. With the records was found a curious instrument, which the ancients called 'Urim and Thummim,' which consisted of two transparent stones set in the rim of a bow fastened to a breast-plate.

"Through the medium of the 'Urim and Thummim' I translated the records, by the gift and power of God.

"In this important and interesting book, the history of ancient America is unfolded, from its first settlement by a colony that came from the tower of Babel, at the confusion of languages, to the beginning of the fifth century of the Christian era. We are informed by these records that America in ancient times has been inhabited by two distinct races of people. The first were called Jaredites, and came directly from the tower of Babel. The

second race came directly from the city of Jerusalem, about six hundred years before Christ. They were principally Israelites, of the descendants of Joseph. The Jaredites were destroyed about the time that the Israelites came from Jerusalem, who succeeded them in the inheritance of the country. The principal nation of the second race fell in battle toward the close of the fourth century. The remnant are the Indians that now inhabit this country. This book also tells us that our Saviour made his appearance upon this continent after his resurrection, that he planted the gospel here in all its fulness, and riches, and power, and blessing; that they had apostles, prophets, pastors, teachers, and evangelists; the same order, the same priesthood, the same ordinances, gifts, powers, and blessing, as was enjoyed on the eastern continent; that the people were cut off in consequence of their transgressions; that the last of their prophets who existed among them was commanded to write an abridgment of their prophecies, history, etc., and to hide it up in the earth, and that it should come forth and be united with the Bible for the accomplishment of the purposes of God in the last days. For a more particular account, I would refer to the *Book of Mormon, which can be purchased at Nauvoo, or from any of our travelling elders.*"

The account goes on to say that the Church was organized on the 6th day of April, 1830; that the work "rolled forth with astonishing rapidity," and churches were soon formed in the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri; that in the latter, large settlements were made, where they suffered divers persecutions and were finally, in 1839, driven out to find a home in

Illinois. To the good character of the people of Illinois, we have the prophet's own testimony in the following paragraph:

"In the situation before alluded to, we arrived in the State of Illinois in 1839, where we found a hospitable people and a friendly home; a people who were willing to be governed by the principles of law and humanity. We have commenced to build a city called NAUVOO, in Hancock county; we number from six to eight thousand here, besides vast numbers in the country around, and in almost every county in the State. We have a city charter granted us, and a charter for a Legion, the troops of which now number fifteen hundred. We have also a charter for a university, for an agricultural and manufacturing society, have our own laws and administrators, and possess all the privileges that other free and enlightened citizens enjoy.

" . . . It (the Gospel of Mormonism) has penetrated our cities, it has spread over our villages, and has caused thousands of our intelligent, noble, and patriotic citizens to obey its divine mandates, and be governed by its sacred truths. It has also spread in England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, . . . and in Germany, Palestine, New Holland, the East Indies, and other places, the standard of truth has been erected."

Exaggeration, in its earlier days, as now, was a marked characteristic of Mormonism. All the foregoing statements, except those relating to the charters and the possession of unusual laws and privileges, were grossly untrue at the time they were written.

In corroboration of his claim to a divine calling,

we find in the *Times and Seasons*, the organ before mentioned, an extended "History of Joseph Smith," written in the first person, and running through many issues of that journal. The earliest of these numbers is lost, the first one before us opening with an account of his first adventure with the angel. It is to be noted that, in all this account, he speaks of it as a "vision."

"I have actually seen a vision, and 'who am I, that I can withstand God,' or why does the world think to make me deny what I have actually seen? for I had seen a vision.

" . . . I continued to pursue my common avocations in life until the 21st of September, 1823, all the time suffering severe persecution at the hands of all classes of men, both religious and irreligious, because I continued to affirm that I had seen a vision."

And on that evening he retired to his bed in full confidence that another similar manifestation was to be vouchsafed to him.—Vol. iii., p. 749, *Times and Seasons*.

And sure enough, the expected "vision" came —in the form of a light, "until the room was lighter than at noon-day"—and in that light a personage appeared and stood by his bedside; he was unearthly white, as were his robes; and his hands and wrists, and feet and ankles, were naked, and he stood on nothing, "for his feet did not touch the floor."

"He called me by name, and said unto me that he was a messenger sent from the presence of God to me, and that his name was Nephi.* That God had a work for me to do, and that my name should be had for good and evil, among all nations, kindreds and tongues."

We can well believe that this vision was, at least, partly true; for his name has been had for "evil" among many nations.

And then the angel Nephi went on to reveal to him the existence of the "golden plates," the "Urim and Thummim," and the "breastplates," and "silver bows," and that the possession and use of these was what constituted seers in olden times, and that God had prepared these for his use. Then Nephi read to him long chapters from Scripture: third chapter of Malachi, the fourth with variations, the eleventh of Isaiah, the third of Acts, the second of Joel, and many others "too numerous to mention." But—he so charged him—when these golden plates were obtained, and the breastplate, and the Urim and Thummim, he was not to show them to any person on pain of utter destruction. And while the angel was still talking, his vision caused him to behold the exact spot where these wonderful things were deposited—in "Cumorah hill," two miles away. The angel appeared to him twice more

* For the character of this Messenger from God, see other pages of this history.

that night, relating "the very same things which he had done at the first visit, without the least variation," and adding more concerning the judgments to come upon this generation. And this not being enough, on the next day, in the field, he had another vision in which the angel appeared as before, and repeated the whole story.—*Times and Seasons*, vol. iii., 753.

What may have been the acquirements of Nephi when in the flesh, according to the *Book of Mormon*, he certainly exhibited great volubility as an angel, in the presence of our vision-seeing prophet; for here we find him reading five chapters from Scripture, "and many others," three times in one night, besides much other talk, "without the least variation."

The next thing to be done was to verify this four-fold vision. How this was done, we are thus informed:

"I left the field, and went to the place where the messenger had told me the plates were deposited; and owing to the distinctness of the vision which I had had concerning it, I knew the place the instant I arrived there. Convenient to the village of Manchester, Ontario County, New York, stands a hill of considerable size, and the most elevated of any in the neighborhood; on the west side of this hill not far from the top, under a stone of considerable size, lay the plates deposited in a stone box; this stone was thick and rounding in the middle on the upper side, and thinner towards the edges, so that

the middle part of it was visible above the ground, but the edge all around was covered with earth. Having removed the earth and obtained a lever, which I got fixed under the edge of the stone, and with a little exertion raised it up, I looked in, and there, indeed, did I behold the plates, the Urim and Thummim and the breastplate, as stated by the messenger. The box in which they lay was formed by laying stones together in some kind of cement; in the bottom of the box were laid two stones, crossways of the box, and on these stones lay the plates and the other things with them. I made an attempt to take them out, but was forbidden by the messenger, and was again informed that the time for bringing them forth had not yet arrived, neither would it until four years from that time; but he told me that I should come to that place precisely in one year from that time, and that he would there meet with me, and that I should continue to do so, until the time should come for obtaining the plates. Accordingly, as I had been commanded, I went at the end of each year, and at each time I found the same messenger there, and received instruction and intelligence from him at each of our interviews, respecting what the Lord was going to do, and how and in what manner His Kingdom was to be conducted in the last days."

And the long four years rolled on; long and tedious they must have seemed to one who had so great and important a commission placed upon him. Ignorant and ill-prepared, as he confessedly was for such a work, he made no special effort to qualify himself, but continued to perform his usual daily labors, sometimes about home and sometimes abroad; part of the time (in the month of October,

1825), with an old gentleman named "Stoal," who lived in Chenango County, but was searching for a Spanish silver mine at Harmony, in Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania. With this gentleman he worked for a month, and—

"Hence arose the very prevalent story of my having been a money-digger."

How digging for a Spanish silver mine on the Susquehanna river in Pennsylvania, would cause excavations all about Palmyra and Manchester, in New York, is left unexplained. We have it from present residents of Palmyra, made to the writer of these pages recently, that, though mostly obliterated by time, some of these excavations are still to be seen.

Within this period of four years, waiting, he was also married to Miss Emma Hale, daughter of Isaac Hale, of Harmony, with whom he boarded while at work for Mr. Stowell. This marriage took place clandestinely, being much opposed by Mr. Hale, who believed his daughter was joining her fortunes with a worthless and undeserving young man.

At length the auspicious 27th of September, 1827, arrived, and our vision-seer went to the already opened stone box, where he met the messenger, as promised, and received the ancient relics at his hands. He was admonished that he would be

held responsible for them, that if he let them go in any way through neglect, he would be cut off—and if at any time he (the messenger) should call for them, they must be delivered up.

During all the years previous to his receiving the plates, so the story runs, he had been the subject of violent and cruel persecution, because of his declaration and continued protestation that he "had seen a vision." And now, that the promised precious relics were in his possession, this persecution increased with redoubled force. And this explains the conduct of the angel:

"I soon found out the reason why I received such strict charges to keep them safe, and why it was that the messenger had said that when I had done what was required at my hand, he would call for them; for no sooner was it known that I had them than the most strenuous exertions were used to get them from me; every stratagem that could be invented was resorted to for that purpose; the persecution became more bitter and severe than before, and multitudes were on the alert continually to get them from me if possible; but by the wisdom of God they remained safe in my hands, until I had accomplished by them what was required at my hand, when, according to arrangements, the messenger called for them, I delivered them up to him, and he has them in his charge until this day, being the second day of May, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-eight."

Martin Harris, of Palmyra, who is declared to be "a gentleman and a farmer of respectability," be-

came interested in the matter, and to him Smith confided some of the characters which he had drawn from the plates. Harris took them to the city of New York for the purpose of having them tested by literary men. The following is given by Smith as Harris's statement on his return:

"I went to the city of New York (said Harris) and presented the characters which had been translated, with the translation thereof, to Professor *Anthony*, a gentleman celebrated for his literary attainments; Professor Anthony stated that the translation was correct, more so than any he had before seen translated from the Egyptian. I then showed him those which were not yet translated, and he said they were Egyptian, *Chaldeac*, *Assyriac*, and *Arabac*, and he said that they were the true characters. He gave me a certificate certifying to the people of Palmyra that they were true characters, and that the translation of such of them as had been translated, was also correct. I took the certificate and put it into my pocket, and was just leaving the house, when Mr. Anthony called me back, and asked me how the young man found out that there were gold plates in the place where he found them. I answered that an angel of God had revealed it unto him.

"He then said to me, let me see that certificate. I accordingly took it out of my pocket and gave it to him, when he took it and tore it to pieces, saying that there was no such thing now as ministering of angels, and that if I would bring the plates to him, he would translate them. I informed him that part of the plates were sealed, and that I was forbidden to bring them, he replied, 'I cannot read a sealed book.' I left him and went to Dr. Mitchell,

who sanctioned what Professor Anthony had said respecting both the characters and the translation."

It is evident that the foregoing is a sheer fabrication, concocted by either Harris or the prophet, most probably the latter. Professor Anthon's statement, made some time afterwards, shows in what light he regarded the story told him by Harris.

It is a curious fact, and furnishes another evidence of the true character of Mormonism, that four years before this statement was printed in Nauvoo, this same Martin Harris—the "gentleman and farmer of respectability"—was publicly denounced by the prophet through his newspaper organ, as "a liar and swindler."—See *Elders' Journal*, August, 1838.

CHAPTER III.

AS TOLD BY OTHERS.

DAVID WHITMER, ONE OF THE ORIGINAL ELEVEN WITNESSES—HIS STATEMENT IN HIS OLD AGE—INTERVIEWED BY THE KANSAS CITY JOURNAL.

As will be shown, David Whitmer, Oliver Cowdery, and Martin Harris, were the three first certifiers to the miraculous character and divine authenticity of the *Book of Mormon*, and the most zealous fanatics in bringing it before the world. Yet, strange to say, every one of them in future years, and during the prophet's lifetime, were either denounced by him or seceded from the sect of which he was the head.

Mr. Whitmer, after following the fortunes of his chief into Ohio, and thence to Northwest Missouri, finally left the sect for good, for reasons which will herein be shown. He died only a few years since at Richmond, Ray County, Missouri, at an advanced age. A year or two previous to his death he was interviewed by an *attaché* of the Kansas City *Journal*, on the subject of Mormonism and his previous connection with it, a lengthy report of which is published in that paper. It is well

written and interesting throughout; but we can only make room for a condensed synopsis, quoting only certain portions entire. Mr. Whitmer's statements, made in his serene old age, and many years after having left the church, are important as to his admissions regarding the wickedness and evil designs of the man whom he had so long regarded as the vicegerent of the Almighty.

Eight other witnesses had followed the three in certifying to the *Book of Mormon*—making eleven in all—and the *Journal* introduces Mr. Whitmer as "the last of the eleven"—all the others, with Smith and Rigdon, the principals, having preceded him to their final reckoning.

Mr. Whitmer stated that he was born in Pennsylvania, but at an early age removed with his father's family to Western New York. In Palmyra he became acquainted with Oliver Cowdery, and there first heard of Mormonism, in 1828. Cowdery seems to have led all the Whitmers into Mormonism, and afterwards married into the family.

The manner of the translation of the plates, as told by Whitmer, is so interesting that it is given here in his own words.

Said he:

"He had two small stones of a chocolate color, nearly egg-shaped and perfectly smooth, but not transparent, called interpreters, which were given

him with the plates. He did not use the plates in the translation, but would hold the interpreters to his eyes and cover his face with a hat, excluding all light, and before his eyes would appear what seemed to be parchment, on which would appear the characters of the plates in a line at the top, and immediately below would appear the translation in English, which Smith would read to his scribe, who wrote it down exactly as it fell from his lips. The scribe would then read the sentence written, and if any mistake had been made the characters would remain visible to Smith until corrected, when they faded from sight to be replaced by another line. The translation at my father's occupied about one month, that is from June 1 to July 1, 1829."

"Were the plates under the immediate control of Smith all the time?"

"No, they were not. I will explain how that was. When Joseph first received the plates he translated 116 pages of the book of 'Lehi,' with Martin Harris as scribe. When this had been completed, they rested for a time, and Harris wanted to take the manuscript home with him to show to his family and friends. To this Joseph demurred, but finally asked the Lord if Harris might be allowed to take it. The answer was 'No.' Harris teased Joseph for a long time, and finally persuaded him to ask the Lord a second time, pledging himself to be responsible for its safe keeping. To this second inquiry the Lord told Joseph Harris might take the manuscript, which he did, showing it to a great many people, but through some carelessness allowed it to be stolen from him. This incurred the Lord's displeasure, and he sent an angel to Joseph, demanding the plates, and until Joseph had thoroughly repented of his transgressions would not allow him to have

the use of them again. When Joseph was again allowed to resume the translation, the plates were taken care of by a messenger of God, and when Joseph wanted to see the plates this messenger was always at hand. The 116 pages of the book of 'Lehi,' which were stolen, were never recovered, nor would the Lord permit Joseph to make a second translation of it."

Continuing the interview, Mr. Whitmer is asked:

"When did you see the plates?"

"It was in the latter part of June, 1829. Joseph, Oliver Cowdery and myself were together, and the angel showed them to us. We not only saw the plates of the *Book of Mormon*, but he also showed us the brass plates of the book of Ether and many others. They were shown to us in this way. Joseph and Oliver and I were sitting on a log when we were overshadowed by a light more glorious than that of the sun. In the midst of this light, but a few feet from us, appeared a table, upon which were many golden plates, also the sword of Laban and the directors. I saw them as plain as I see you now, and distinctly heard the voice of the Lord declaiming that the records of the plates of the *Book of Mormon* were translated by the gift and the power of God."

"Who else saw the plates at this time?"

"No one. Martin Harris, the other witness, saw them the same day, and the eight witnesses, Christian Whitmer, Hiram Page, Jacob Whitmer, Joseph Smith, Sr., Peter Whitmer, Jr., Hyram Smith, Jno. Whitmer, and Samuel H. Smith, saw them next day."

"Did you see the angel?"

"Yes; he stood before us. Our testimony as recorded in the Book of Mormon is absolutely true, just as it is written there."

"Can you describe the plates?"

"They appeared to be of gold, about six by nine inches in size, about as thick as parchment, a great many in number, and bound together like the leaves of a book by massive rings passing through the back edges. The engraving upon them was very plain and of very curious appearance. Smith made *fac-similes* of some of the plates, and sent them by Martin Harris to Professors Anson and Mitchell, of New York City, for examination. They pronounced the characters reformed Egyptian, but were unable to read them."

As before stated, Mr. Whitmer continued with his chief and their people in their several attempts at settlement in Missouri, and it was while there that the events occurred which separated him from the leaders. This personal history we prefer to give in his own words—as illustrating a peculiar phase of human character:

"In 1835 W. W. Phelps and John Whitmer, accompanied by a large number of our people, went to Far West, Caldwell County, and established a church. They lived there, and multiplied very rapidly until 1838, when Elders Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon came out from Ohio and were dissatisfied with the church, and gave new laws, revelations, etc. The leaders of the Far West church refused to conform to the new laws of Smith and Rigdon, and they issued a decree organizing what was termed the 'Danites, or Destroying Angels,' who were bound by the most fearful oaths to obey the commandments of the leaders of the church. The Danites consisted only of those selected by Smith and Rigdon. They threatened myself, John Whitmer, Oliver Cowdery and Lyman

Johnson with the vengeance of the Danites unless we took the same oath, but we refused, and fled for our lives to Clay County, and since that time I have had nothing to do with the so-called 'Latter-Day Saints' church, but I still hold to the truth of the original Church of Christ, as organized in New York. During the fall of 1838 the church of Far West became very violent towards the citizens of Caldwell County, which terminated in an uprising similar to that in Jackson County, and they were driven from the State. Smith and Rigdon were arrested and kept prisoners for some time, but finally escaped and went to Nauvoo, Illinois, followed by the saints from Far West, and established a church and built a fine temple. They remained in Nauvoo until 1844, when they became very corrupt, upheld polygamy, established an endowment house, etc., which occasioned an uprising of the people, and Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum and John Taylor, the present head of the church in Salt Lake, were arrested and cast into prison, and the two Smiths afterwards shot and killed through the windows of the jail. The temple was destroyed and the church scattered, a portion going to Salt Lake under the leadership of Brigham Young and John Taylor, where they have remained ever since, practicing the vile system of polygamy and spiritual wifeism.

"I belong to the original church, organized in 1829, and have never associated myself with any other, and never upheld the reorganization or change of name to 'Latter-Day Saints,' at Kirtland, Ohio."

The original manuscript of the *Book of Mormon* is thus referred to by Mr. Whitmer:

(He produced about five hundred pages of manu script, yellow with age, of large, old-fashioned,

unruled foolscap paper, closely written upon both sides with ink, and fastened together in sections with yarn strings. It very plainly showed that it had been through the hands of the printer, the 'take' marks being still upon it.) "This," continued he, "was kept by Oliver Cowdery, and when he came to die he placed them in my care, charging me to preserve them so long as I lived. When I die I will leave them to my nephew, David Whitmer, my namesake. J. F. Smith and Orson Pratt, of Salt Lake City, were here three years ago, and offered me a fabulous price for them, but I would not part with them for all the money in the universe."

"Are you not afraid they will be destroyed or stolen?"

"No, the Lord will take care of his own. When this house was destroyed by the cyclone three years ago to-day (June 1, 1878), nothing in the room where this manuscript was kept was harmed. Everything else was completely destroyed."

It is difficult to see wherein such value is attached to this relic, when it is remembered that it is merely the manuscript in Oliver Cowdery's handwriting, made while the prophet was peeping at the little stones in his hat, and pretending to translate from the "Reformed Egyptian." The compositor who set up the type for the *Book of Mormon*, in the office of the Wayne *Sentinel*, at Palmyra, retains the proof-sheets of that grand work, to which he, also, attaches much value. They are relics, to be sure; but relics of a miserable, wicked, and blasphemous fraud, which should have

brought the blush of shame to the faces of all its originators and abettors.

Since this interview, Mr. Whitmer has died—his friends say, a full believer in the faith in which he had so long lived, and cherishing as a precious jewel the manuscript copy of the *Book of Mormon*, left in his hands by his brother-in-law, Oliver Cowdery. A believer in the story of Mormonism, he refused, ever since his affront fifty years ago, to hold any intercourse with its founder.

These statements of Mr. Whitmer are valuable as showing how easily a man may be deluded into a belief of supernatural things. Some men's minds are so constituted as to accept anything of a marvellous nature, rather than plain, simple truth. They are more valuable still, as establishing the oft-denied charges of the existence of an organized "Danite Band"—organized for the purpose, as Mr. Whitmer stated, of working murder and destruction upon enemies and apostates. No recognized leader in the church has heretofore ever been found, but who would deny the existence of any such organization for any such purpose. And yet here is an adherent and believer in the story, and co-worker through all the earlier years, and who came near becoming a victim of its author's vengeance—who certifies to its truth, and charges that Smith and Rigdon were the organizers and

directors of the band. Mr. Whitmer also gives credence to and affirms the charges so long made, and so persistently denied, of the practice of polygamy by the prophet and his leaders at Nauvoo.

Was not this aged and venerable man, standing on the verge of the grave, a valuable witness to the truth and divine origin of the story?

CHAPTER IV.

AS TOLD BY OTHERS.—*Continued.*

A Highly Interesting Letter from Hon. S. S. Harding, Ex-Governor of Utah Territory—His Boyhood Acquaintance with the Smith Family.

Knowing that ex-Governor Harding, later a judge in Indiana, had been in his early life a resident of Palmyra, N. Y., and acquainted with the Smith family and the other originators of the *Book of Mormon*, we addressed him on the subject, and received the following lengthy and interesting reply.

At the date of this letter—February, 1882—and several years later, Judge Harding was residing in Indiana, an octogenarian in age and feeble health, but with a remarkable memory of the events of his long and distinguished life. His recollection and statements concerning the ignorant and superstitious character of young Smith and his father's family, and most of the early adherents of Mormonism, are strongly corroborative of those made by all the citizens of Palmyra from 1830 down to the present time. Human testimony could scarcely be made stronger or more convincing.

"Milan, Ind., Feb., 1882.

"Dear Sir:—Yours of 9th January duly received, and I send you this reply. The incidents

I am about to relate would not be worth repeating only as illustrative of the wild fanaticism, superstition, and credulity of persons upon whose veracity mainly depends the authenticity of the *Book of Mormon*. That such a book, replete with self-evident plagiarisms and humbuggery, that sink it below the dignity of criticism, should find tens of thousands of persons of ordinary intelligence throughout Christendom, who have accepted it as a Revelation from God to man, is indeed a moral phenomenon unparalleled in the nineteenth century. In view of these things it is not strange that some daring iconoclast should go forth with his merciless sledge, breaking in fragments the shrines and idols that for thousands of years have struck with reverential awe the hearts of untold millions of men, and leading captive the human will.

"In the summer of 1829, I resolved to return to the place of my nativity, in the vicinity of Palmyra, N. Y. It was from this place that my father had emigrated in the spring of 1820, with his large family, to the newly admitted State of Indiana. This was before the days of railroads, and I took stage from Cincinnati for Cleveland, from Cleveland down the lake shore for Buffalo, where I saw, for the first time, the great canal, only recently completed. On this I took passage for Palmyra.

"In these nine years of transition from boyhood to manhood, most striking changes had taken place. My old-time playmates were no longer little boys and girls, but grown-up men and women; some of whom had taken their positions in society as husbands and wives, fathers and mothers. Others had gone down to early graves that had

'Hidden from the living
The full-blown promise of the life that was.'

"When I left my home in the West, I had never heard of Mormonism, by that name. When I was a student at Brookville, in the fall of 1827, the *Brookville Enquirer* was laid upon my table, when my eye fell upon a paragraph, credited to some Eastern paper, of the finding of a book of metallic plates, called the 'Golden Bible.' It was found by a young man by the name of Joe Smith, who had spent his time for several years in telling fortunes and digging for hidden treasures, and especially for pots and iron chests of money, supposed to have been buried by Captain Kidd. This paragraph interested me more at the time from the fact that all this had happened near the village of Palmyra, N. Y. I had at the time no certain recollection as to who this 'Joe Smith' was; but remembered having seen a long-legged, tow-headed boy of that name, who was generally fishing in the mill-pond at Durfee's grist-mill, on Mud Creek, when my elder brother and I went to mill. This boy was about three years older than myself, and it turned out that he was the veritable finder of the 'Golden Bible.'

"Of course the paragraph in the *Enquirer* passed without further notice at the time, and the whole subject was forgotten, until I found myself in the very neighborhood where the thing had happened. At that time the *Book of Mormon* had not been printed, and no Mormon church had been organized. I do not believe that such a thing as the latter had ever been seriously contemplated, and that the publication of the *Book of Mormon* had for its object only the making of money, by publishing and putting on sale a book that could be readily sold as a curiosity at a high profit. Nevertheless, there was something so unusual in the affair, that it excited a good deal of curiosity and comment. The fact that such a man as Martin Harris should mort-

gage his farm for a large sum, to secure the publisher for printing the book, should abandon the cultivation of one of the best farms in the neighborhood, and change all his habits of life from industry to indolence and general shiftlessness, was truly phenomenal. He, at the same time, was the only man among all the primitive Mormons who was responsible in a pecuniary sense for a single dollar. Nevertheless, he had become absolutely infatuated, and believed that an immense fortune could be made out of the enterprise. The misfortune that attended Harris from that day did not consist in the loss of money merely, and the general breaking up of his business as a farmer; but the blight and ruin fell upon all his domestic relations—causing his separation from his wife and family forever. In early life he had been brought up a Quaker, then took to Methodism as more congenial to his nature. He was noted as one who could quote more Scripture than any man in the neighborhood; and as a general thing could give the chapter and verse where some important passage could be found. If one passage more than another seemed to be in his mind, it was this: 'God has chosen the weak things of this world to confound the wise.' His eccentricities and idiosyncrasies had been charitably passed over by all who knew him, until his separation from his wife and family, when he was looked upon as utterly infatuated and crazy. I had been acquainted with this man when a little boy, until my father emigrated from that neighborhood in 1820. He was intimately acquainted with my father's family, and on several occasions had visited our house, in company with Mrs. Harris. None in all that neighborhood were more promising in their future prospects than they.

"Upon my return to Palmyra, and learning that Martin Harris was the only man of any account, as we say in the West, among all of his near associates, it was but natural that I should seek an early interview with him. I found him at the printing office of the *Wayne Sentinel* in Palmyra, where the *Book of Mormon* was being printed. He had heard several days before of my arrival in the neighborhood, and expressed great pleasure at seeing me. A moment or two after, I was introduced to Oliver Cowdery, Joseph Smith, Sen., and then to the young 'Prophet' himself.

"Here was a most remarkable quartette of persons. I soon learned that at least three of them were in daily attendance at the printing-office, and that they came and went as regularly as the rising and setting of the sun. I have the authority of Martin Harris himself, who stated that some one hundred and fifty pages, more or less, of the original manuscript of the *Book of Mormon* had been stolen, lost, or destroyed, by some evil-minded person, and that the angel of the Lord had appeared to young Joseph and informed him that the devil had appeared in the form of a man or woman, and had possessed himself of the sacred MS.; and Joseph had been commanded by the angel to thenceforth always have at least three witnesses to watch over it when in the hands of the printers. This was the reason given me at the time by Harris, why at least three persons should bring the MS. to the office immediately after sunrise, and take it away before sunset in the evening.

"After my introduction to Cowdery and the Smiths, I entered into conversation with them—especially with Cowdery and the father of the prophet. But young Joe was hard to be approached. He was very taciturn, and sat most of the time as silent as a Sphynx, seeming to have no

recollection of ever having seen me when fishing in Durfee's mill-pond. This young man was by no means of an ordinary type. He had hardly ever been known to laugh in his childhood; and would never work or labor like other boys; and was noted as never having had a fight or quarrel with any other person. But notwithstanding this last redeeming trait, he was hard on birds' nests, and in telling what had happened would exaggerate to such an extent, that it was a common saying in the neighborhood: 'That is as big a lie as young Joe ever told.'

"He was about six feet high, what might be termed long-legged, and with big feet. His hair had turned from tow-color to light auburn, large eyes of a bluish gray, a prominent nose, and a mouth that of itself was a study. His face seemed almost colorless, and with little or no beard.

"Indeed (in the language of Martin Harris): 'What change a few years will make in everything!' And what a demonstration of this truth was afforded in the life and career of the man before me. At that time his weight was about one hundred and fifty pounds, he had not a dollar in the world, and his character was such that credit was impossible. Let the mind pass over the career of this man to the date of his marriage with Emma Hale; his banking and temple-building at Kirtland; his flight as a fugitive from that place to Independence and Far West, Missouri; his forcible expulsion from that State to Nauvoo; the springing up of a city of 20,000 people as if by magic; and where, beside his divine appointment as "Prophet, Seer, and Revelator," he became Lieut.-General of a Legion that would make a respectable standing army, mounted on a blooded charger in all the military trappings, that filled with awe the thousands of his followers, and even the outside

Gentiles. He had now reached the zenith of his glory; and fifteen years from the time I met him at the printing-office, he had become a millionaire, notwithstanding his harem of numerous spiritual wives and concubines.

"In the neighborhood of Palmyra there lived another prophet, older and wiser than the Mormon prophet. This was old George Crane, who had been born and brought up a Quaker. On one occasion Smith and Cowdery had gone to the house of George, who had manifested some interest in the pretended translation. It was in the evening, and when several chapters had been read, Mr. Crane, who had been an attentive listener, in his straightforward, Quaker soberness said: 'Joseph, thy book is blasphemous; and I counsel thee to mend thy ways, or thee will come to some bad end.' George Crane lived to see the fulfilment of that prophecy, when this greatest of all modern deceivers fell out of the back window of the Carthage jail riddled with bullets.

"I had arrived at the printing-office about nine in the morning, and after my interview with Harris, and introduction, as aforesaid, I spent an hour or two with E. B. Grandin and Pomeroy Tucker, proprietor and foreman of the *Sentinel*. From these gentlemen I learned many particulars that were new to me. I expressed a desire to read the manuscript then in process of being printed; but was informed by them that that was hardly possible, inasmuch as a few sheets only at a time were used as copy in the hands of the printers; and that probably Cowdery and Smith would have no objection to reading it to me, if I would give them an opportunity without interfering with their duties at the office.

"It was now noon, and I went home with my cousin (Mr. Tucker) to dinner. On returning to

the office, I found Harris, Cowdery, and the Smiths had remained, substituting a lunch for a regular dinner. My intimacy with them was renewed, and Harris talked incessantly to me on the subject of dreams, and the fearful omens and signs he had seen in the heavens. Of course I became greatly interested, and manifested a desire to hear the miraculous MS. read; and it was agreed that I should go out with them to the house of the elder Smith, and remain over night. In the mean time, I remarked that but one at a time left the printing office, even for a short period.

"The sun had now got down to the roofs of the houses, and the typos had laid by their work. Each page of the MS. that had been used as copy was delivered to Cowdery, and we prepared to return to Smith's. We arrived at our destination a few minutes before sunset. The Smith residence consisted of a log house, not exactly a cabin. Upon our arrival, I was ushered into the best room in company with the others. In a few moments I was left alone, my companions having gone out on private business. An interview with the family was being held by them in the other part of the house. It was not long before they returned, accompanied by Lucy Smith, the prophet's mother. She came close to me, and taking me by the hand, said:

"'I've seed you before. You are the same young man that had on the nice clothes, that I seed in my dream. You had on this nice ruffled shirt, with the same gold breast-pin in it that you have now. Yes, jest ezactly sich a one as this!'—suiting the action to the word, taking hold of the ruffle, and scrutinizing the pin closely. It was not long till she left the room, and I, following to the door, saw two stout, bare-footed girls, each with a tin bucket of red raspberries. Soon after, the old

man announced that supper was ready. We went into the other part of the house, where supper was waiting, consisting of brown bread, milk, and abundance of fine raspberries before mentioned. There was no lack of these, and if any left the table without a really good supper, it was not the fault of the hostess. She, good soul—full sister to all her sex—began to make excuses, saying:

"'If I had only known what a nice visitor I was goin' to have, I would have put on the table flour bread, and not ryn' Injun.'

"I remarked that it needed no excuses; that the supper was good enough for a king, and that the berries on the table were better than could be bought in any city in America. Beside being true, this had the effect of quieting the feelings of the old lady.

"It was now time to begin the reading of the manuscript, and we retired to the room we had occupied. This was before the days of lucifer matches, and there being no fire, it took some time before a light could be brought into the room. This was done by our good hostess, who set upon the table a tin candlestick with a tallow dip in it, remarking: 'This is the only candle I can find in the house; I thought I had two, but mabby the rats has eat it up.'

"Cowdery commenced his task of reading at the table, the others sitting around. The reading had proceeded for some time, when the candle began to spit and splutter, sometimes almost going out, and flashing up with a red-blue blaze. Here was a phenomenon that could not be mistaken. To say that the blaze had been interrupted by the flax shives that remained in the tow wicking, would not do; but Martin Harris arrived at a conclusion 'across lots:' 'Do you see that,' said he, directing his remark to me and the old lady, who sat beside him. 'I know what that means; it is the

Devil trying to put out the light, so that we can't read any more.' 'Yes,' replied the old lady; 'I seed 'im! I seed 'im! as he tried to put out the burnin' wick, when the blaze turned blue.'

"The tallow dip shortened at such a fearful rate that the further reading had to be abandoned. It was now past ten, and the other members of the family retired. The MS. was carefully put away, and directions given as to where we were to sleep. In the mean time Mother Smith loaded a clay pipe with tobacco, which she ground up in her hands; a broom splint was lighted in the candle, and the delicious fumes issued in clouds from the old lady's mouth.

"She now began to talk incessantly for the little time that remained, and told me at some length the dream that she had, when I appeared before her, 'in the nice suit of clothes and ruffled shirt,' as she expressed it; and continued: 'You'll have visions and dreams, mebby, to-night; but don't git skeered; the angel of the Lord will protect you.'

"After breakfast, in the morning, Mother Smith followed me as I arose from the table, and plied me with questions as to whether I had had dreams, and whether I had seen a vision that 'skeered' me. I told her I had a dream, but so strange that I could not tell it to her or any one else. The fact was communicated to Harris and the rest. All saw that I looked sober, and I determined to leave them in doubt and wonder.

"We started back to Palmyra, Cowdery bearing in his hand the sacred scroll. Martin was exceedingly anxious that I should give him at least some glimpse of the strange things I had seen in my dream. I told him that was impossible, and I began to doubt whether I ought to tell it to any human being. They all became interested in my

reply; and the prophet himself, forgetting his taciturnity, said: 'I can tell you what it was. I have felt just as you do. Wait, and the angel of the Lord will open your eyes.' Here we parted, and I returned to the home of my brother."

CHAPTER V.

EX-GOVERNOR HARDING'S LETTER.—*Continued.*

CURIOUS DEVELOPMENTS—HARRIS'S FRENZY—AN INCIDENT IN INDIANA—IN UTAH—REFLECTIONS, SUGGESTIONS, ETC.

"ABOUT two weeks after this I met Martin Harris. He was glad to see me; inquired how I felt since my dream. He told me that since he saw me at Mr. Smith's, he had seen fearful signs in the heavens. That he was standing alone one night, and saw a fiery sword let down out of heaven, and pointing to the east, west, north, and south, then to the hill of Cumorah, where the plates of Nephi were found. At another time, he said, as he was passing with his wagon and horses from town, his horses suddenly stopped and would not budge an inch. When he plied them with his whip, they commenced snorting and pawing the earth as they had never done before. He then commenced smelling brimstone, and knew the Devil was in the road, and saw him plainly as he walked up the hill and disappeared. I said, 'What did he look like?'

"He replied: 'Stephen, I will give you the best description that I can. Imagine a greyhound as big as a horse, without any tail, walking upright on his hind legs.'*

"I looked at him with perfect astonishment. 'Now, Stephen,' continued he, 'do tell me your dream.' I dropped my head and answered: 'I am almost afraid to undertake it.' He encouraged me, and said it was revealed to him that an-

* Mr. Harris ought to have known that creature could not have been the Devil, as his majesty most surely has a tail.—T. G.

other vessel was to be chosen, and that Joseph had the gift of interpreting dreams the same as Daniel, who was cast into the lions' den. I said, 'Mr. Harris, after considering the matter, I conclude that I ought not to repeat my dream to you, only on one condition: that you will pledge your honor not to tell it to any one.' 'Oh, do let me tell it to Joseph. He can tell all about what it means.' 'Well,' said I, 'What I mean is, you may tell it to whom you please, only you shall not connect my name with it.' 'I'll do it! I'll do it!' said he, hastily. 'Joseph will be able to tell who it was, the same as if I told the name.'"

[Here the narrator proceeded to relate a wonderful dream that never was dreamed, during the course of which he took occasion to describe some characters that had appeared to him on a scroll—presenting some of them with a pencil, a mixture of stenographic characters and the Greek alphabet, rudely imitated. These were handed to Mr. Harris.]

"Speechless with amazement, he looked at them for a moment, and then springing to his feet, and turning his eyes toward heaven, with uplifted hands, cried out:

"'O Lord, God! the very characters that are upon the plates of Nephi!'

"He looked again at the characters, and then at me, with perfect astonishment. His excitement was such that I became positively alarmed, for it seemed to me that he was going crazy. I began to have some compunctions of conscience for the fraud that I had practiced upon him; for I might as well say just here, as well as anywhere, that the dream had been improvised for the occasion. He suggested that we go to the house of old man Smith and there relate my dream. I told him that I would never repeat it again to anybody. He bade me good-bye, saying: 'You are a chosen vessel of the Lord.'

"There is but one excuse for my conduct on this occasion; that was, to fathom the depth of his credulity.

"For the next two or three weeks I did not meet Harris or any of the Smiths or Cowdery. About four weeks afterwards I again visited Palmyra, and spent part of the day in the printing-office, where found the prophet, Cowdery, and Harris again. The latter took me by the hand with a grip and a shake that were full of meaning; even the prophet himself shook hands with me, looking me steadily in the eye as if new ideas possessed him in regard to myself; and it was evident that my dream had been repeated to these people, and that it was a puzzle to them all.

"In the meantime the printing of the *Book of Mormon* was proceeding. There was abundant evidence that the proof sheets had been carefully corrected. The printing was done on a lever press of that period; and when a sufficient number of pages for the entire edition of five thousand copies had been completed, the type had to be distributed. This was a slow process in comparison with what is done in a jobbing office of to-day. Mr. Tucker, the foreman, had just received from Albany a font of new type, and had set up with his own hands the title page of the *Book of Mormon*, and preparations were now ready for the first impression. About this time the prophet's father also came in. He, too, had evidently heard of my dream, and shook my hand most cordially. Mr. Grandin and two or three typos were present, as if curious in seeing the first impression of the title page. Tucker took up the ink-balls and made the form ready; then laying the blank sheet upon it, with one pull at the lever the work was done; then taking the impression, looked at it a moment, passed it to Cowdery, who scanned it carefully, and passed it to the

prophet himself, who seemed to be examining every letter, and without speaking gave it into the hands of his father and Harris. It was then returned to Tucker. Of course we all looked at it with more or less curiosity, and the work was pronounced excellent. Tucker, who was my cousin, then handed it to me, saying: 'Here, Steve, I'll give this to you. You may keep it as a curiosity.' I thanked him, and put it carefully in my pocket.

"It was not long until rumors of the dream had reached the ears of many persons. Upon hearing this I felt some concerned, for I did not want to be mixed up or identified with this thing in the least. But all of my apprehension soon vanished, when I found my name had no connection with it, and that the dream had been a *real vision of the prophet himself!* Of course this relieved me of all apprehension, and greatly increased my desire to make further experiments in this wild fanaticism.

"My next subject was Calvin Stoddard, a very clever man, who had been a kind of exhorter among the Methodists. He was a married man, and lived with his wife in a frame house with unpainted weather-boarding, that had become loose from age and exposure to wind and weather. I had met Mr. Stoddard on several occasions, and his conversation generally turned on the subject of the new revelation. He said that we were living in the latter days spoken of in the Bible, and that wonderful things would come to pass on the earth; that he had seen signs in the heavens that would satisfy any one that a new dispensation was coming. That young Joseph had had a dream that was more wonderful than anything he had ever read in the book of Daniel, and that if the village of Palmyra did not repent it would meet the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah.

"Mr. Tucker, in his book, has referred to the

call that was given to Stoddard on one occasion, to preach the new gospel. In the main, his statement is substantially true; nevertheless, it does great injustice to the dramatic effect of the call that was given. Suffice it to say, that Stoddard and his wife were among the primitive members of the Mormon Church, and in obedience to the call, continued to preach the best that he could to the close of his life.* *Requiscat in pace.*

"It was now getting about time for me to return West, and in the month of September, 1829, I took passage on a canal packet for Buffalo. In the meantime marvellous stories were being circulated throughout the neighborhood, in regard to the strange dream of the prophet, and the celestial call of Calvin Stoddard to preach the new gospel. I had received from Harris and Cowdery the first and second chapters of the *Book of Mormon*. These, with the title page before mentioned, were carefully put away in my trunk. Three or four days before my embarkation, Martin Harris, in company with Cowdery, met me at the village, manifesting a great deal of concern at my intended departure, informing me that young Joseph had been having visions. The day was fixed when I was to leave, and we separated, and the reader may judge of my astonishment when Harris and Cowdery came on board the boat at the first lock below the village, and approached me very much excited, Martin particularly. He wanted to know if I was really starting West. I informed him that I was going directly home to Indiana. He said that the night before the angel of the Lord had visited Joseph, and informed him that I was a

* For the particulars of this remarkable conversion, the reader is referred to the account to be found in another chapter. Mr. Stoddard was married to one of the prophet's sisters, and lived and died in the faith in Illinois.—EDITOR.

chosen vessel of the Lord, and they must pursue me at least as far as Rochester, and inform me of the commands of the angel, and that I must remain in Palmyra until the printing of the *Book of Mormon* was completed; after which I must go to the city of London and there remain until the Lord would inform me what to do. This, I confess, was a new phase in this wild fanaticism, and I felt very much puzzled and confounded. The first I said was: 'Where is the money to come from to pay my passage to London?' 'Oh,' said Martin, 'the Lord will find the money. The *Book of Mormon* will sell for thousands and thousands of dollars, and I can furnish the money any day, if necessary.'

"I confess that for a time I felt very much confused. I had bidden all my friends good-bye, and could not have returned to Palmyra in company with these men without seriously compromising myself. And yet, what a temptation was here presented to me to play the *rôle* of the hypocrite and villain! I had no complications, either of love or business, and was as free as the winds that sweep over the prairies. Many times, since Mormonism has become a most dangerous proselytism throughout all Christendom, have I asked myself: What if I had accepted the apple plucked from the tree of knowledge of good and evil, crucified my own sense of honor and manhood, and sold myself to the devil of ambition! It is hardly probable, notwithstanding all this, that the Dead Sea fruit would have turned to ashes on my lips.

"They continued with me until we arrived at Rochester, where we parted. In the mean time it seemed as if these messengers sent to intercept me would hardly take 'No' for an answer. Martin, with great earnestness, dwelt upon the danger of disobeying the commands of the Lord, and prophesied that I would soon be removed from the earth,

and most probably before I reached my destination, quoting several passages of Scripture fitting my case. On leaving, they shook me by the hand most heartily, Martin warning me of the dangers ahead. The whole scene was worthy of the profoundest study. Here were two men, whose names will go down through the ages as witnesses to the divine authenticity of the *Book of Mormon*, whose superstition and credulity were such as to unseat all confidence in what are termed miracles; and yet, at that time, the evidence of Martin Harris would have been received in a court of justice against all of the Smiths, Pages, and Whitmers, who have published to the world, in the presence of God, that they had 'seen and hefted' the miraculous plates! This, it will be remembered, was before Brigham Young, Heber Kimball, or John Taylor had ever heard of the new dispensation.

"In 1847, after the expulsion of the Mormons from Nauvoo, I came home one Saturday night from court, and found a stranger at my house. This was not remarkable, for it was generally understood that my doors had never been shut in the face of any human being in distress, black or white. He was a middle-aged man, an Englishman, named Campbell. He told me that he had come from the city of Nauvoo, and was going to some place in Ohio; had heard of me before he left Nauvoo, and hoped I would not consider it an intrusion if he stayed over until Monday morning. He was really an inoffensive-looking person, and was possessed of considerable intelligence. He had emigrated from England a few years before, and was, by trade, a copper-plate engraver. During his stay in my house, I informed him that I had the first title page of the *Book of Mormon*, that was ever printed, and briefly related to him how it came into my possession. I produced it, and as he examined the strange

relic it was evident that a feeling of awe and veneration had come over him. 'Is it possible! Is it possible!' exclaimed he, his eyes still fixed upon it. 'The hand of the Lord is in it.' He continued to examine it with so much fascination, I said: 'You take so much interest in this that I will give it to you.'

"'Will you let me take it away?' said he.

"'Oh, yes, sir, you may keep it as your own,' I said.

"'Thank you, sir! God bless you. The angel of the Lord must have directed me to this house.' He said it would add greatly to the value of the relic, if I would write something over my own name. I told him I would do so, and wrote the following:

"'This is the first title page of the *Book of Mormon* that was ever printed. It was printed in the presence of Joseph Smith, Jr., Joseph Smith, Sr., Oliver Cowdery, Martin Harris, and myself, at the office of the *Wayne Sentinel*, Palmyra, New York, August, 1829,—and which was examined and handled by all the persons above named, and the same is hereby respectfully presented to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. STEPHEN S. HARDING, of Milan, Ind.'

"It will be seen, hereafter, how a little crumb of bread cast upon the waters will be returned. This man was evidently as honest and sincere in his belief as any member of the most orthodox church. When I went to the territory of Utah as Governor, in 1862, Mr. Campbell was almost the first one to meet me. He held a clerkship in Salt Lake City. He was really glad to see me, and shaking my hand, said:

"'Governor, the hand of the Lord is in it. This is revelation.' The deep grief that was settled upon him was unexplained, until he informed me

that his eldest son, a young man of promise, had been drowned a day before in the river Jordan, and his body had just been recovered, and was then lying at his house; that he and his wife were nearly overwhelmed with sorrow; but upon hearing of my arrival, he had left her in tears and came to pay his respects to me, and bid me welcome. Poor fellow! It would have been a hard heart that would not have gone out in sympathy for him.

"I soon learned that the first title page had been well preserved in the Historical Society and Museum. It had been placed between two panes of window glass in a stout frame. By this means it could be carefully handled and examined without danger of defacement. It had been examined by thousands and thousands; and after my arrival the number increased. I looked upon it one day myself, in company with a gentleman from San Francisco. I was soon surrounded by a large company of simple-minded people, who, after my appointment as Governor was known, had heard a thousand times from bishops and elders, that the hand of the Lord was in it. But, alas! the faces that I had known in Palmyra could not be seen. The prophet had been overtaken by retributive justice. Hyrum, his brother, had also paid the penalty. The father and mother had disappeared, and poor Martin Harris had been expelled, trampled upon, and insulted by the prophet himself in the zenith of his power, and was now a wanderer and a vagabond. Cowdery had fared little better. Sidney Rigdon was exiled. Unseen hands had been turning the wheel of fortune. 'My hand-maiden, Emma Smith' (referred to in the revelation that cost the prophet his life), was the wife of a Gentile, and the third Joseph Smith, eldest son of the prophet, had to appeal to the Governor, asking for protection, before he dared enter the dominions of

the new hierarch. The whole thing seemed to me more like a romance than a reality.

"In your second letter you ask me certain questions, which I will now briefly answer. Oliver Cowdery, the scribe of the prophet, was a young man of about twenty-four or twenty-five, about the age of Smith. I had never known him previous to my return to Palmyra. He had been a school-teacher in country schools, and I am certain had little or no acquaintance with English grammar at that time. If this same Oliver Cowdery studied law and was admitted to practice in Ohio, it must have been after the time that I met him; and if he ever acquired a knowledge of the dead languages, it was certainly afterwards. I never saw, to my knowledge, either Sidney Rigdon, or Parley P. Pratt, the latter of whom was shot by Dr. McLane for proselyting his wife. I knew his brother, Orson Pratt, in Salt Lake City, and also Mrs. McLane, who had been 'sealed' to another man.

"As for 'Joe Smith,' the prophet, I have long been satisfied that his intellectual forces as a man have been greatly underrated.* In deception and low cunning he has had no peer. Mahomet was a much greater man intellectually; but he never could have played the part of Joe Smith, the Mormon Prophet. Ignorant as he is represented to have been, still he was familiar with the Scriptures, and never tired of reading the miracles in the Old Testament and in the New. The revelations that he pretended to have had, were composed and written by somebody, certainly not Solomon Spaulding. The most of them evince quite as much talent in composition as parts of the *Manuscript Found*. The question again recurs, Who was the author of these Revelations? His last one at Nauvoo, in

* Our opinion is that they have been greatly *over*-rated.—EDITOR.

184–, authorizing Polygamy and spiritual marriages, wherein the Lord commanded the prophet not to put his property out of his hands, could hardly have been written by Oliver Cowdery, the Seneca County lawyer, unless he put into the mouth of the Lord the language of a country justice of the peace. There is another reason, however, of much greater significance, that Cowdery had nothing to do with the revelation, for it was about that time that he and Martin Harris had fallen into disgrace in the Church—had been excommunicated, and published in the court journal of the prophet as 'liars' and 'white niggers.' *

"That Spalding's *Manuscript Found* was the real foundation of Mormonism, I have no doubt. When he wrote his romance in Ohio, surrounded by evidences of a pre-historic race, the sight of canoes at that time in general use, would furnish the idea and model of the sharp-pointed ships, 'of the length of a tree,' constructed at the ship-yards of the Land Bountiful, mentioned in the *Book of Mormon*. All that he had to do, in the conception of his model, was to put one canoe on top of another, bottom-side up, and the idea supplemented with breathing holes, is almost complete. The bellows made from the skins of beasts, by boss ship-carpenters of Bountiful, his kindling a fire by striking two stones together, and making tools for the workmen out of crude iron ore, are so inexpressive of poetic imagery, that I agree with you, it seems improbable that a clergyman who had

* Here the Governor misapprehends our point. We, nor any one, ever supposed that Spalding had ever had anything to do with the "Revelations." Our suggestion was to the effect that it may have been Cowdery instead of Rigdon, who somehow obtained the *Manuscript Found*, and placed it in Smith's hands, at the beginning of the Imposture, and that they two manipulated it into the *Book of Mormon*, while pretending to "translate" and "transcribe."—EDITOR.

graduated at Dartmouth College had ever been its author. These portions of the MS. fall below the dignity of criticism. There are other portions that might readily be attributed to Mr. Spalding.

"When I was in Palmyra in 1829, I heard the particulars of the incident as related by Mr. Tucker, when the Smith family was out of meat, and the manner in which the black wether of William Stafford had been obtained. But I refer the reader to the account given in Mr. Tucker's book. The best part of the story, however, had been forgotten by Mr. T., as illustrative of the cunning of the young money-digger. When Stafford was told it required the sacrifice of a black sheep in order to reach the hidden treasure, it was not plain to him why the blood of one sheep was not as good as that of another. His black wether, that had been selected by young Joe, was large and in excellent condition for mutton. Stafford hesitated, and was loth to give him up, offering a white wether of smaller size, yet in good condition. But the coming prophet was not to be foiled in his purpose, and resorted to logic that confounded the objector. 'The reason why it must be a *black* sheep,' said the young deceiver, 'is because I have found the treasure by means of the *black* art.' This, of course, was unanswerable, and the *black* wether was given up.

"With malice toward none, and charity for all, I subscribe myself,

"Respectfully yours,

"Stephen S. Harding."

CHAPTER VI.

PROFESSOR ANTHON'S STORY.

A Plain Statement Which Everybody Can Believe.

Smith, it will be remembered, endeavored to gain credence for his story by falsifying men of science as to the character of his hieroglyphics and their translation. See his story as from Professor "Anthony," in a previous chapter. A few years after the appearance of the *Book of Mormon*, and the publicity of his name in connection with it, Professor Anthon, in reply to inquiries, made the following statement:

"New York, Feb. 17, 1834.

"Some years ago, a plain, apparently simple-hearted farmer, called on me with a note from Dr. Mitchell, of our city, now dead, requesting me to decipher, if possible, the paper which the farmer would hand me. Upon examining the paper in question, I soon came to the conclusion that it was all a trick—perhaps a hoax. When I asked the person who brought it, how he obtained the writing, he gave me the following account: A 'golden book,' consisting of a number of plates fastened together by wires of the same material, had been dug up in the northern part of the State of New York, and along with it an enormous pair of 'spectacles!' These spectacles were so large, that if any person attempted to look through them,

his two eyes would look through one glass only—the spectacles in question being altogether too large for the human face. 'Whoever,' he said, 'examined the plates through the glasses, was enabled not only to read them, but fully to understand their meaning.'

"All this knowledge, however, was confined to a young man, who had the trunk containing the book and spectacles in his sole possession. This young man was placed behind a curtain, in a garret in a farm-house, and being thus concealed from view, he put on the spectacles occasionally, or, rather, looked through one of the glasses, deciphered the characters in the book, and having committed some of them to paper, handed copies from behind the curtain to those who stood outside. Not a word was said about their being deciphered by the 'gift of God.' Everything in this way was effected by the large pair of spectacles. The farmer added that he had been requested to contribute a sum of money toward the publication of the 'golden book,' the contents of which would, as he was told, produce an entire change in the world, and save it from ruin. So urgent had been these solicitations, that he intended selling his farm and giving the amount to those who wished to publish the plates. As a last precautionary step, he had resolved to come to New York, and obtain the opinion of the 'learned' about the meaning of the paper which he had brought with him, and which had been given him as a part of the contents of the book.

"The paper in question was, in fact, a singular scroll. It consisted of all kinds of singular characters, disposed in columns, and had evidently been prepared by some person who had before him at the time a book containing various alphabets; Greek and Hebrew letters, crosses and flourishes, Roman letters, inverted or placed sideways, were

arranged and placed in perpendicular columns, and the whole ended in a rude delineation of a circle, divided into various compartments, arched with various strange marks, and evidently copied after the Mexican calendar, given by Humboldt, but copied in such a way as not to betray the source whence it was derived. I am thus particular as to the contents of the paper, inasmuch as I have frequently conversed with my friends on the subject since the Mormon excitement began, and well remember that the paper contained anything else but 'Egyptian hieroglyphics.'

"Yours respectfully,

"CHARLES ANTHON."

Thus it appears that Martin Harris had told the Professor a straight story in regard to the matter, as it had been represented to him; that the book of gold plates, held together with rings, had been dug up in Northern New York; that they were being translated by a young man behind a curtain, through the medium of the Urim and Thummim, which were generally talked of as spectacles—that it was designed to publish the translation, and that he proposed to contribute money for the purpose—(he already had fifty dollars and the expenses of this trip in the enterprise.) And no man in his senses can be made to believe that Professor Anthon, with the reputation he possessed as a scientist and man of honor, ever made the reply to Harris that is ascribed to him in Smith's narrative.

This letter of Anthon's was in reply to inquiries

made of him by Mr. Howe, and first appeared in his *exposé*, *Mormonism Unveiled*. At a subsequent date, Rev. T. W. Coit addressed a note of inquiry to Professor Anthon, and received in reply the substance of the foregoing, to which he added the following:

"The matter rested here for a considerable time, until one day, when I had ceased entirely to think of the countryman and his paper, he paid me a second visit. He now brought with him a duodecimo volume, which he said was a translation into English of the 'Golden Bible.' He also stated, that, notwithstanding his original determination, he had been induced eventually to sell his farm, and apply the money to the publication of the book, and had received the golden plates as a security for payment. He begged my acceptance of the volume, assuring me that it would be found extremely interesting, and that it was already 'making a great noise' in the upper part of the State. Suspecting now, that some serious trick was on foot, and that my plain-looking visitor might be in fact a very cunning fellow, I declined his present, and merely contented myself with a slight examination of the volume while he stood by. The more I declined receiving it, however, the more urgent the man became in offering the book, until at last I told him plainly that if he left the volume, as he said he intended to do, I should most assuredly throw it after him as he departed. I then asked him how he could be so foolish as to sell his farm and engage in this affair; and requested him to tell me if the plates were really of gold. In answer to this latter inquiry, he said, that he had not seen the

plates themselves, which were carefully locked up in a trunk, but that he had the trunk in his possession. I advised him by all means to open the trunk and examine its contents, and if the plates proved to be of gold, which I did not believe at all, to sell them immediately. His reply was, that if he opened the trunk, the '*curse of Heaven would descend upon him and his children.* However,' added he, 'I will agree to open it, provided you will take the 'curse of Heaven' upon yourself, for having advised me to the step.' I told him I was perfectly willing to do so, and begged him to hasten home and examine the trunk, for he would find that he had been cheated. He promised to do as I recommended, and left me, taking his book with him. I have never seen him since.

"Such is a plain statement of all that I know respecting the Mormons. My impression now is, that the plain-looking countryman was none other than the prophet Smith himself, who assumed an appearance of great simplicity in order to entrap me, if possible, into some recommendations of his book. That the prophet aided me, by his inspiration, in interpreting the volume, is only one of the many amusing falsehoods which the Mormonites utter relative to my participation in their doctrines. Of these doctrines I know nothing whatever, nor have I heard a single discourse from any one of their preachers, although I have often felt a strong curiosity to become an auditor, since my friends tell me that they frequently name me in their sermons, and even go so far as to say that I am alluded to in the prophecies of Scripture!

"If what I have here written shall prove of any service in opening the eyes of some of their deluded followers to the real designs of those who profess to be the apostles of Mormonism, it will

afford me a satisfaction equalled, I have no doubt, only by that which you yourself will feel on this subject.

"I remain, very respectfully and truly,
"Your friend,
"CHAS. ANTHON.
"Rev. Dr. Coit, New Rochelle, N. Y."

CHAPTER VII.

A TERRIBLE DILEMMA.

TWO REVELATIONS AND THEIR CAUSES—HARRIS AND SATAN UNJUSTLY ACCUSED—THE REAL CULPRIT UNKNOWN—A HAPPY RUSE SOLVES THE DIFFICULTY.

AND now comes a most curious part of this remarkable story. Mr. Harris had become the amanuensis to the prophet while engaged in translating the plates, and from April to June, 1828, had written one hundred and sixteen pages of foolscap, as called out to him by the translator, using the Urim and Thummim. Such valuable service he thought was worthy of recognition from a higher source, so he teased that the instrument might be put into requisition to inquire of the Lord if he might not be permitted to carry the writings home for exhibition to his wife and friends. Twice the Lord pointedly refused; but upon his insisting, leave was granted—only on the express condition that they must be shown to only five persons, namely: his brother, Preserved Harris, his father and mother, his wife, and her sister, Mrs. Cobb. And he was required to enter into a most solemn covenant to abide by the agreement. He took the

writings, but failed to fulfil his covenant (so this story runs), and they were taken from him by stratagem, "and have never been recovered nor obtained back again unto this day."

Here was a difficulty that was likely to prove disastrous, and perhaps never could have been overcome had it not been for the ingenuity of the messenger—and the Lord. Says Smith:

"I was walking out a little distance when behold the former heavenly messenger appeared and handed me the Urim and Thummim again (for it had been taken from me in consequence of my having wearied the Lord in asking for the privilege of letting Martin Harris take the writings, which he had lost by transgression), and I inquired of the Lord through them, and obtained the following revelation."

This revelation is given here entire, as being the first deemed by its author worthy of being preserved, among the long series of pretended communications from the Almighty; and as furnishing, together with another on the same subject, also given in full, indubitable evidence of the falsity and absurdity, and blasphemous character of his pretensions. The book of *Doctrine and Covenants*, the authentic collection of these revelations, contains another, for which a prior date is given; but it is evidently an after-thought, and was placed there as an introduction to those that follow.

REVELATION *to Joseph Smith, Jr., given July, 1828, concerning certain manuscripts on the first part of the Book of Mormon, which had been taken from the possession of Martin Harris.*

1. The works, and the designs, and the purposes of God, cannot be frustrated, neither can they come to nought, for God doth not walk in crooked paths; neither doth he turn to the right hand nor to the left; neither doth he vary from that which he hath said; therefore his paths are straight and his course is one eternal round.

2. Remember, remember, that it is not the work of God that is frustrated, but the work of men; for although a man may have many revelations, and have power to do many mighty works, yet, if he boasts in his own strength, and sets at nought the counsels of God, and follows after the dictates of his own will, and carnal desires, he must fall and incur the vengeance of a just God upon him.

3. Behold, you have been intrusted with these things, but how strict were your commandments; and remember, also, the promises which were made unto you, if you did not transgress them; and behold how oft you have transgressed the commandments and the laws of God, and have gone on in the persuasions of men; yet behold, you should not have feared man more than God, although men set at nought the counsels of God, and despise his words, yet you should have been faithful and he would have extended his arm, and supported you against all the fiery darts of the adversary, and he would have been with you in every time of trouble.

4. Behold, thou art Joseph, and thou wast chosen to do the work of the Lord, but because of transgression, if thou art not aware thou wilt fall, but remember God is merciful; therefore repent of

that which thou hast done, which is contrary to the commandment which I gave you, and thou art still chosen, and art again called to the work; except thou do this, thou shalt be delivered up and become as other men, and have no more gift.

5. And when thou deliveredst up that which God had given thee sight and power to translate, thou deliveredst up that which was sacred, into the hands of a wicked man, who has set at nought the counsels of God, and has broken the most sacred promises, which were made before God, and has depended upon his own judgment, and boasted in his own wisdom, and this is the reason that thou hast lost thy privileges for a season, for thou hast suffered the counsel of thy director to be trampled upon from the beginning.

6. Nevertheless, my work shall go forth, for inasmuch as the knowledge of a Saviour has come unto the world, through the testimony of the Jews, even so shall the knowledge of a Saviour come unto my people, and to the Nephites, and the Jacobites, and the Josephites, and the Zoramites, through the testimony of their fathers, and this testimony shall come to the knowledge of the Lamanites, and the Lemuelites, and the Ishmaelites, who dwindled in unbelief because of the iniquity of their fathers, whom the Lord has suffered to destroy their brethren the Nephites, because of their iniquities and their abominations; and for this very purpose are these plates preserved which contain these records, that the promises of the Lord might be fulfilled, which he made to his people; and that the Lamanites might come to a knowledge of their fathers, and that they might know the promises of the Lord, and that they may believe the gospel and rely upon the merits of Jesus Christ, and be glorified through faith on his name, and that through their repentance they might be saved. Amen.

The Urim and Thummim were now taken from him, but restored in a few days, and the following revelation was forthcoming, dating ten months after the other. The long delay will probably be made apparent in the sequel

REVELATION *given to Joseph Smith, Jr., May, 1829, informing him of the alteration of the manuscript of the fore part of the Book of Mormon.*

1. Now, behold, I say unto you, that because you delivered up those writings which you had power given unto you to translate, by the means of the Urim and Thummim, into the hands of a wicked man, you have lost them; and you also lost your gift at the same time, and your mind became darkened; nevertheless, it is now restored unto you again, therefore see that you are faithful and continue on unto the finishing of the remainder of the work of translation as you have begun; do not run faster or labor more than you have strength and means provided to enable you to translate; but be diligent unto the end; pray always that you may come off conqueror; yea, that you may conquer Satan, and that you may escape the hands of the servants of Satan, that do uphold his work. Behold, they have sought to destroy you; yea, even the man in whom you have trusted, has sought to destroy you. And for this cause I said he is a wicked man, for he has sought to take away the things wherewith you have been entrusted; and he has also sought to destroy your gift, and because you have delivered the writings into his hands, behold, wicked men have taken them from you; therefore you have delivered them up, yea, that which was sacred, unto wickedness. And behold, Satan

has put it into their hearts to alter the words which you have caused to be written, or which you have translated, which have gone out of your hands; and behold, I say unto you, that because they have altered the words, they read contrary from that which you translated and caused to be written, and on this wise the devil has sought to lay a cunning plan, that he may destroy this work; for he has put it into their hearts to do this, that by lying they may say they have caught you in the words which you have pretended to translate.

2. Verily I say unto you that I will not suffer that Satan shall accomplish his evil design in this thing; for behold he has put it into their hearts to get thee to tempt the Lord thy God, in asking to translate it over again; and then behold they say and think in their hearts, we will see if God has given him power to translate, if so he will also give him power again, or if he translate again, or in other words, if he bringeth forth the same words, behold we have the same with us and we have altered them; therefore they will not agree, and we will say that he has lied in his words, and that he has no gift, and that he has no power; therefore, we will destroy him, and also the work; and we will do this that we may not be ashamed in the end, and that we may get glory of the world.

3. Verily, verily, I say unto you that Satan has got hold upon their hearts; he stirreth them up to iniquity against that which is good, and their hearts are corrupt, and full of wickedness and abominations, and they love darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil; therefore they will not ask of me. Satan stirreth them up, that he may lead their souls to destruction. And thus he has laid a cunning plan, thinking to destroy the work of God, but I will require this at their hands, and it shall turn to their shame and condemnation

in the day of judgment; yea, he stirreth up their hearts to anger against this work; yea, he saith unto them deceive, and lie in wait to catch, that ye may destroy; behold this is no harm, and thus he flattereth them, and telleth them that it is no sin to lie, that they may catch a man in a lie, that they may destroy him, and thus he flattereth them, and leadeth them along until he draggeth their souls down to hell; and thus he causeth them to catch themselves in their own snare, and thus he goeth up and down, to and fro in the earth, seeking to destroy the souls of men.

4. Verily, verily, I say unto you, wo be unto him that lieth to deceive, because he supposeth that another lieth to deceive, for such are not exempt from the justice of God.

5. Now, behold they altered those words because Satan saith unto them: He hath deceived you; and thus he flattereth them away to do iniquity, to get thee to tempt the Lord thy God.

6. Behold I say unto you that you shall not translate again those words which have gone forth out of your hands; for behold, they shall not accomplish their evil designs in lying against those words. For, behold, if you should bring forth the same words they will say that you have lied; that you have pretended to translate, but that you have contradicted yourself; and behold, they will publish this, and Satan will harden the hearts of the people to stir them up in anger against you, that they will not believe my words. Thus Satan thinketh to overpower your testimony in this generation that the work may not come forth in this generation: but, behold here is wisdom, and because I shew unto you wisdom, and give you commandments concerning these things, what you shall do, show it not unto the world until you have accomplished the work of translation.

7. Marvel not that I said unto you, here is wisdom, show it not unto the world, for I said show it not unto the world, that you may be preserved. Behold I do not say that you shall not show it unto the righteous; but as you cannot always judge the righteous, or as you cannot always tell the wicked from the righteous, therefore, I say unto you, hold your peace, until I shall see fit to make all things known unto the world concerning the matter.

8. And now, verily I say unto you, that an account of those things that you have written, which have gone out of your hands, are engraven upon the plates of Nephi; yea, and you remember, it was said in those writings that a more particular account was given of those things upon the plates of Nephi.

9. And, now, because the account which is engraven upon the plates of Nephi, is more particular concerning these things, which in my wisdom I would bring to the knowledge of the people in this account; therefore you shall translate the engravings which are on the plates of Nephi, down even until you come to the reign of King Benjamin, or until you come to that which you have translated, which you have retained; and you shall publish it as the record of Nephi, and thus I will confound those who have altered my words. I will not suffer that they shall destroy my work; yea, I will show unto them that my wisdom is greater than the cunning of the Devil.

10. Behold they have only got a part or an abridgment of the account of Nephi. Behold there are many things engraven on the plates of Nephi, which do throw greater views upon my gospel; therefore it is wisdom in me, that you should translate this first part of the engravings of Nephi, and send forth in this work. And behold, all the remainder of this work does contain all those

parts of my gospel which my holy prophets, yea, and also my disciples desired in their prayers, should come forth unto this people. And I said unto them that it should be granted unto them according to their faith in their prayers; yea, and this was their faith, that my gospel which I gave unto them, that they might preach in their days, might come unto their brethren, the Lamanites, and also all that had become Lamanites, because of their dissentions.

11. Now this is not all, their faith in their prayers were, that this gospel should be made known also, if it were possible, that other nations should possess this land: and thus they did leave a blessing upon this land in their prayers, that whosoever should believe in this gospel in this land might have eternal life, yea, that it might be free unto all of whatsoever nation, kindred, tongue or people, they may be.

12. And, now, behold according to their faith in their prayers, will I bring this part of my gospel to the knowledge of my people. Behold I do not bring it to destroy that which they have received, but to build it up.

13. And for this cause have I said, if this generation harden not their hearts, I will establish my church among them. Now I do not say this to destroy my church; but I say this to build up my church; therefore, whosoever belongeth to my church need not fear, for such shall inherit the kingdom of heaven, but it is they who do not fear me, neither keep my commandments, but buildeth up churches unto themselves to get gain, yea, and all those that do wickedly, and buildeth up the kingdom of the Devil; yea, verily, verily, I say unto you, that it is they that I will disturb, and cause to tremble and shake to the centre.

14. Behold, I am Jesus Christ, the son of God.

I came unto my own, and my own received me not. I am the light which shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehendeth it not. I am he who said other sheep have I which are not of this fold, unto my disciples, and many there were that understood me not.

15. And I will show unto this people that I had other sheep, and that they were a branch of the house of Jacob: and I will bring to light their marvellous works, which they did in my name: yea, and I will also bring to light my gospel, which was ministered unto them, and behold they shall not deny that which you have received, but they shall build it up, and shall bring to light the true points of my doctrine, yea, and the only doctrine which is in me; and this I do that I may establish my gospel, that there may not be so much contention; yea, Satan doth stir up the hearts of the people to contention, concerning the points of my doctrine: and in these things they do err, for they do wrest the Scriptures, and do not understand them: therefore, I will unfold unto them this great mystery, for behold I will gather them as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, if they will not harden their hearts; yea, if they will come, they may, and partake of the waters of life freely.

16. Behold, this is my doctrine: whosoever repenteth and cometh unto me, the same is my church, whosoever declareth more or less than this, the same is not of me, but is against me: therefore he is not of my church.

17. And now, behold, whosoever is of my church, and endureth of my church to the end, him will I establish upon my Rock, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against them.

18. And now, remember the words of him who is the life and the light of the world, your Redeemer, your Lord, and your God. Amen.

And these two long harangues, abounding in absurdities, blasphemy, misquoted Scripture, and bad grammar, are given forth as communications from the Almighty! On what pretense and for what purpose? This pretender to a divine mission had produced one hundred and sixteen pages of what he claimed to be a translation from gold plates revealed to him by an angel from heaven; these pages had been entrusted to Martin Harris and lost, causing a very serious dilemma, as he had sense enough to perceive that he could not by "translation" or otherwise, reproduce them. So these "revelations" were resorted to as a remedy for the difficulty.

The real facts were these: Mr. Harris had, in good faith and honesty of purpose, carried the manuscript home to exhibit to his wife and four friends, in accordance with his "solemn covenant"; but his more sensible spouse, not being a believer in such blasphemies, and foreseeing only trouble and ruin to her husband, abstracted it in his sleep, and committed it to the flames. For years she kept the fact a profound secret, even until after the book was published. But this active hostility on her part, finally produced a feud in the family which resulted in separation.—*Pomeroy's History.*

This last "revelation," after ten months' labor, is produced, informing the prophet "of the altera-

tion of the manuscript of the fore part of the *Book of Mormon*," and yet no alterations had been made. Neither the prophet Smith, the heavenly messenger, nor even the Lord (according to the story), knew what had become of the lost pages; but were falsely accusing innocent persons of altering and perverting them at Satan's instigation. And not only that, the whole three are written down as dishonest—the Lord in instigating a dishonest transaction, and the others as participators in carrying it out; using the Devil's own weapons to counteract the designs of his emissaries.

It is difficult to conceive of a more senseless piece of folly; and yet it is given forth in all solemnity, as a cute scheme of the Lord to circumvent the cunning of the Devil and his abettors. And yet those two "revelations" are printed in all editions of the *Doctrines and Covenants*, and carefully read and quoted by thousands of Mormon adherents!

CHAPTER VIII.

THE STORY AND THE BOOK EXAMINED.

EVIDENCES OF FALSITY—THE RECORD—ITS TITLE—"CONFOUNDING OF LANGUAGE"—THE NEPHITE-LAMANITE AMERICANS—METAL OF THE PLATES—PLATES REMAINING BURIED—A BONANZA—MARINER'S COMPASS—TO WORK BY FAITH.

WE have now followed this story *as told by its author*, from its inception down to the period of its development into a systematic and wicked scheme of imposture. On it the whole structure of Mormonism is built. It is the ground-work of a delusion, which, for fifty years, has been spreading over the United States and making proselytes in Europe and Asia, and in the islands of the sea.

It contains within itself many evidences of its falsity, which, when properly weighed and considered, must cause it to be rejected by every intelligent and well-balanced mind. And when viewed in connection with surrounding circumstances, and with the well-known characters and lives of its author and chief abettors, it becomes simply astounding that any human being, in the wide range of humanity, can be found so credulous as to believe it. The fact that hundreds and thousands do

accept it, and build their hopes of salvation upon it, without so much as a decent inquiry into its truth, is a mournful one, in any fair estimate we may make of human intelligence. And now let us examine it somewhat in detail.

This investigation naturally divides itself into three branches, as embraced in the following propositions:

1. The Importance of the Message to the World.
2. The Manner of its Communication.
3. The Character and Qualifications of the Agent employed.

In considering the question of the importance of the message to the world, we must first discover what it purports to be. The reader will bear in mind that the golden plates of the story so miraculously obtained, were translated by Joseph Smith, *Junior*,* through the medium of the Urim and Thummim, into a book, which is designated as "*The Book of Mormon*". The following is its title entire:

"THE BOOK OF MORMON: AN ACCOUNT WRITTEN BY THE HAND OF MORMON, UPON PLATES TAKEN FROM THE PLATES OF NEPHI.

"Wherefore it is an abridgment of the Record of the People of Nephi; and also of the Lamanites; written to the Lamanites, which are a remnant of the House of Israel; and also Jew and Gentile;

* The father being also named Joseph, the young prophet was always particular to have the "Junior" designation appended to his name.

written by way of commandment, and also by the spirit of Prophecy and of Revelation. Written and sealed up, and hid up unto the LORD, that they might not be destroyed; to come forth by the gift and power of GOD, unto the interpretation thereof; sealed by the hand of Moroni, and hid up unto the LORD; to come forth in due time by the way of Gentile; the interpretation thereof by the gift of GOD; an abridgment taken from the *Book of Ether*.

"Also, which is a Record of the People of Jared, which were scattered at the time the LORD confounded the language of the people when they were building a tower to get to Heaven; which is to shew unto the remnant of the House of Israel how great things the LORD hath done for their fathers; and that they may know the covenants of the Lord, that they are not cast off forever; and also to the convincing of the Jew and Gentile that JESUS is the CHRIST, the ETERNAL GOD, manifesting himself unto all Nations. And now if there be fault, it be the mistake of men; wherefore condemn not the things of GOD, that ye may be found spotless at the judgment seat of CHRIST.

"By JOSEPH SMITH, Junior,
"Author and Proprietor."

Title, preface, and admonition, all in one.

The foregoing is a verbatim copy from the first edition, printed in 1829–30, by E. B. Grandin, as the title page indicates, "for the author." On the succeeding page is the usual copyright certificate of "R. R. LANSING, Clerk of the Northern District of New York," certifying that, "on the 11th day of June, A.D. 1829," Joseph Smith, Junior, did

deposit the title of a book, "the right whereof he claims as *author*," and reciting the title page as above. In subsequent editions the obvious absurdity of claiming to be the author of a work sent from Heaven, seems to have been discovered, and the signature of "Moroni," the angel, takes the place of "Joseph Smith"; but whether the substitution mends the matter we will not attempt to decide. It makes the angel an applicant for copyright in a book, which, according to his own statement, was only partly his own. Still later editions —especially those issued at Plano, Illinois, for the "Reconstructed" branch of the church—make still further changes, and slightly "reconstruct" its phraseology.

The design and purpose of the work, however, will be hard to discover from the "confounding of language" in its title. But, on examination, we find it to be a pretended history of the early inhabitants of the American Continent; that they are represented to have been the descendants of some of the people who were dispersed at the Tower of Babel, and also of some of the tribes of Israel, who left Jerusalem during the reign of King Zedekiah; that one portion managed to reach these shores in "eight barges," "as tight as a dish and as long as a tree"; that their principal business here was preaching and fighting, and writing records; and

that after multifarious and terrible wars, they became, like the Kilkenny cats, sadly used up, and that the Indian tribes, termed "Lamanites," are the *tails* that were left.

This, in short, is the Message from Heaven, the "fulness of the gospel," the "preparatory work," that is to usher in "the millennial reign"! This is the story, of which Orson Pratt, one of the ablest of Mormon writers, says:

"The nature of the message in the *Book of Mormon* is such that, if true, none can be saved and reject it; and if false, none can be save who receive it.

Had the general historical idea been dressed in good English by one possessed of a well-balanced mind, instead of one who had

> "eaten of the insane root
> That takes the reason prisoner,"

it might have made a volume of pleasant reading, if nothing more; and had there been any facts known to the author to give it color, it might even have approached the dignity of a historical romance.

These pretended records are claimed to have been handsomely engraved on metal plates, by a succession of prophets or holy men, belonging to these descendants of the Jews here in America, at various periods of their history, from Nephi, in the reign of Zedekiah, down to Moroni, the last his-

torian among them, in about the fifth century of the Christian era. The plates were of various metals, manufactured by the writers, sometimes of gold, sometimes of brass, and at others of a metal not mentioned, but of ores obtained from the mines. The *brass* mines of America are not now known.

Mormon and Moroni made abridgments of all these records on plates of gold, and buried them in the hill Cumorah, which stands near Palmyra, in the State of New York. There they had lain, in a stone box held together by "some kind of cement," for thirteen centuries, awaiting the advent of some suitable person to translate them, and give them to the world for its redemption. And that classical and consecrated mount is now known as "Mormon Hill." Why do not these people erect a monument, or build one of their many temples there?

Mormon and Moroni's plates—abridgments only of the great encyclopedia of American history—were of the precious metal, and they were the only ones revealed. The others are presumed to be—if we put faith in the story—if not in the hill Cumorah, certainly in some "placer" in the vicinity; and the wonder is that the faithful have not been "prospecting" for them. Should these, or a considerable portion of them, also be of gold, their value is great; as there should be more than a dozen of these bundles of plates, besides some other

valuables, "hid up" somewhere about Palmyra. Those alone obtained from the stone box, and hidden away again, as described, would make a solid block of gold of two hundred cubic inches, worth many thousand dollars for the metal alone. The wonder is, that while excavating for the treasure hid by Kidd and the pirates, the youthful prophet did not bring to light more of these precious relics of antiquity. As evidence of faith in the story, "Mormon Hill" should have been thoroughly prospected long ago.

The nomenclature of the volume is unique, if not classical, or beautiful, as witness such names as Riplakish, Shiz, Shule, Kib, Com, Coriantumr, Gadianton, Zarahemla, Mulek, Giddianhi, Gidgiddoni, Zemnarihah, Cezoram, beside many others equally euphonious. According to the *Book of Mormon*, Black Hawk, our Indian chief, was a descendant of the Lamanites; hence, probably, his name, *Ma-ka-tai-me-she-kia-kiah*.

"Lo, and behold," and "And it came to pass," are repeated hundreds of times in the volume, supposably to give the narrative greater solemnity. Whole chapters are given bodily and verbatim from the writings of the prophets, in the commonly used King James version of the Scriptures, but professedly written by these Jewish-American prophets, and translated from the "Reformed Egyptian," by

Joseph Smith. Strange, indeed, that this Urim and Thummim translation should so closely follow the renderings of the scholars of King James's day. The term "Bible" is put into the mouth of one of these prophets to designate the sacred writings, hundreds of years before they were collected and known by that name.

The mariner's compass, this story gives us to know, was in use in the days of Zedekiah; though it is inferred that the one used by Lehi was the first one, and that Nephi, the historian, was the inventor of it—certainly of this one.* It was prepared for the occasion, as the party was about to start on a journey into the wilderness:

"And it came to pass that the voice of the Lord spake unto my father, by night, and commanded him, that on the morrow he should take his journey into the wilderness. And it came to pass, that as my father arose in the morning, and went forth to the tent door, to his great astonishment he beheld upon the ground a round ball, of curious workmanship, and it was of fine brass. And within the ball were two spindles; *and the one pointed the way whither we should go into the wilderness* (!) . . . And it came to pass that the voice of the Lord said unto him, Look upon the ball and behold the things that are written. . . . And it came to pass that I, Nephi, beheld the pointers which were in the ball, *and they did work according to the faith and diligence and heed which we did give unto them.* (!)

* This we find on further reading to be a mistake. The name of it was "Liahona—which is, being interpreted, a compass; and the Lord prepared it."

And there was also written upon them a new writing, which was plain to be read, which did give us understanding concerning the ways of the Lord; and it was written and changed from time to time, *according to the diligence and faith which we gave unto it.* And thus we see that by small means the Lord can bring about great things."—*Book of Mormon*, 1st edition, pp. 39–41.

Truly a wonderful and accommodating compass! Working on principles peculiarly its own, one of its spindles pointed the way for them to go, and both spindles worked according to the faith and diligence and heed given them by its users. And afterwards, when they had built a ship, and gone out upon the briny and tempestuous ocean, and the tempests came and the waves ran high, and they were sorely troubled, "*behold, I took the compass, and it did work whither I desired it.*" Such a compass as this which the Lord vouchsafed to Nephi, would be invaluable now in the hands of the searchers for the North Pole. With it in skilful hands, and the needed diligence and faith, they could walk right up to the Pole, and plant the stars and stripes, without further search. And great is the pity that the British government could not have supplied such a valuable instrument to Sir John Franklin, when he undertook his disastrous voyage; and it would have been so serviceable, too, on board the many vessels that were sent out to find him. Instead of wandering all over the ice-covered seas in

their search, it could have led them right up to where he and his famishing crew were perishing. Oh, why did not these ancient people think to place that invaluable compass in the stone box with the Urim and Thummim and Laban's sword? or, if there, why was it not delivered to Joseph by the messenger? Let us hope that it may yet be found somewhere about Cumorah hill.

CHAPTER IX.

EXAMINATION CONTINUED.

A Story for Ship-builders—A Year's Voyage—Eight Wonderful Barges—An Electric Light—The Land of Promise—War a Pastime—A Great Battle—Words of Isaiah—Beasts in the Promised Land—Remarkable Translation.

It is Ether, the historian of the Jaredites, who informs us how the Jared family, after escaping from the "confounding of language" at the Tower of Babel, finally reached these shores. It was a remarkable voyage. Navigators, and, indeed, all who go down to the sea in ships, will be interested in it, and may gain from it some valuable knowledge pertaining to their perilous calling. It is lengthy, and we omit the unimportant portions, retaining the main facts. Jared and his brethren had reached the sea, "and they called the name of the place Moriancumer," and there they dwelt in their tents for the space of four years. But this was not to be their abiding place. Turn to page 542 of the first edition and read the wonderful story:

"And the Lord said, Go to work and build, after the manner of barges which ye have hitherto built.

And it came to pass that the brother of Jared did go to work, and also his brethren, and built barges after the manner which they had built, according to the instructions of the Lord. And they were small, and they were light upon the water, even like unto the lightness of a fowl upon the water; and they were built after a manner that they were exceeding tight, even that they would hold water like unto a dish; and the bottom thereof was tight like unto a dish; and the sides thereof was tight like unto a dish; and the length thereof was the length of a tree; and the door thereof, when it was shut, was tight like unto a dish. And it came to pass that the brother of Jared cried unto the Lord, saying: O, Lord, I have performed the work which thou hast commanded me, and I have made the barges according as thou hast directed me. And behold, O Lord, in them there is no light, whither shall we steer.—And also we shall perish, for in them we cannot breathe, save it is the air which is in them; therefore, we shall perish. And the Lord said unto the brother of Jared, Behold, thou shalt make a hole in the top thereof, and also in the bottom thereof; and when thou shalt suffer for air, thou shalt unstop the hole thereof, and receive air. And if it so be that the water come in upon thee, behold, ye shall stop the hole thereof, that ye may not perish in the flood. And it came to pass that the brother of Jared did so, according as the Lord had commanded. And he cried again unto the Lord, saying, O Lord, behold I have done as thou hast commanded me; and I have prepared the vessels for my people, and behold, there is no light in them. Behold, O Lord, wilt thou suffer that we shall cross this great water in darkness? And the Lord said unto the brother of Jared, What will ye that I should do that ye may have light in your vessels? For behold, ye cannot have windows,

for they will be dashed in pieces; neither shall ye take fire with you, for ye shall not go by the light of fire; for behold, ye shall be as a whale in the midst of the sea; for the mountain waves shall dash upon you. Nevertheless, I will bring you up again out of the depths of the sea; for the winds have gone forth out of my mouth, and also the rains and the floods have I sent forth. And behold, I prepare you against these things: for howbeit, ye cannot cross this great deep, save I prepare ye against the waves of the sea, and the winds which have gone forth, and the floods which shall come. Therefore, what will ye that I should prepare for you, that ye may have light, when ye are swallowed up in the depths of the sea?

"And it came to pass that the brother of Jared, (now the number of the vessels which had been prepared was eight,) went forth unto the mount, which they called the mount Shelem, because of its exceeding height, and did moulten out of a rock sixteen small stones; and they were white and clear, even as transparent glass; and he did carry them in his hands upon top of the mount, and cried again unto the Lord, saying, O Lord, thou hast said that we must be encompassed about by the floods; . . . but behold these things which I have moulten out of the rock. And I know, O Lord, that thou hast all power, and can do whatsoever thou wilt for the benefit of man; therefore touch these stones, O Lord, with thy finger, and prepare them that they may shine forth in darkness; and they shall shine forth unto us in the vessels which we have prepared, that we may have light while we shall cross the sea. Behold, O Lord, thou canst do this. We know that thou art able to shew forth great power, which looks small unto the understanding of men. And it came to pass that when the brother of Jared had said these words, behold, the Lord stretched forth

his hand and touched the stones, one by one, with his finger; and the veil was taken off the eyes of the brother of Jared, and he saw the finger of the Lord; . . .

"For it came to pass after that the Lord had prepared the stones which the brother of Jared had carried up into the mount, the brother of Jared came down out of the mount, and he did put forth the stones into the vessels which were prepared, one in each end thereof; and behold, they did give light unto the vessels thereof. And thus the Lord caused the stones to shine in darkness, to give light unto men, women and children, that they might not cross the great waters in darkness.

"And it came to pass that when they had prepared all manner of food, that thereby they might subsist upon the water, and also food for their flocks and herds, and whatsoever beast, or animal, or fowl, that they should carry with them: And it came to pass that when they had done all these things, they got aboard their vessels or barges, and set forth into the sea, commending themselves unto the Lord their God. And it came to pass that the Lord caused that there should a furious wind blow upon the face of the waters, towards the promised land; and thus they were tossed upon the waves of the sea before the wind. And it came to pass that they were many times buried in the depths of the sea, because of the mountain waves which broke upon them, and also the great and terrible tempests which were caused by the fierceness of the wind:

"And it came to pass that when they were buried in the deep, there was no water that could hurt them, their vessels being tight like unto a dish, and also they were tight like unto the ark of Noah; therefore, when they were encompassed about by many waters, they did cry unto the Lord, and He did bring them forth again upon the top of the

waters. And it came to pass that the wind did never cease to blow towards the promised land, while they were upon the waters: and thus they were driven forth before the wind; and they did sing praises unto the Lord; yea, the brother of Jared did sing praises unto the Lord, and he did thank and praise the Lord all the day long; and when the night came, they did not cease to praise the Lord. And thus they were driven forth; and no monster of the sea could break them, neither whale that could mar them; and they did have light continually, whether it was above the water or under the water. And thus they were driven forth, three hundred and forty and four days upon the water, and they did land upon the shore of the promised land."

The historian has not informed us how many persons composed the company in this remarkable voyage. There must have been several, though, to properly man each of the vessels. And let us pause to contemplate these eight wonderfully constructed barges, on their adventurous voyages. All built alike—light like a fowl, long as a tree, tight like a dish; all provided with holes in bottom and top, and lighted with those transparent stones which the sagacious brother of Jared "did moulten" out of a rock. All laden, too, with "whatsoever beast, or animal, or fowl, that they should carry with them," and with "all manner of food" necessary for a year's voyage. They start together before a furious wind, and after nearly a year, land together without so much as one being lost. No monster of the

deep hurt them; no whale marred them! Sometimes riding on top of the waves, sometimes engulfed beneath them, the ever-watchful brother of Jared is ready in one barge, plug in hand, to stop and unstop the holes, as occasion may require, to shut out the water, or to give his crew and passengers another sniff of air. Who performed that important service in the remaining seven barges is not stated.

These vessels, it will be observed, were provided with no propelling power, no steering apparatus, no compass. The instrument used by Nephi and his father, centuries after, had not yet been invented. But they did not need any of these things, for a furious wind blew steadily for the space of a year directly toward the promised land!

And now that these refugees from the Tower are safely landed on these shores, let us turn to page 572 of the same book, and learn of some of the deeds of their descendants here. War seems to have been the main business and pastime of these people through all the long centuries of their existence in their western home. And when they did fight, they fought to kill. Here is an account of one of the greatest battles ever fought since the world began, certainly the most sanguinary ever fought on this continent. Talk of the wars of Napoleon, of the Cæsars, of Alexander; talk of the battle of Water-

loo, of Olmutz, of Sevastopol—they dwindle into insignificance when contrasted with the struggle between the two great heroes, Shiz and Coriantumr. They had already fought till Coriantumr computed a loss of "two millions of mighty men, and also their wives and children." If Shiz had lost as many, the total number would not fall short of fifteen to twenty millions of souls. So they had now become highly incensed and prepared to go at it in earnest:

"It came to pass that Ether did behold all the doings of the people; and he beheld that the people which were for Coriantumr were gathered together to the army of Coriantumr, and the people which were for Shiz were gathered together to the army of Shiz; wherefore, they were for the space of four years gathering together the people, that they might get all which were upon the face of the land, and that they might receive all the strength which it were possible that they could receive. And it came to pass that when they were all gathered together, every one to the army which he would, with their wives and their children; both men, women, and children being armed with weapons of war, having shields, and breast-plates, and head-plates, and being clothed after the manner of war, they did march forth, one against another, to battle; and they fought all that day, and conquered not."

Men, women, and children, all armed and panoplied, going forth to battle! And it proved to be a nine days' fight; for "on the morrow" they went at it again, and the next, and the next, to the sixth day, when, a count being made, it was found

"they had all fallen by the sword, save it were fifty and two of the people of Coriantumr, and sixty and nine of the people of Shiz." Then another day's fight and another count. At the end of this day Shiz had thirty-two left and Coriantumr twenty-seven. The following day it was fight and flight; but "on the morrow," which was the ninth, after a fierce and day-long struggle, only the two gritty commanders were left to face each other. And they were about as good as dead, for Shiz fainted with the loss of blood, and Coriantumr was greatly exhausted. Savage fellows! they should now have shaken hands, and given up the contest; but no, for

"It came to pass that when Coriantumr had leaned upon his sword, that he rested a little, he smote off the head of Shiz. And it came to pass that after he had smote off the head of Shiz, that Shiz raised upon his hands and fell; and after that he had struggled for breath, he died. And it came to pass that Coriantumr fell to the earth, and became as if he had no life."

And Ether finished his record, and hid it in a way that the "people of Limhi did find it; and it was buried again, and Joseph Smith, Junior, dug it up, and with it enlightened and saved the world"!

Going back to Lehi and Nephi again: after they had ended the voyage in which the compass

had rendered them such valuable service, and brought them to this land of promise, they found here

"Beasts in the forests of every kind, both the cow, and the ox, and the ass, and the horse, and the goat, and the wild goat, and all manner of wild animals, which were for the use of men."

It is known that horses were introduced into America since its discovery by Europeans, and as to oxen, *they are not supposed to be indigenous in any country!* In other parts of the work, sheep and swine are alluded to as being common here; none of which, our historical writers agree, were here until after the discovery of the country by Columbus. "Cureloms" and "cumons" are also mentioned; they were probably here, and are not known to have existed anywhere else, and are now extinct.

But with all its foolishness and glaring absurdities, it will not do to say there is no good in this *Book of Mormon.* There is in it a great deal of good doctrine, and precept, and instruction, and many sublime thoughts. But all, or nearly so, of these, are direct and palpable plagiarisms from the Scriptures and other works. The nonsense is original; and the two are combined in such an unskilful way, as to make it, as a whole, a piece of ridiculous absurdity. Besides numerous detached texts and phrases from the Bible, several whole

chapters are copied. A number of these chapters are from the Prophet Isaiah. On page 86, first edition, Nephi is made to say:

"And now I, Nephi, write more of the words of Isaiah, for my soul delighteth in his words."

Then he quotes continuously from the beginning of chapter second to the end of chapter fourteen, *verbatim* from the book of Isaiah. The inquiry naturally arises, How could Nephi, here in America, in the reign of Zedekiah, King of Judah, be able to quote from the writings of Isaiah in Jerusalem? Ah! we must not forget: the plates which Lehi's sons stole from Jerusalem, after murdering their owner, Laban, contained these prophecies of Isaiah, and those they had with them in America. But another difficulty arises: Laban's plates were written in Hebrew (or were they in "Reformed Egyptian?"—no matter); in either case is it not queer that when rendering them into English, they should happen to coincide, word for word, sentence by sentence, with the King James translation? Such a feat in translation was never before performed since the world began. Three hundred years ago a number of the learned men of Europe are set to work to translate the Holy Scriptures, from the Hebrew, from the Greek, from any language in which they were to be found; and they produce the version now commonly in use, and known as the

King James version. In 1829–30 Joseph Smith translates certain of these chapters from what he calls the Reformed Egyptian tongue, on plates dug up from the ground in New York, where they had lain thirteen hundred years, themselves a translation from the Hebrew, and "lo and behold," these translations perfectly correspond! And yet there are thousands who see in this a strong proof of Joe Smith's divine mission!

Many pages might be written, filled with instances of the senseless, ridiculous, incongruous, and blasphemous character of the work. But the foregoing are sufficient to show that such a work could never have been sent as a Message from God to man.

CHAPTER X.

REVIEW CONTINUED.

TESTIMONY OF THREE WITNESSES—ALSO OF EIGHT WITNESSES—"WHAT MORE NEED BE SAID?"—DEATH TO BEHOLD THE PLATES—A BOX OF BRICKBATS—TESTIMONY ANALYZED—SMITH'S "IPSE DIXIT"—COLLUSION OR DECEPTION—TESTIMONY INVALID—STRANG'S FAILURE—LABAN'S SWORD AND LEHI'S DIRECTORS.

WE have now shown this *Book of Mormon* to be utterly valueless as a revelation to mankind; to be puerile, absurd, inconsistent, false, and blasphemous. It does not contain within its lids one known historical or scientific fact, one valuable religious or moral maxim, one elevating or ennobling thought, not to be found elsewhere, promulgated long before its framers had existence.

Let us next consider the testimony and the means and methods by which it is attempted to palm it upon the world. The fact of its unworthiness alone, however, ought to be conclusive against it. The Almighty could not, by extraordinary or any other means, communicate to mankind an unworthy message.

A story to be believed, must, 1, Be reasonable; 2, Must agree in its several parts; 3, Must com-

port with well-known facts; and, 4, Must keep nothing back. A departure from any of these is *prima facie* evidence of its falsity. This story, told by Smith and those who vouch for him, is a departure from ALL these conditions. His own testimony has been given in a previous chapter. It is attempted to be supported by that of eleven witnesses —three in one certificate, and eight in another. The three certify as follows:

THE TESTIMONY OF THREE WITNESSES.

Be it known unto all nations, kindreds, tongues, and people, unto whom this work shall come, that we, through the grace of God, the Father, and our Lord, Jesus Christ, have seen the plates which contain this record, which is a record of the people of Nephi, and also of the Lamanites, his brethren, and also of the people of Jared, which came from the tower of which hath been spoken; and we also know that they have been translated by the gift and power of God, for his voice hath declared it unto us; wherefore we know of a surety, that the work is true. And we also testify that we have seen the engravings which are upon the plates; and they have been shown unto us by the power of God and not of man. And we declare with words of soberness, that an angel of God came down from heaven, and he brought and laid before our eyes, that we beheld and saw the plates and the engravings thereon; and we know that it is by the grace of God, the Father, and our Lord, Jesus Christ, that we beheld and bear record that these things are true; and it is marvellous in our eyes. Nevertheless, the voice of the Lord commanded us that we should bear record of it; wherefore, to be obedient unto

the commandments of God, we bear testimony of these things. And we know that if we are faithful in Christ, we shall rid our garments of the blood of all men, and be found spotless before the judgment seat of Christ, and shall dwell with him eternally in the heavens. And the honor be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, which is one God. Amen.

OLIVER COWDERY,
DAVID WHITMER,
MARTIN HARRIS.

(No date.)

The reader will note the names of these three witnesses. Then follows:

AND ALSO THE TESTIMONY OF EIGHT WITNESSES.

Be it known unto all nations, kindreds, tongues, and people, unto whom this work shall come, that Joseph Smith, Jr., the author and proprietor of this work, has shewn unto us the plates of which hath been spoken, which have the appearance of gold; and as many of the leaves as the said Smith has translated, we did handle with our hands; and we also saw the engravings thereon, all of which has the appearance of ancient work, and of curious workmanship. And thus we bear record, with words of soberness, that the said Smith has shewn unto us, for we have seen and hefted, and know of a surety that the said Smith has got the plates of which we have spoken. And we give our names unto the world to witness unto the world that which we have seen: and we lie not, God bearing witness of it.

CHRISTIAN WHITMER, HIRAM PAGE,
JACOB WHITMER, JOSEPH SMITH, SR.,
PETER WHITMER, JR., HYRUM SMITH,
JOHN WHITMER, SAMUEL H. SMITH.

(No date.)



MARTIN HARRIS.



OLIVER COWDERY.



DAVID WHITMER.

THE THREE WITNESSES.

"What more need be said?" triumphantly exclaims the editor of the *Deseret News*, after quoting these testimonials. *Much* more may be said. The first inquiry one would be likely to make after reading them and hearing Smith's story for the first time, would be—Why should Smith resort to supernatural means to prove the truth of the story, when ample natural means were at hand? Why should he call in the angels to convince the world that he had the plates, when it was only necessary to exhibit them openly to the people, to convince them? There were hundreds of people about Palmyra, and thousands in the near cities and towns, certainly quite as respectable and truth-loving as these eleven witnesses, who would have been glad to testify of the fact, without angels' aid, had they been allowed the opportunity. And they would as gladly have aided with their means, to have the plates properly translated and published, trusting to the common-sense of mankind to judge of their value. Yet he studiously avoided exhibiting them to any one, learned or unlearned, on the miserable pretence that it would be death for any one to behold them. Why did not the eleven fall dead at the terrible sight, instead of living, to be afterwards denounced as liars and scoundrels by the prophet, and "given over to the buffetings of the Devil," as the chiefest among them were? Carefully shut in a box and

covered with a cloth, was his mode of showing them to his associates. And the story is told about Palmyra, that two men, by a bold manœuvre, did obtain a sight of what was beneath the cloth. They prevailed upon him to remove the lid of the box, when one of them, in his impetuosity, and remembering the death penalty, exclaimed, "Egad, I'll see the critter, live or die!" and snatching off the cloth, disclosed—a LARGE BRICKBAT! And the sight didn't kill him, either. The testimony of these two men should have been added to the other testimonials. They saw it with their natural eyes, and their testimony could have been believed.

To analyze the statements of these eleven witnesses: The first three assert that they (together apparently) were shown the plates containing the record; that they had seen the engravings thereon; *that this book is a correct translation thereof*, and that it is true. How did they know all this? By the grace of God, and because an angel told them so. How did they know it was the voice of God and an angel? Because Joseph Smith said so. How did Joseph Smith know? Because a messenger from heaven revealed it to him in a vision; and because the prophets foretold, in this same record, that another Joseph should bring it to light, and that three witnesses should testify thereof! So all this array of testimony is based on his *ipse dixit*

alone; evidently so, also, from statements in his autobiography, and from more than one of his pretended revelations, to which we shall presently refer. The eight certify that the plates were shown them, not by an angel, but by Smith himself, and that they had handled and "hefted" them—whether in a box and covered, they do not say—and further, that he was "author and proprietor" of the work. Those eleven must have been very "knowing" men.

These certificates are both evidently emanations from Smith's own mind—in the same style and partly in the same language. And one of them is subsequently altered, long after signature and after the publication of the book, to make it conform to the new claim that he was only the "translator," and not the "author and proprietor."

Who are these eleven witnesses, and had they any incentives to make these testimonials? Being without date, we must guess at the period they were written, but it was evidently after Smith had decided to make a book, and intended these testimonials as aids to give it circulation. All of them, except Harris and Page, belonged to the two families of Smith and Whitmer—five of the latter and three of the former—Cowdery's wife being also a Whitmer. Nearly all of them had a pecuniary interest in the success of the venture. Cowdery

and Harris had each been the amanuensis of the prophet during the translation, and the elder Whitmer had boarded him, and they were his creditors to that amount. Besides this, Harris had already given him fifty dollars, and was the capitalist to foot the printer's bill of three thousand dollars. The circumstances strongly suggest collusion, but it is unimportant whether they signed the papers knowing their falsity, or did so as the result of a too implicit reliance on Smith's word.

Again, is it not a fair presumption that Mrs. Smith would have seen or known something positive about those plates, had there been any? Yet numerous persons have testified that she always denied having seen them, and declared that she knew no more about them than others. She had seen and handled a box, said by her husband to contain them; but had not taken interest enough to look into it. Can it be possible, under this state of facts, that Mrs. Emma Hale Smith believed that box contained golden plates worth thousands of dollars in value, and carried in living characters a message from heaven to earth, that was to work the redemption of mankind; and that her husband was a chosen instrument in the hands of God to effect that redemption? No, it is no stretch of imagination to believe that Emma Smith went to her grave believing—not that Joseph Smith was a

"Prophet, Seer, and Revelator"—but that he was instead an arrant fraud and imposter.

Mormon writers assert that the testimony of the eleven witnesses would be strong enough to substantiate the claim "in any court of justice on earth." So far from this being true, it is just such testimony as would be thrown out of any court, in accordance with well established rules of evidence. Nor do the Mormons themselves always accept such testimony. James J. Strang, at a later day one of the faithful, tried a similar game at Vorce, Wisconsin, but failed to obtain any considerable following. His plates and translation were witnessed by four persons. Perhaps if he had introduced angels and fighting devils into his story, and another Urim and Thummim, and another assassin's sword, he might have gained the ears of more of his brethren. But he introduced only human witnesses and natural means, and failed. It is the marvellous and impossible only that can give credence in some minds.

We have shown that the testimony of these eleven witnesses was but the *ipse dixit* of Smith himself. We will now turn to his book of revelations, the *Doctrine and Covenants*, and see what he says about it. In March, 1829, while this pretended translation was going forward, or about the time of its close, and the approach of the day when

the three thousand dollars must be forthcoming, Martin Harris very naturally became anxious for further evidence, and was brought to silence and obedience with the following revelation:

"Behold, I say unto you, that as my servant, Martin Harris, has desired a witness at my hand, that you, my servant, Joseph Smith, Jr., have got the plates of which you have testified and borne record that you have received of me; and now, behold, this shall you say unto him, He who spake unto you said unto you, I, the Lord, am God, and have given these things unto you, my servant, Joseph Smith, Jr., and have commanded you that you should stand as a witness of these things, and I have caused you that you should enter into a covenant with me, that you should not show them except to those persons to whom I commanded you, and you have no power over them except I grant it unto you. And you have a gift to translate the plates, etc. . . . And that he shall say unto the people of this generation, behold, I have seen the things which the Lord has shown unto Joseph Smith, Jr., and I know of a surety that they are true, for I have seen them; for they have been shown unto me by the power of God, and not of man."—*Doc. and Cov.*, pp. 69-70, Plano edition.

The English of this is, in short, that Smith informs Harris that the Lord requires him to lie about having seen the plates, and it appears that he accepted the message, and did so.

Again, same edition, page 89:

"REVELATION *given to Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer, and Martin Harris, June, 1829, previous to their viewing the plates containing the Book of Mormon.*

"Behold I say unto you, that you must rely upon my word, which, if you do with full purpose of heart, you shall have a view of the plates, and also of the breastplate, the sword of Laban, the Urim and Thummim, which were given to the brother of Jared upon the mount, when he talked with the Lord face to face, and the miraculous directors which were given to Lehi while in the wilderness on the borders of the Red Sea; *and it is by your faith that you shall obtain a view of them*, even by that faith which was had by the prophets of old."

And they had faith, for did not Smith tell them they must have? And they did rely upon the Lord's word, for did not Smith tell them it was the word of the Lord? And they did view the plates through faith, for Smith told them the Lord said that was the way it was to be done; and after seeing them through faith, they must testify to their truth. Certainly; these revelations explain the testimony of the eleven witnesses. "What more need be said?"

But why did not these three witnesses tell the whole story? The revelation promised them that they should see not only the plates, but the breastplate, the sword of Laban, the Urim and Thummim, and Lehi's directors; yet they only tell of seeing the plates.

The instruments used by Jared and his brother, and by Lehi, in crossing the sea, have heretofore been alluded to in these pages; but the sword of Laban has not. This sword, it will be remembered by readers of the *Book of Mormon*, belonged to Laban, a friend of Lehi, who remained at Jerusalem. After leaving that city and journeying some time in the wilderness, Lehi bethought him of some plates that Laban had, containing much genealogical and other Jewish history, and he coveted them. So he sent his sons back to obtain them; but Laban refused to give them up, and the boys slew him with his own sword, and stealing the plates and the sword, made their way back unmolested to their kind-hearted father. Those stolen plates, and that sword, with the stain of assassination on its blade, are a part of the relics which the Lord had handed down from father to son through many generations—to be dug out of Cumorah hill, and testified of by these three witnesses; and they failed to do it at last!

CHAPTER XI.

FURTHER REVELATIONS AND LABORS.

THE WORLD'S REDEMPTION AT HAND—HARRIS OBSTINATE, BUT YIELDS—HE SEES MONEY IN IT—REVELATIONS CONTINUE—CHURCH DISCIPLINE—SIDNEY RIGDON'S HAND MANIFEST—A NEW STATEMENT CONCERNING HIM—CHURCH ORGANIZED—CALVIN STODDARD'S CONVERSION—"SUPPORT" FOR THE PROPHET—NO. 1 PROVIDED FOR—THE ELECT LADY—RIGDON CONVERTED—TAKES HIGH RANK—PARLEY P. PRATT—ZION ESTABLISHED—FANATICAL EXCESSES—SMITH AND COWDERY BAPTIZED.

WE have thus far seen the plates taken from their long repose in the hill of Cumorah, carried about in a box by the young prophet, after three years translated, their authenticity and truthfulness vouched for, and the copyright of a book obtained; and now the work is ready to be issued for the redemption of the world. But it cost something in those days, as well as now, to print books; and where was the money to come from to pay for the edition of five thousand copies, deemed necessary to begin with? None of the Smiths and none of the Whitmers, with Cowdery and Page to help, were in a financial condition sufficiently prosperous to meet the requirement. Martin Harris was the only camel that was known to be able to carry the

heavy burden; but he was not yet quite willing to kneel down and receive the load. Yet he thought he could see money in the venture. He was told that the retail price for the book had been fixed by divine authority at $1.25 per copy, cheap enough for so valuable a message, and as everybody would be keen to purchase, there must be a fortune in the enterprise. He figured thus: "$1.25 X 5,000= $6,250; cost $3,000; profit $3,250, not taking into account the large sums to be obtained on future editions.* Still he hesitated and was rebellious; and to add to his own misgivings, he had at home a very heavy weight to hold him back, in the person of his more cautious wife. But the prophet was equal to the emergency, and brought forth the following to counteract the obstinacy of his dupe:

"A Commandment of God, and not of man, to Martin Harris, given (Manchester, N. Y., March, 1830) by Him who is eternal."

It was designed to be impressive, for Martin's aid *must be secured*. After rebuking and threatening him severely for his disobedience and want of faith, section three reads as follows:

"3. And again I command thee that thou shalt not covet thy neigbor's wife, nor seek thy neighbor's life. And again I command thee that thou

* Of the many editions of the *Book of Mormon* yet published, no one ever heard of Martin Harris or his heirs receiving any perquisites. So the venture proved to be not so great a speculation as he imagined.

shalt not covet thine own property, *but impart it freely to the printing of the Book of Mormon*, which contains the truth and the word of God, which is my word to the gentiles, that soon it may go to the Jew, of whom the Lamanites are a remnant, that they may believe the gospel, and look not for a Messiah to come, who has already come."

He was then asked:

"Behold, canst thou read this without rejoicing and lifting up thy heart for gladness?"

Subsequent events proved that Mr. Harris had yet some misgivings as to the condition of his heart, yet he surrendered; the farm was mortgaged, and the printing paid for.

About this period several revelations were obtained, giving directions as to creed, church polity, and discipline. In these revelations the hand of Sidney Rigdon is conspicuously manifest, although Mormon chronology places his advent among them at some months' later period. This fact strongly confirms the belief that Mr. Rigdon was through the whole a prime actor and mover, behind the scenes, if not the real instigator. In such case, these church affairs must have been subsequently fixed up and ante-dated to suit the occasion.

Mr. Tucker, in his work on Mormonism, mentions a "mysterious stranger" who was, on several occasions, seen about the Smith residence, during the days that the prophet and Cowdery were engaged in the translation. Of this we had not, until

lately, been able to obtain any proof, but now have positive testimony on the subject. Under date of January 19, 1885, a gentleman of undoubted character for veracity, now resident of a western state, but who was in the early days of Mormonism residing at Palmyra, and well acquainted with the Smith family, informs us that he saw said Rigdon there at three different dates: once in the spring of 1827, once in the fall of the same year, and again in the summer of 1828; that he was told by a member of the Smith family that it was "Sidney Rigdon, a friend of Joseph's from Pennsylvania." He also informs us that Oliver Cowdery came there from Kirtland, Ohio, in the summer of 1826, and in the autumn took a school in the district in which the Smiths lived; that he came again the next year, and taking the school, taught about a week, when he resigned, and went to writing for the prophet.

These statements concerning Rigdon and Cowdery throw a flood of light on the early history of the fraud, and they explain the dilemma which occurred during the translation and loss of the 116 pages of manuscript by Martin's disobedience. Rigdon had to be consulted; and he was in Ohio, several hundred miles away. Hence the seven months' interruption and delay.

On April 6, 1830, the "Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints" was organized, with a mem-

bership of about thirty persons, says Smith; and on that day Smith obtained a revelation investing him with the titles of "Seer," "Translator," "Prophet," "Apostle of Jesus Christ," and constituting him also an "Elder in the Church." And the SIXTH OF APRIL, not the first, as it should have been, has been the holy day of the Saints ever since, among all its branches; and on that day annually the great Conference meetings are held. Among the thirty persons composing the original church, were all the Smiths, all the Whitmers, with Cowdery, and Harris, and Page, and Calvin Stoddard, whose wife was also a Smith.

A ludicrous account of the conversion of Stoddard is told by Hon. Stephen S. Harding, subsequently a judge in Indiana, and at one time one of the many Governors of Utah Territory. Mr. Harding was a wild, fun-loving boy of eighteen about Palmyra, and knowing Stoddard's peculiarities, decided on a bit of sport. So, repairing to Stoddard's residence late one night, he awoke the sleeper by three raps upon the door, and then in a loud and solemn voice proclaimed:

"Cal-vin Stod-dard! Cal-vin Stod-dard! the an-gel of the Lord com-mands that be-fore an-o-ther go-ing down of the sun, thou shalt go forth a-mong the peo-ple and preach the gos-pel of Ne-phi, or thy wife shall be a wid-ow, thy chil-dren or-phans, and thy ash-es scat-ter-ed to the four winds of heav-en."

The result was rather more dramatic than the young scapegrace anticipated. He had no sooner closed, than he heard Stoddard out on the floor, in great excitement, promising obedience to the divine requirement; and he was out the next morning among his associates, reporting how, amid the thunders of heaven, he had had a call to the new dispensation.* And it is believed that he remained faithful to the last; he was with his people at Nauvoo, and died near that city. To the credit of young Harding, it may be added, that he afterwards endeavored to undo the evil he had done, by suggesting to Mr. Stoddard that it might have been a trick. But his effort was of no avail; the delusion was too strong to be overcome.

In July, 1830, another church or two had been organized in the neighborhood; and during that month Smith announced another revelation that they should support him, and promising them "a cursing instead of a blessing," if they failed to comply. "For thou shalt devote all thy service to Zion." It also provided that no debt should be collected from him, for "whosoever shall go to law with thee, shall be cursed by the law."

". . . And thou shalt take no purse, nor scrip, neither staves, neither two coats, for the Church shall give unto thee in the very hour what thou

* Tucker's History.

needest for food, and for raiment, and for shoes, and for money, and for scrip."

Thus early was NUMBER ONE provided for.

Another revelation conciliates Emma, the wife, who still had her doubts; doubts, which it is believed, were never dispelled during her whole lifetime. It called her the "Elect Lady," and promised her employment in compiling a book of hymns. One revelation, September, 1830, states that John the Baptist is sent to Smith and Cowdery to ordain them. In referring to the autobiography, we find the following blasphemous statement of that transaction:

"While we were thus employed [out in the woods praying], praying and calling upon the Lord, a messenger from heaven descended in a cloud of light, and having laid his hands upon us, he ordained us, saying unto us, 'Upon you my fellow-servants, in the name of Messiah, I confer the priesthood of Aaron, which holds the keys of the ministering of angels, and of the gospel of repentance, and of baptism by immersion, for the remission of sins, and this shall never again be taken from the earth, until the sons of Levi do offer again an offering unto the Lord in righteousness.' . . . Accordingly we went and were baptized, I baptized him first, and afterwards he baptized me. . . . No sooner had I baptized Oliver Cowdery, than the Holy Ghost fell upon him. . . . And again, so soon as I had been baptized by him, I also had the spirit of prophecy, etc. . . . The messenger who visited us on this occasion, and conferred this priesthood upon us, said his name was

John, the same that is called John the Baptist in the New Testament, and that he acted under the direction of Peter, James, and John, who held the keys of the priesthood of Melchizadeck, etc."—*Times and Seasons*, vol. iii. 866.

There was also a revelation, in September, to Oliver Cowdery, assigning him to the duty of preaching the gospel to the Lamanites. The same revelation announces that Smith shall be appointed to preside over the Conference about to be held; but that the choice is to be made "by the voice of it." Cowdery is supposed to have had some aspirations for the honor, but is thus forestalled. The revelation also requires Cowdery to take Hiram Page aside and tell him that those things which he (Page) "hath written from that stone are not of me, and Satan deceiveth him." Page had become ambitious to be a seer also, and had supplied himself with a white stone for the purpose. Such a thing could not be permitted under the new dispensation. A month later another revelation came, commanding that Parley P. Pratt, Peter Whitmer, Jr., and Ziba Peterson should accompany Cowdery to the conversion of the Lamanites.

In obedience to this command, the four accordingly start to hunt up the Lamanites, those modern Jewish-American Indians, to whom this new gospel is specially sent, but so far has never reached. It will be remembered that in 1830 there were still

numbers of Indians in their own State of New York and other near points, yet these missionaries were deputed to the unsettled regions west of Missouri, in the then known Indian Territory, a thousand miles away. On their way, under the guidance of Cowdery and Pratt, they were *providentially* brought to the home of Sidney Rigdon, at Mentor, Ohio. With difficulty they pressed upon him a copy of the New Revelation, which he very decidedly, and more truthfully pronounced "a silly fabrication," a judgment, the correctness of which, it is believed, none knew better than he. But in a few days it converted him, and he became henceforth a noted and talented leader among them, taking rank always as second in position. Cowdery, the faithful scribe, the voluble Pratt, Harris, the banker, David Whitmer, and "brother Hyrum" even, all had to stand aside and allow Rigdon the first place by the prophet's side. He was probably the best qualified to maintain that position. He had a fair education, and was a fluent speaker. He had been a disciple of Alexander Campbell, the brilliant founder of the sect then known in that region as "New Lights," or "Campbellites." There was a congregation at Kirtland composed mostly, it is stated, of dissenters from other churches, and also from the Campbellites, who, having some no-

tions peculiar to themselves, had formed an independent organization. Of this church Mr. Rigdon was serving as pastor, when these emissaries to the Lamanites arrived. Many of these followed Rigdon.

This accession at Kirtland greatly strengthened the band. Rigdon early repaired to Smith in New York, and received a revelation promising great things for him, and that he was to write, while Joseph was to prophesy. And soon, doubtless under the inspiration of the new convert, another revelation came, that they should "remove to the Ohio," where the headquarters of the sect—the "Zion" into which they were all to be gathered—was to be located, and which was to remain an everlasting inheritance. Pratt was a resident of Northern Ohio, and is said to have been on the canal in New York when he became converted to Mormonism. He had been a friend and follower of Rigdon.

While Rigdon was gone to Palmyra, and Cowdery and Pratt to the Lamanites on the Missouri border, these Ohio converts fell into many fanatical excesses, pretending to work miracles, heal the sick by laying on of hands, talk in unknown tongues, commune with spirits and with the Saviour, etc. Howe's *Mormonism Unveiled* gives a specimen of a written communication claimed by

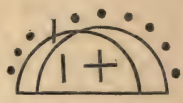


PARLEY P. PRATT.

two of these fanatics to have been obtained from Jesus Christ, and signed by him thus:

Be ye always ready,
Be ye always ready,
Be ye always ready,
} WHEN I SHALL CALL.

My Seal:



The command to establish the headquarters at Kirtland was soon felt in that little village and vicinity. As fast as they were made, proselytes were required to remove thither, and of their substance contribute to the building up of Zion. In January, 1831, this first hint of settling in Ohio was given, but in February and March several revelations followed, referring to the Zion and its place "hereafter to be appointed."

In January we find two revelations, which, as specimens of the Lord's dealings with mankind (according to the New Dispensation), are at least curious and worthy of a place here. James Covill was a convert in New York. For some reason not given, he wanted to go back east, a proposition which Smith did not sanction. After many threatenings and promises, James was directed not to go to the east, "but thou art called to go to the Ohio." Covill, however, disobeyed, and did go

east. The next revelation is to Joseph Smith, Jr., and Sidney Rigdon, and being short, is copied entire:

"REVELATION *to Joseph Smith, Jr., and Sidney Rigdon, given January, 1831, explaining why James Covill obeyed not the revelation given unto him.*

"1. Behold, verily I say unto you, that the heart of my servant, James Covill, was right before me, for he covenanted with me that he would obey my word. And he received the word with gladness, but straightway Satan tempted him; and the fear of persecution, and the cares of the world, caused him to reject the word; wherefore he broke my covenant, and it remaineth with me now to do with him as seemeth me good. Amen."

And that is the whole of it, amounting to this: that the Lord, fearing the prophet and his vicegerent might be offended with him for permitting Covill to act so, deemed it necessary to explain, showing that it was not his fault, but that Satan alone was to blame. Whether the explanation was received as satisfactory, we are left in doubt. These revelations are numbered sections 39 and 40, *Doctrine and Covenants*, Plano Edition.

Revelation 41 provides that "my servant, Joseph Smith, Jr., shall have a house built in which to live and translate." Sidney was left unprovided for, but "should live as seemeth him good." Many of the revelations of this period are promulgated chiefly for the purpose of binding the faith-

ful into more complete subjection to the priestly power of these two men. And the plan was most wonderfully successful. Thus, daily and continually, in less than two years from the organization of that band, in charming irony miscalled a church, was being built up that terrible and gigantic despotism, which to-day rules in Utah, and holds in abject servitude the bodies and souls of more than a hundred thousand human beings.

One revelation, enumerating the duties of the brethren toward each other and the Church, prescribes that "if thou obtainest more than that which would be for thy support, thou shalt give it unto my store-house." No getting rich allowed; no provision for a rainy day, even; all beyond what is needed for present support is to go to the Lord's store-house. And this is the beginning of that stupendous tithing system, which, in Kirtland, in Missouri, in Illinois, and since in Utah, has ground from the property and labor of the faithful, the millions of treasure which have for half a century been lavished upon unfinished temples, and in pampering scores of priestly leaders.

A revelation, dated March 7, 1831, looks toward the building of Zion in Western Missouri, though the exact location is not specified; notwithstanding a former one had located it at Kirtland, and a

temple was already in process of erection there. Section 12 says:

"Wherefore, I, the Lord, have said, gather ye out from the Eastern lands, assemble ye yourselves together, ye elders of my Church; go ye forth into the Western countries, . . . gather up your riches that ye may purchase an inheritance which shall hereafter be appointed unto you, and it shall be called the New Jerusalem, a place of safety, a city of refuge, for the Saints of the most high God; and the glory of the Lord shall be there, inasmuch, that the wicked will not come into it; and it shall be called Zion. And there shall be gathered into it out of every nation under heaven," etc., etc.

The projection of every temple—the first in Ohio, more than one in Missouri, that at Nauvoo, and the present rising one at Salt Lake—has been preceded by a revelation commanding it, and making for it similar promises to the foregoing. The firmest and most faithful believers in Smith's divine mission can scarcely affirm that any one of these prophecies has ever been fulfilled.

CHAPTER XII.

STAKE PLANTING.

TRANSLATION OF THE SCRIPTURES—REASONS FOR IT—TRANSLATION SUSPENDED—THE FIRST HEGIRA—COWDERY'S MISSION A FAILURE—THE STAKE AT KIRTLAND—ANOTHER IN MISSOURI—EXPEDITION THITHER—EZRA BOOTH'S SECESSION—ZION LOCATED—AN ORGAN ESTABLISHED—THE EXPULSION—A CRUSADE AND ITS TERMINATION.

TRANSLATION did not cease with the publication of the *Book of Mormon*; for while Sidney was sojourning with the prophet in New York, they were employed in the work of translating the New and Old Testaments. Although Rigdon is known to have assisted in this work, Number One always claimed the honor, and expected the emoluments thereof. Its title is:

"THE HOLY SCRIPTURES, *Translated and Corrected by the Spirit of Revelation, by Joseph Smith, Jr., the Seer.*"

The reasons given in the preface for this "translation," are "that many plain and precious parts" have been taken away from the Bible:

"For behold, they have *taken away* from the gospel of the Lamb, *many parts* which are *plain* and *most precious;* and also *many covenants* of the Lord have been taken away; and all this have they

done, that they might pervert the right ways of the Lord; that they might blind the eyes and harden the hearts of the children of men; wherefore, thou seest that after the book hath gone forth through the hands of the great and abominable church, that there are many plain and precious things taken away from the book, which is the book of the Lamb of God; and after these plain and precious things were taken away, it goeth forth unto all the nations of the Gentiles."—1 *Book of Nephi*, iii. 40—*Book of Mormon*.

We copy from the Plano edition, of 1867, issued and owned by Joseph Smith, I. L. Rogers, and Ebenezer Robinson, Publishing Committee of the Reconstructed Church. The preface states that "this work is given to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, and to the public, in pursuance of the commandment of God;" that the manuscripts, at the prophet's death in 1844, "were left in the hands of his widow, where they remained until the spring of 1866," when they were delivered to the parties above-named, "and are now presented as they came into our hands." This work is claimed to have been done in fulfilment of a revelation given to Joseph Smith in June, 1830, from which the following is an extract. The Lord, in a long address to Moses, in his day, concludes:

"And now, Moses, my son, I will speak unto you, concerning this earth upon which you stand; and you shall write the things which I shall speak. And in a day when the children of men shall esteem

my words as naught, and take many of them from the book which you shall write, behold I will raise up another like unto you, and they shall be had again among the children of men, among even as many as shall believe.

"These words were spoken unto Moses in the mount, the name of which shall not be known among the children of men, and now they are spoken unto you. Amen."

And this is the authority for Joseph Smith's translation of the Holy Scriptures—translation and "correction." Wherever the original is wrong, it is presumed he corrected it. But translated from what? From the original Hebrew and Greek in which they were written? No; but from the plain English version of King James's translators which was common in our prophet's time, and which any sensible school-boy could "translate" as well. The fact is, there is no translation about it, but it is a mere copying, with here and there a change to suit Rigdon's notions of theology.

This translation is evidently a suggestion of Rigdon's. But on December 30, 1830, a revelation was announced, suspending the work "until ye shall go to the Ohio;" and after strengthening up the churches, "especially in Colesville," they were to go to meet Cowdery on his return from the Lamanites.

So, about January 1, 1831, Rigdon returned to his home, and the prophet soon followed. The saints

in New York were ordered by revelation to follow, which they did; and this date may be regarded as the first Mormon Hegira. As was to be expected, Rigdon's conversion to the new faith caused much excitement in the community and regret among his old Campbellite friends; and much controversy ensued. Subsequent Mormon publications show that from a friend he became an implacable enemy, and that he ever afterwards manifested a vindictive spirit toward them.

Meanwhile Cowdery and his associates had found their way to the Missouri border; but on attempting to cross the line of the State into the Indian Territory, now Kansas, were stopped by Indian agents, under the law to prevent the whites from trespassing there. Our missionaries then returned to Independence, and remained during the winter. And the Lamanites have been without the gospel of Nephi unto this day.

Most of the believers in New York and other places east, had, according to command, followed or preceded Smith and Rigdon to Kirtland—some of them to be very much disappointed at the state of affairs there. The return of one of Cowdery's associates, giving a glowing account of the richness and cheapness of the Missouri lands, gave a new turn to affairs, and it was determined to plant a colony there at an early day. Most of the disaf-

fected, accompanied by influential, faithful ones, were selected for that purpose. In accordance with this determination, a revelation was soon forthcoming. The power of the prophet over his deluded followers, even at this early day, is strongly manifested in connection with this revelation. It is dated June, 1831, and designates the followers by name, two by two, who are to take that journey of a thousand miles, which many of them would be compelled to, and did, travel on foot. We give the order of their names, as stated in *Plano* edition, page 167:

"Joseph Smith, Jr., and Sidney Rigdon, Lyman Wight and John Corrill, John Murdock and Hyrum Smith, Thomas B. Marsh and Ezra Thayre, Isaac Morley and Ezra Booth, Edward Partridge and Martin Harris (these last two were to go with Joseph and Sidney), David Whitmer and Harvey Whitlock, Parley P. Pratt and Orson Pratt, Solomon Hancock and Simeon Carter, Edson Fuller and Jacob Scott, Levi Hancock and Zebedee Coltrin, Reynolds Cahoon and Samuel H. Smith, Wheeler Baldwin and William Carter, Newell Knight and Selah J. Griffin."

Two others were sent eastward, in all thirty men —which must have included about one-third of the whole number of the male recruits. They were commanded to go by different routes, and to preach as they went, depending upon the people on the way for food and shelter. How many of these

ever reached their destination is not known; though it is believed most of them did. Many were afterwards actors in the Missouri and Illinois troubles, and some have figured since conspicuously in Utah.

Ezra Booth, one of the above-named, had formerly been a minister in the Methodist Church. He was one of the number to take his staff in hand and travel all the way to Missouri on foot, such was his new-found zeal; and having been a preacher before, he stopped and preached a number of times in the four States through which he passed. This labor somewhat tempered his zeal, however; and he afterwards confessed that he could not preach with the same "freedom" he had done before. Soon after reaching his journey's end, his eyes were opened to see the falsity and folly of the whole thing, and he left them; apostalized, thus subjecting himself, along with Cowdery, Whitmer, Harris, and others, soon afterwards, to the "buffetings of the Devil for a thousand years."

Mr. Booth's account of his experiences in Missouri, and particularly of the tedious trip thither, is interesting, and was published in a Northern Ohio paper. We find it also in Howe's *exposé*. Great things had been promised them when they should reach the border-land, among others that they would find a flourishing church there. They

did find the church, says Mr. Booth, consisting of four women!

This determination to maintain two Zions—one in Kirtland and the other somewhere on the border, in proximity to the Lamanites, did not take definite shape until after the arrival of the leaders of the expedition. Travelling in carriages, and being well equipped for the journey, these leaders arrived on the border and met at Independence in July. So well pleased were they with the prospect and the appearance of the country, that a revelation, dated in Zion, in July (section 57, Plano edition), was obtained at once, declaring:

"Hearken, O ye elders of my Church, saith the Lord your God, who have assembled yourselves together, according to my commandments, in this land which is the land of Missouri, which is the land which I have appointed and consecrated for the gathering of the saints: wherefore this is the land of promise, and the place for the city of Zion. And thus saith the Lord your God, if you will receive wisdom, here is wisdom. Behold the place which is now called Independence, is the center place, and the spot for the temple is lying westward upon a lot which is not far from the court-house; wherefore it is wisdom that the land should be purchased by the Saints; and also every tract lying westward, even unto the line running directly between Jew and Gentile. And also every tract bordering by the prairies, inasmuch as my disciples are enabled to buy lands. Behold this is wisdom, that they may obtain it for an everlasting inheritance."

The "everlasting" of this revelation proved to be of very short duration. Early in August the temple lot was dedicated, the first Missouri conference was held, and soon afterwards the two leaders returned to Ohio.

While in Missouri, it was decided to establish an organ at that place, and W. W. Phelps, who had been previously designated by revelation, was installed as editor, assisted by Oliver Cowdery. Accordingly the publication of *The Morning and Evening Star* was begun. Mr. Phelps was an enthusiast and something of a "crank"; a fair writer, but unstable and unreliable in his conduct, and at times caused considerable trouble among the brethren. He went with the sect to Illinois, and afterwards to Salt Lake, where he died, aged eighty years, in 1872.

Before leaving Independence for Kirtland, the prophet and his co-laborer obtained a revelation for the guidance of the brethren in their absence. If any reader of these pages has believed that the despotism of to-day in Utah transcends that exercised by these two leaders in Missouri, in this second year of Mormonism, we refer him to this revelation, given August, 1831, and some others which follow.

This division of the force into two Zions a thousand miles apart, proved to be a source of trouble

to the leaders. They could not be present at each, to guide and hold in check the followers whose ambition led them to be unruly. Martin Harris, whose money had insured the printing of the *Book of Mormon*, chafed under the indignities that were constantly heaped upon him; Oliver Cowdery and David Whitmer, the two other members of the trio of testifiers to the divine origin of the *Book of Mormon*, left without official superiors in Missouri, also transgressed in some way the behests of the prophet, and were anathematized. The same fate befel several others. Some of these subsequently relented and returned. Harris is believed to have been one of the latter, and to have died in the faith. Cowdery removed to Tiffin, Ohio, and settled in the practice of law, and became a prominent Democratic politician. He died in Missouri, as is claimed by Mormon authority, while on his way to Salt Lake, to again unite his fortune with the sect he had for so many years deserted. Whitmer was still living in 1887, near the deserted Missouri Zion, but occupying in his old age an anomalous position: that of maintaining the correctness of his early testimony, while holding himself aloof from the sect, and characterizing the prophet and his vicegerent as bad men, and organizers of the "Danite Band," or "Destroying Angels."

The years 1832, 1833, and 1834, were periods

of great activity, much strife, and some apostasy, in each of the two Zions, and the two leaders were kept busy in controlling the discordant elements. The Stake at Independence grew amazingly; lands and town-lots were taken, improved, and built upon. But there, as everywhere else, before and since, the presence of these people was obnoxious to their neighbors, and discontent and quarrels arose, and finally resulted in open violence. On the 20th of July, 1833, a mob assembled and destroyed the office of the *Star* newspaper, and maltreated its editor, and others of the brethren. Soon afterwards a public meeting of citizens was held, and an order passed that the Mormons should leave Jackson County. Governor Dunklin was appealed to for protection, but he declined to interfere, and in November a battle took place, and the result was that the Mormons were compelled to leave, and the majority of them took refuge in adjoining counties. Why it is that these people have always excited hostility against them, in every one of the five or six communities in which they have attempted to build their Zion, is a problem the writer will not stop here to discuss—preferring to state the facts, and leave the reader to solve the question in his own way.

In due time the *Star* was revived under the title

of *The Latter-Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate*, but located at Kirtland.

These Jackson County troubles and the expulsion of the brethren, caused great excitement among them everywhere. At headquarters in Kirtland, the wild project was entertained to organize an armed force, raid Jackson County, and compel the "Border Ruffians" to restore the refugees to their homes and their inheritances. Accordingly a revelation came, dated February, 1834, commanding BAURAK ALE* to organize the brethren "to go up to Zion by tens, or by twenties, or by fifties, or by an hundred, until they have obtained to the number of five hundred of the strength of my house." But if they cannot get five hundred, "peradventure you may obtain three hundred;" and if not three hundred, then one hundred—"but a commandment I give unto you, that you shall not go up unto the land of Zion, until you have obtained one hundred of the strength of my house, to go up with you unto the land of Zion."

So, in obedience to command and to promise that Zion should be restored, on the 7th of May, this company of armed crusaders, numbering one hundred and thirty men, set out from Kirtland on this march of a thousand miles. In about forty days,

* *Baurak Ale* seems to have been a name substituted for Joseph Smith, as he commanded the expedition.

travel they reached Clay County, where some of their friends had taken refuge, with a force increased to over two hundred men. A company of the enemy, advised of their approach, had been collected, and were in camp ready to meet them. But Providence interfered to prevent carnage. A violent storm arose and broke up the camp of the Missourians, who retired to their homes; and a few days afterwards the cholera broke out in Baurak Ale's camp with great virulence, and in a week near one-third of the number were dead or dying. And thus terminated the expedition, which set out at great sacrifice and under high hopes and promises of divine aid.

And in a short time Joseph and Sidney, with a portion of their followers, returned to Kirtland.

CHAPTER XIII.

AN ANTI-BANKING BANK.

RIGDON PRESIDENT AND SMITH CASHIER—NOTES ISSUED—NO REDEMPTION—PITTSBURGH BANKERS—BANK BREAKS—FLIGHT OF ITS OFFICERS—THE KIRTLAND STAKE ABANDONED.

IN 1836 a company was organized at Kirtland, called the "Kirtland Safety Society," the purpose of which was not well defined. But in January of the following year a meeting was held, and the old constitution annulled, and new articles of agreement entered into. The title of the company was now changed to "Kirtland Safety Society *Anti*-Banking Company." Its purpose was stated to be:

" . . for the promotion of our temporal interests, and for the better management of our different occupations, which consist in agriculture, mechanical arts and merchandising."

Its officers were a board of thirty-two managers, a treasurer, and a secretary. The capital stock was declared to be "not less" than four millions of dollars, divided into shares of fifty dollars each. The pay of the managers was fixed at one dollar per day, while actually employed, and of the other two officers such sum as the managers should decide. A dividend was to be declared every six months by

the treasurer. First instalments were to be paid at time of subscribing, and future instalments from time to time, as called by the managers, after thirty days' notice; but all subscribers residing out of the State were required to pay fifty per cent. of subscriptions in advance. The following characteristic notice given by the prophet is important, as showing the purpose of the organization:

"In connexion with the above articles of agreement, of the Kirtland Safety Society, I beg leave to make a few remarks to all those who are preparing themselves, and appointing their wise men, for the purpose of building up Zion and her Stakes. It is wisdom, *and according to the mind of the Holy Spirit, that you should call at Kirtland, and receive counsel and instruction* upon those principles that are necessary to further the great work of the Lord, and to establish the children of the Kingdom, according to the oracles of God, as they are had among us. And, further, we invite the brethren from abroad *to call on us, and take stock in our Safety Society*. . . ."—*Messenger and Advocate*, January, 1837.

Yet the purpose seems to have been changed two months later; for in the March issue of the *Advocate* we find the articles of agreement republished under the title of "Kirtland Safety Society Banking Company," with "managers" changed to "directors," and "treasurer and secretary" changed to "president and cashier." To these articles are signed one hundred and eighty-seven names, among them Smith and Rigdon, the father and mother of

the former and the wife of the latter. The amount of stock taken does not appear; but the "Kirtland Safety Society Bank" was established, with Joseph Smith, Jr., as cashier, and Sidney Rigdon, president, on how *safe* a basis will appear from what followed. In the July issue of the *Advocate* is a long, twelve-column editorial announcing the disaster of its failure, and throwing the blame upon the outside world and the enemies of the Saints. But the coolest publication, perhaps, ever made by an officer of a bank, since the world began, is the following, which we copy from the August number of the *Messenger and Advocate:*

"CAUTION—To the brethren and friends of the Church of Latter-Day Saints, I am disposed to say a word relative to the bills of the Kirtland Safety Society Bank. I hereby warn them to beware of speculators, renegades and gamblers, who are duping the unsuspecting and the unwary, by palming upon them, those bills, which are of no worth, here. I discountenance and disapprove of any and all such practices. I know them to be detrimental to the best interests of Society, as well as to the principles of religion.

"JOSEPH SMITH, Jun."

Of course, such a bank was bound to fail. But for a time its handsomely executed notes circulated freely among the members of the company; and as the prophet and his chief counsellor were its executive officers, and the bishops, priests, and elders in and about Kirtland were all stockholders, the notes

gained a considerable circulation abroad, among converts to the faith, and to some extent with the Gentile community. Some thousands of them, in due course of business, came into possession of Pittsburgh bankers; and as these had reason to be distrustful of the condition of a moneyed institution run by prophecy, an agent was sent to Kirtland with a package of these notes for redemption. Arriving there, he was coolly informed by President Rigdon that he was an enemy, a wolf in sheep's clothing, that the bank redeemed nothing, that the notes were put out to afford a circulating medium for the people, and that the Pittsburgh bankers had not been asked to take them. The agent returned home a wiser man.

All confidence in the bank being destroyed, much suffering and loss resulted, chiefly among the brethren themselves. Many new converts from abroad, having been called in by the prophet to "receive counsel," had taken stock and paid fifty per cent. on it, which was sunk. Great excitement grew out of these transactions. Legal proceedings were being instituted; and under cover of darkness, on the night of January 12, 1838, the prophet and his chief counsellor, cashier and president of the bank, left Kirtland in great haste (not for Canada), never to return, pursued, but not overtaken, by officers, "mobocrats," as they were termed by the refugees.

If honesty and fair dealing, and redemption of notes when presented, are the proper attributes of legitimate banking, then the title of "Anti-Banking Bank," as first given this institution, would seem to have been a very proper one.

And the "stake" at Kirtland was henceforth abandoned, never to be resumed during the lifetime of the prophet. The title to the Temple has since, however, been acquired by the "Reconstructed" branch of the sect, and still remains in their hands.

CHAPTER XIV.

FURTHER STAKE PLANTING—APOSTASY AND PUNISHMENT.

ODAM-ONDI-AHMON — FAR WEST — AND OTHERS — APOSTASY SHOWS ITS HEAD—ITS PUNISHMENT—THE DANITES—WAR AND VIOLENCE—MOBS AND BANISHMENT.

THE flight of the two leaders from Kirtland was a disaster to that stake from which it never recovered. It was now determined to locate a new Zion in Missouri, not in Jackson County, but at a place called Spring Hill, on Grand River. To this the followers were called, and, as on other occasions, they obeyed; those still located at Kirtland, deserting their unfinished temple, left and wended their way to the border-land. Smith and Rigdon were there before them; so was also Brigham Young—he having left in haste a few days before his chiefs. Many of the refugees from Jackson had settled in Clay County, and had for three or four years been permitted to occupy the ground in comparative peace.

This Spring Hill settlement was re-named Odam-Ondi-Ahmon by revelation; and here the faithful began to settle in great numbers. The place was

in Daviess County, and about twenty miles from Far West, the county seat of Caldwell. Far West and considerable of Caldwell were also taken possession of by them. But trouble was in store for the chiefs. During their absence at Kirtland, apostasy had dared to raise its head in more than one of the border camps; and to meet and subdue this insubordination caused them almost as great trouble as did the "border ruffian" element by which they were surrounded. To meet the case, and to bring the discontents to subjection, a secret band, first called the "Daughters of Zion," then the "Destroying Angels," and afterwards known as the "Danite Band," was instituted. That organization was under the control of Smith and Rigdon, and was in existence through the remainder of their sojourn in Missouri, and in Illinois, and has since been an active agent for Brigham Young in Utah. The Mormons have always denied the existence of such a band; treating the charge as a fabrication of the enemy. Many writers, and perhaps a large portion of the reading public, have had doubts concerning it; but the fact is as susceptible of proof as any other dependent on human testimony.

We have already quoted in a previous chapter the statement lately made by the venerable David Whitmer. What follows is strongly confirmatory of his story—given at far distant periods and under

different circumstances. In 1841, after the settlement at Nauvoo, William Harris, a dissenter, issued at Warsaw, Illinois, a pamphlet entitled, *Mormonism Portrayed*, from which is cut the following extract:

"Shortly after this the Danite Society was organized, the object of which at first was to drive the dissenters out of the county. The members of this society were bound together by an oath and covenant, with the penalty of death attached to a breach, to defend the Presidency and each other, unto death—right or wrong. They had their secret signs, by which they knew each other, either by day or night; and were divided into bands of tens and fifties, with a captain over each band, and a general over the whole. After this body was formed, notice was given to several of the dissenters to leave the county, and they were threatened severely in case of disobedience. The effect of this was, that many of the dissenters left—amongst these were David Whitmer, John Whitmer, Hiram Page, and Oliver Cowdery, all witnesses to the *Book of Mormon;* also Lyman Johnson, one of the twelve apostles. The day after John Whitmer left his house in Far West, it was taken possession of by Sidney Rigdon. About this time Rigdon preached his famous 'Salt Sermon.' The text was, 'Ye are the salt of the earth, but if the salt have lost its savour, wherewith shall it be salted? it is thenceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out, and be trodden under foot of men.' He informed the Mormons that the church was the salt; that dissenters were the salt that had lost its savor, and they were literally to be trodden under the feet of the church, until their bowels should be gushed out."

The testimony taken on the trial of Smith and others for high treason, before the Judge of the Fifth Judicial Circuit Court of the State of Missouri, was subsequently published by order of the United States Senate. In it we find the testimony of Dr. Sampson Avard, who claimed to be an officer and influential member of the Danite band. Sworn and examined for the State, he said:

"That about four months since, a band, called the Daughters of Zion (since called the Danite Band) was formed of the members of the Mormon church, the original object of which was to drive from the County of Caldwell all those who dissented from the Mormon church; in which they succeeded admirably, and to the satisfaction of those concerned. I consider Joseph Smith, Jr., as the prime mover and organizer of this Danite band. The officers of the band, according to their grades, were brought before him at a school-house, together with Hyrum Smith and Sidney Rigdon; the three composing the first presidency of the whole church. Joseph Smith, Jr., blessed them, and prophesied over them: declaring that they should be the means, in the hands of God, of bringing forth the millennial kingdom. It was stated by Joseph Smith, Jr., that it was necessary this band should be bound together by a covenant, and those who revealed the secrets of the society should be put to death. The covenant taken by all the Danite band was as follows, to wit: They declared, holding up their right hands, 'In the name of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, I do solemnly obligate myself ever to conceal, and never to reveal, the secret purposes of this society, called the Daughters of Zion. Should I ever do the same, I hold my life as the

forfeiture.' The prophet, Joseph Smith, Jr., together with his two counsellors (Hyrum Smith and Sidney Rigdon), were considered the supreme head of the church; and the Danite band feel themselves as much bound to obey them, as to obey the Supreme God."

This witness further states that in June, 1838, Sidney Rigdon drew up a paper addressed to these five dissenters, warning them to leave the county in three days, and threatening them with swift punishment if they disobeyed. It charged them with all manner of meanness, calling them consorters with counterfeiters, thieves, liars, and black-legs; with trying to cheat the Saints out of their property, and, greatest of all, with disobedience. This document was signed by eighty-four members. The warned knew what such threats meant, and, as Whitmer says, they "fled for their lives to Clay County."

W. W. Phelps also testified to the existence of this Danite band and its purposes.

The existence of such an organization is also testified to by John Hyde, a seceder at Salt Lake City. Hyde was for a long time an active and talented elder of the church in Missouri, in Illinois, and in Utah; but apostatizing, wrote a work on Mormonism. In his book, *Mormonism, Its Leaders and Designs*, he states that in Missouri in 1838, "a death society" was formed, under the direction

of Sidney Rigdon; that its first captain was known as "Captain Fearnaught". (David Patten, one of the twelve apostles), and that its purpose was "to punish the obnoxious."

They were at some trouble to find a suitable name for such an association. "Zion" being a term ever foremost in their thoughts, "Daughers of Zion" presented itself—Micah, iv. 13:

"Arise and thresh, O daughter of Zion: for I will make thy horn iron, and I will make thy hoofs brass; and thou shalt beat in pieces many people; and I will consecrate their gain unto the Lord, and their substance unto the Lord of the whole earth."

This was appropriate except as to sex, and the society began its work under that name. It was soon dropped, and another resort to the Bible made; when, "lo, and behold," "and it came to pass," Genesis xlix. 17, supplied a title quite as significant, and more to their liking:

"Dan shall be a serpent by the way, an adder in the path, that biteth the horse's heels, so that his rider shall fall backward."

Elder Hyde continues:

"'The sons of Dan' was the style they adopted, and many have been the times that they have been *adders in the path, and* MANY A MAN HAS FALLEN BACKWARD, AND HAS BEEN SEEN NO MORE!"

Can that be true? Much other testimony, and scores of corroborating circumstances, render the conclusion irresistible. But notwithstanding the

direct charges and the circumstantial evidences, many still refused to believe; and perhaps to-day it is the conviction of great numbers of people, that the story is only the idle invention of enemies and persecutors. It is hard to believe that those apostatizing Mormons would so long uphold and sustain a system so monstrous, until the day of their withdrawal, and then loudly denounce it—knowing that they were thus proclaiming their own dishonor.

Brigham Young, more daring than the rest, in one of his characteristic harangues, quoted in the *Deseret News*, vol. vii., page 143 (as given by Hyde), said:

"If men come here and do not behave themselves, they will not only find the Danites, whom they talk so much about, biting the horse's heels, but the scoundrels will find something biting their heels. In my plain remarks, I merely call things by their own names."

Much more might be quoted from Brigham Young and many others, to prove the existence of this band of cut-throats, and for the purposes named, and to show that it was instituted by the heads of the church and controlled by them, but the foregoing is sufficient.

But we cannot linger over these constantly recurring dissensions in Missouri. Ever arrogantly claiming to be the Saints of God, entitled to pos-

sess the land, and crying out against "persecution," these leaders and their band of missionaries made converts everywhere they attempted to plant a stake; at the same time making enemies of the great majority of unbelievers. In addition to this, they had numbers of agents abroad, through the States and in Europe, preaching the doctrines of the New Dispensation to the discontented, the hopeful, and the fanatical, and bidding them flee to Zion and enjoy its benefits and partake of its glories. They planted stakes or proclaimed a Zion successively in Jackson County, in Clay, in Caldwell, in Ray, in Daviess, in Carroll—all with the same result. The power of the State was frequently appealed to for protection or aid by one party or the other; until at length, Governor Lilburn W. Boggs, unable or unwilling to cope with the difficulty, issued an order expelling them from the State.

In the early part of the autumn of 1838, the last disturbance occurred, which resulted in the arrest and imprisonment of the two leaders and several of their principal adherents, and the extermination of most of the remainder. These made their way across the State to Illinois, in very inclement weather, and with much privation and suffering. Rigdon was set at liberty by *Habeas Corpus*,* and

* It will be seen hereafter, that these writs of *Habeas Corpus* played a conspicuous part in Mormon affairs in Illinois.

after some months' confinement, Smith made his escape, it was said, by the connivance of the sheriff who had him in charge, the authorities probably deeming this the easiest way of disposing of a troublesome case.

That Governor Boggs's order of banishment was illegal and contrary to the spirit of our institutions—as are all such, whether emanating from executives courts, or mobs—cannot be controverted. Mr. William Harris adds, and with this extract we take leave of the Mormon difficulties in Northern Missouri:

"Of this Missouri war, as it has been called, a great deal has been said, and public opinion at the time generally censured the conduct of Missouri. That the Missourians carried the matter too far, and treated the Mormons with an unnecessary degree of cruelty, in many instances, there can be no doubt; but that there was great cause of aggravation, there can be just as little. The truth is, that while the Mormon body, as a church, interferes with the pecuniary and political acts of its members—assuming the sole direction of both—it will be impossible for them to live in peace in any community. The necessary consequence of their regarding the words of Smith as the words of the Lord, is, that he can unite them whenever it may be necessary to effect his purposes. This, probably, would produce no jealousy, if his acts were confined to ecclesiastical government; but when they extend to controlling the political and pecuniary interests of his followers, it must inevitably produce distrust and enmity. Such a community,

thus united, hold the rights of the neighboring citizens in their own hands; and in every contest they must come off victors. They have a capacity for secrecy, which enables them to commit any act of depredation, without the fear of detection; and when a crime has been committed by one of them, they are so united to each others' interests, as to render it almost impossible, through a legal formula, to obtain a conviction. Is it any wonder, then, that a body thus controlled, their interests confined within themselves and inimical in nature to that of the other citizens, should excite jealousy? And when we consider the materials of which the church is made; the amount of ignorance, bigotry, and arrogance, that is displayed by its members; is it at all surprising that an explosion should take place between them and those by whom they are surrounded? Now, even admitting that the Mormons were honest, yet, taking all things into consideration, the Missourians acted in the commencement of the difficulties, as would almost any community in the country. I do not justify their mobs; on the contrary, I say that a mob is in no case justifiable; but I do say, that as society is now constituted, mobs will arise, under certain circumstances, in any community. Let, then, those who have regarded the Missourians as a set of unprincipled desperadoes, because of their conduct toward the Mormons, bethink them that the same scenes, under the same circumstances, would, in all probability, have been enacted in their own neighborhoods. It was not the mere religion of the Mormons that exasperated the Missourians; it was their arrogance, their united purpose to protect each other, and to infringe on the rights of other citizens; their thefts and their concealments of each others' crimes; these were all, under the circumstances, injuries without legal remedies; and

although this does not justify a mob, yet there are few communities in this country, that would not, if placed in the same situation, have been exasperated to violence."

CHAPTER XV.

ACROSS THE MISSISSIPPI EASTWARD.

EXODUS FROM MISSOURI AND FIRST APPEARANCE IN ILLINOIS —THE SITUATION.

ONE of the chief purposes of this work is to give an accurate and faithful history of Mormonism, as it existed during a period of about eight years in the State of Illinois. Such a history, the writer believes, has never been written. Governor Ford, in his *History of Illinois*, devotes considerable space to this era, embracing the time he occupied the executive chair. But his excellency, like the Governor of Missouri, found the Mormon problem too hard a one to handle; and his work must be regarded as more a defense of his administration during the Mormon era, than an impartial history.

The writer approaches this part of his task with more confidence, from the fact that before and during the Mormon sojourn, he was a citizen of the State, and intimately acquainted with many of the events as they transpired.

Early in their career, claiming more than common sanctity, and in order to be more specially distinguished from the outside world, these people took upon themselves the title of "Latter-Day Saints";

and thereafter, in their estimation, there were but two classes of people: Saints and Gentiles. Those who accepted the *Book of Mormon* as of Divine origin, and regarded Joseph Smith with the reverence due to a "Prophet, Seer, and Revelator," were counted under the former title; while all who rejected the *Book of Mormon*, or were ignorant of its existence, whether Hebrew or Pagan, Christian, Brahman, or Mussulman, were Gentiles.

When the scattered bands of these Latter-Day Saints first crossed the Mississippi from Missouri into Illinois, in the winter of 1838–9, they were poor and disheartened, and very many of them were objects of charity. Without money or suitable means of conveyance, poorly clad, and many of them sick or infirm, they had been compelled, in the dead of winter, to leave their habitations in the northwest portion of the State, and make their way two hundred miles, to ask for shelter in a community of strangers. Their troubles there, and this violent expulsion, had brought them into notice. Their stereotyped cry of "Persecution for Opinion's Sake," invented years before by their sagacious leaders, and ever since their best paying capital, was generally believed by the Illinois people; and when they crossed over the Mississippi at Quincy, they received the sympathies of the entire population. Public meetings were held; resolu-

tions denunciatory of the "border ruffians" passed; money, clothing, and provisions were voted and donated, and such other material aid granted as their circumstances seemed to require. The citizens of Quincy did themselves honor in their treatment of these refugees. And afterwards, when they began to pass along up into Hancock County, adjoining, the same kindness and consideration were shown them. Their prophet, with several of his chief advisers, were still under arrest and in durance at Liberty, Mo., and most of their principal men were scattered abroad; some back at Kirtland, others refugees from mob wrath in different directions, and still others absent as missionaries to the Gentile world.

Such was the condition of the Mormon people, when they first became known to the people of Hancock County and adjoining communities in the State of Illinois.

At the period mentioned, the whole northwestern portion of the State of Illinois was new and but sparsely settled. The extensive prairie region lying between the Mississippi and Illinois rivers, had been but recently laid off into counties, and organized into working communities. Here and there, in every county, county seats and other towns and villages were springing up, and the woody margins of the broad prairies were fast filling up with an

enterprising, intelligent, and generous people, from many of the older States of the Union; people of all shades of religious opinion; people whose habitations were mostly log cabins and other wooden structures, but whose doors were ever open to the voice of the stranger. For want of church edifices, as in all new settlements, these different sects frequently occupied the same building, or worshipped in the open woods, without bickerings or strife; and it is safe to say, that no communities in any part of the country, were less afflicted with religious bigotry or intolerance, than were those in Northwestern Illinois.

The point selected by the Mormons on which to locate their new Zion, is certainly one of the most beautiful and salubrious in the west. It lies at the head of the Lower, or Des Moines Rapids in the Mississippi, in a beautiful curve of the stream, and overlooking the broad river, its islands, and the Iowa bluffs and prairies beyond. Opposite to it, and embracing a third of Lee County, Iowa, and extending about twenty miles along the river, and back to the Des Moines, from its mouth northward, lies what was then known as the "Half-Breed Indian Reservation." These lands had recently become objects of speculation and litigation, growing out of the ill-advised action of the general government regarding them. It had been the intention

of the prophet to locate on the west side of the river, on these lands, having been invited thereto by Dr. Isaac Galland, who held some interest in the titles. He had called Smith's attention to them, while the latter was still in jail at Liberty; and it was this correspondence, perhaps, that turned the tide of Mormon emigration to Hancock County. But after the chief's arrival among his followers, later, the project of settling in Iowa was abandoned, and it was decided to plant the new stake where Nauvoo now stands, in Illinois.

At that point there was then a little village located on the shore, called Commerce, containing perhaps a half-dozen houses, a store, and a post-office. It was one of the oldest settled portions of the county. Just below was the farm of Hugh White, and just east, on the bluff, was that of Daniel H. Wells, later the noted Adjutant-General of Utah fame. These farms, with much other land, were soon encroached upon and absorbed by the growing city, whereupon Wells joined the church, became rich by the sale of his lands, was ever an active and violent partisan, and finally left with them for the wilderness. In Utah he has ever since stood high in authority, and is believed to be still living in the enjoyment of his honors, his fortune—and his wives!—the legal wife refusing to accompany

him because he would not agree to forego the pleasures of the harem in the new home.

Opposite Commerce, in the then Territory of Iowa, stood the barracks of Fort Des Moines, but just vacated by the United States Dragoons, and at the time occupied by a few settlers. Here, also, was located the office of the "New York Half-Breed Land Company." Twelve miles below, at the foot of the rapids, and also on the Half-Breed lands, lay the village of Keokuk, named from a stately Indian chief of the Sac and Fox tribes, who frequented its environs with his dusky followers. Fort Madison, twelve miles up the river, had achieved the dignity of a county seat, and could count two or three hundred souls.

In Hancock County (Illinois), eighteen miles below Commerce, lay Warsaw, with a population of about three hundred; Carthage, the county seat, in the centre of the county, and on a broad prairie, had not so many; Augusta, St. Mary's, Plymouth, Fountain Green, La Harpe, Chili, and a few other villages, had been laid out (chiefly in 1836), and containing each a few families, were located in the midst of young and fast-growing settlements. There was no newspaper at any of these points, the nearest being at Quincy and at Rushville, the county seats of Adams and Schuyler Counties, adjoining.

The population of the county was about five thousand, located mainly in the border townships.

Quincy, where the refugees had first reached the State, was fifty miles down the river from Commerce. It was a thriving town of fifteen to eighteen hundred inhabitants, with two newspapers and a United States land office. It was also the residence of Hon. Thomas Carlin, Governor of the State, of Judge Richard M. Young, of the Fifth Judicial District, and of several of the most prominent lawyers.

We have been thus particular in describing the condition of the people and county, and location of its most important places, in order that the reader may have a better comprehension of the events to be narrated in the chapters to follow—events which brought trouble and disturbance where peace had reigned, and finally stained the rich soil of the prairies with the blood of the prophet and his brother and many of its other citizens.

CHAPTER XVI.

IMMIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT.

STATUS IN ILLINOIS—THE NEW CITY—MISSION TO WASHINGTON—GOVERNOR LUCAS'S LETTER—GREAT CHURCH CONFERENCE—MISSION TO THE JEWS IN EUROPE AND ASIA—CALL TO THE FAITHFUL.

SUCH was the status of Hancock County (Illinois), and its people and neighborhood, when this Mormon immigration began in their midst. The rank and file continued to stream into Quincy, as a crossing place, from their late homes in Missouri, and thence into the near communities, during the whole spring of 1839; and as they arrived, they were received with open arms by the inhabitants. And as the spring and summer of that year passed, many of them made homes wherever there was an empty house in the city, or log cabin in the country, on farm or in village, fit to receive a family. They were thus soon located at different points all over Hancock, and to some extent through the adjoining counties of Pike, Schuyler, McDonough, Henderson, and Warren. Their heaviest settlements in Hancock, after Nauvoo, were at La Harpe, Plymouth, Macedonia, Green Plains, and Montebello.

Active proselytism was immediately commenced in all the neighborhoods about home, and numerous missionaries were sent abroad to preach. Again the call, or more properly the command, was issued for the faithful to repair to Nauvoo, to aid in building up the city. Nor was the requisite revelation wanting in aid of the new location. "Thus sayeth the Lord,"—as on so many former occasions—was again sent abroad, and again it was answered by an immigration greater than had responded to it on any former occasion.

In September, 1839, the city of NAUVOO was laid out and named, its legal proprietors being Joseph Smith, Jr., Sidney Rigdon, Hyrum Smith, and George W. Robinson. Afterwards, down to May, 1843, as many as fifteen additions had been made to it, in several of which the prophet was interested, always with an eye single to his own advantage.

The name "NAUVOO" was said by its projectors to be Hebrew for "pleasant land." Whether this be true, we leave for linguists to determine, but the site is acknowledged on all hands to be one of the most pleasant and beautiful on the Mississippi River. It is presumed, however, that the prophet knew about as much of the Hebrew as he did of the "Reformed Egyptian" (whatever that may

be), the language in which the message was written on the golden plates.

While still in jail in Missouri, the prophet had written to the brethren at Commerce, suggesting that statistics of their pecuniary losses in that State should be collected, and presented to the United States government, in order to enforce future payment. It soon began to be urged in all the Mormon settlements, that Missouri was bound to make full restitution, and that the authorities at Washington would cause this to be done. During the autumn, the prophet, with Rigdon and Colonel Higbee, two of his chiefs, repaired to Washington to lay the matter before Congress and President Van Buren. They carried with them a large number of certificates, reciting these individual losses, made out and sworn to in due form, and with the official seal of the county attached. Hon. John T. Stuart, of Springfield, Whig member of Congress from the district, was given charge of the matter in the House of Representatives, and Henry Clay was asked to lay it before the Senate. They also made personal application to the President and to Senator Calhoun. The latter bluntly informed them that the general government had no authority in the premises, and thereby evoked their lasting displeasure. One of the houses made a special report, citing the main features of the case, and

declining to take further action; and no redress was obtained, either through the action of Congress or the Executive. The chiefs returned to Nauvoo highly incensed against the administration and the nation in general. One of the great objects sought had been attained, however—one considered of great importance by them—namely, a national notoriety.

Hon. Robert Lucas, a former Governor of Ohio, was at this time Governor of the Territory of Iowa. Previous to this embassy to Washington, he had been appealed to for a favorable testimonial, and he responded with the following:

"IOWA TERRITORY, Jan. 4, 1840.

"SIR:—You informed me that a committee of Mormons are about to apply to the Congress of the United States for an investigation on the cause of their expulsion from the State of Missouri, and to ask of the general government remuneration for the losses sustained by them in consequence of such expulsion, and ask me to state my opinion of the character and general conduct of those who have settled in the Territory of Iowa, since their expulsion from the State of Missouri.

"In compliance with your request, I will state that I have had but little personal acquaintance with them. I know that there was a community of them in the northern part of the State of Ohio, and while I resided in the State they were generally considered an industrious, inoffensive people; and I have no recollection of ever having heard in that State of their being charged with violating the laws of the country.

"Since their expulsion from Missouri, a portion of them, about one hundred families, have settled in Lee County, Iowa Territory, and are generally considered industrious, and worthy citizens.

"Very respectfully, yours,

"ROBERT LUCAS,

"Gov. of Iowa Ter.

"To A. Ripley."

It is clear that Governor Lucas had not resided in the northern section of Ohio.

A great conference of the church was held at Nauvoo on the 6th of April, 1840, lasting three days, at which, it was said, there were several thousand persons present. Elated with the prospect before them, the members from far and near flocked to this annual church gathering; while many of the Gentile neighbors also attended through a curiosity to see and know of what stuff the prophet and his chiefs and followers were made. At this meeting, a large number of missionary appointments were made; among these, Elders Orson Hyde and John E. Page were commissioned to visit the Jews in Europe and at Constantinople and Jerusalem. An official greeting was made out and signed by President Smith and the clerk, which recites that:

"We have by the counsel of the Holy Spirit appointed Elder Orson Hyde [Page was added afterwards], the bearer of these presents, a faithful and worthy minister of Jesus Christ, to be our agent and representative in foreign lands, to visit the

cities of London, Amsterdam, Constantinople, and Jerusalem, and also other places that he may deem expedient, and converse with the priests, rulers, and elders of the Jews, and obtain from them all the information possible, and communicate the same to some principal paper for publication, that it may have a general circulation throughout the United States."

This seems to have been not a proselyting mission, but a mere voyage of discovery, perhaps to ascertain the best fields for missionary labor. In due time these elders returned, and reported through their own church organ, the *Times and Seasons;* but the promised "information" in some principal paper never came to light. The Jews of Europe and Jerusalem took little interest in the history of their brethren who stole away thirteen centuries ago from their native city in such questionable manner, nor of their Nephite and Lamanite descendants in the promised land. Indeed, we have yet to learn of one of the race having embraced the Mormon faith.

The conference also passed a series of resolutions, thanking the people of Illinois for their kind and generous conduct towards them; the Illinois delegation in Congress for their course; and Governors Carlin of Illinois and Lucas of Iowa for their sympathy and protection. There were also several resolutions passed criticising the report of the Ju-

diciary Committee of Congress, and pronouncing said report "unconstitutional"!

As all the important movements of these people were directed by Smith through so-called revelations, these were always forthcoming when wanted. The following for building up the new city, claims to have no higher authority than the will of the prophet himself, but was obeyed all the same:

TO THE SAINTS ABROAD.

"The First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, anxious to promote the prosperity of said church, feel it their duty to call on the Saints who reside out of this county to make preparations to come in, without delay. This is important, and should be attended to by all who feel an interest in the prosperity of this, the corner-stone of Zion. Here the temple must be raised, the university be built, and other edifices erected which are necessary for the good work of the last days, and which can only be done by a concentration of energy and enterprise. Let it therefore be understood, that all the Stakes, excepting those in this county, and in Lee County, Iowa, are *discontinued*, and the Saints *instructed to settle in this county* as soon as circumstances will permit.

"JOSEPH SMITH.

"*Nauvoo, Hancock Co., Ill., May 24, 1841.*"

It must be known that proselytes had been made in different parts of the United States, and in England and Wales, and many other parts of Europe. And these recruits were chiefly drawn from among the poorer classes of people. We have

heretofore used the terms "king" and "autocrat," in reference to this arrogant leader. Are they improper terms, and do him an injustice? Do they not rather fall short of the truth? Did Turkish Sultan or Russia's Czar ever claim to exercise greater authority over his subjects? Here is an order, and it does not even purport to emanate from heaven, requiring that his believers, wherever located—in the United States, or Great Britain, on the continent, or on the islands of the sea (and he had agents in all these to make proselytes)—no matter what their occupation or condition in life, and owing allegiance no matter where—all must gather around this new corner-stone of Zion, and contribute of their energy and enterprise, money, strength, sweat, and toil, for this latest great work of the latter days!

The mandate was issued as if it was expected to be obeyed; and it was obeyed. Hundreds of the faithful in all ranks and conditions of life—rich and poor, artisans and farmers, and even the halt and blind—wherever located, obeyed the injunction and made haste to find homes and places for their families in and around the new city.

CHAPTER XVII.

PROGRESS AND POLITICS.

FIRST GREAT ERROR—PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1840—HOW WILL THE PROPHET VOTE?—WHIG CONVENTION—NOMINATIONS—A DISGRACEFUL ACT—LITTLE AND DOUGLAS—DR. CHARLES—THE CHARTERS—THEIR CHARACTER—ORGANIZATIONS—JOHN C. BENNETT—THE WARSAW SIGNAL—SMITH OFFENDED — HIS CHARACTERISTIC LETTER — THE "TIMES AND SEASONS."

THE first great error committed by the people of Illinois, in regard to the Mormons and Mormonism, was in placing too much reliance on their stories of persecution. They were continually reiterated, and believed as often as asserted. The Mormons were among them, objects of sympathy and aid; the "border ruffians" of Missouri and Ohio were at a distance; and that was before railroads and telegraphs and fast mails had penetrated these prairie States.

Another great wrong had its origin in party spirit. The two great parties of the nation, Democratic and Whig, were pretty evenly balanced in both county and State, and a highly exciting Presidential election was approaching. It was generally understood, or so proclaimed, that while in Missouri Mr. Smith had been an adherent of the

Democratic party; but the rebuff he had met with at Washington had greatly exasperated him against the existing Van Buren administration. In addition he had been kindly aided by Mr. Stuart in Congress, and decorously treated by the great Whig leader, Henry Clay. It was apparent that the prophet's influence could control the vote of his followers; and that this vote, if all thrown to one party, would soon be sufficient to decide all political contests in the county, and perhaps in the State. Hence, it was only natural that politicians of both parties should seek to attach the prophet to their interests. In August, 1839, the election did not turn on party politics, and but few of the new-comers being voters, the result was much as before—some of the aspirants from each party being elected.

As the Presidential campaign progressed during the summer of 1840, it was generally believed that the prophet would vote against Mr. Van Buren; but that he would desert the whole Democratic ticket was uncertain. As he had now several hundred votes at his control, it became a matter of importance with candidates to secure his favor; and it was wonderful how many of them had business at Nauvoo. And while there, of course duty and curiosity both required that they should call on the prophet, laugh at his rough jokes, listen to

his anathemas against Governor Boggs and the Missouri mob, and his boasts of the up-building of Zion, while partaking of his hospitable entertainment at his Mansion House hotel. Altogether, his hotel was among the best stopping places in the city, and their bills were always paid liberally and willingly. Men of both parties were assiduous in this—all anxious to receive some sign as to the direction of the heavenly breezes that were expected to blow in the coming August.* And these signs were pretty equally divided among them all; all were allowed to go away with high hopes of success.

It will be remembered that the Presidential election of 1840 was a highly exciting one; and that during the canvass the Whigs held many mass meetings in Illinois and elsewhere, popularly known as "Log Cabin and Hard Cider" demonstrations, in favor of General Harrison for President. About the last of March, one of these meetings—a very large and enthusiastic one—was held at Carthage, the county seat, in which some of the principal Mormons participated. At this meeting nominations were made for a representative to the State Legislature, and for various county offices. The ticket was well received by the party, and was

* Under the old Constitution, elections were held in the month of August.

placed at the head of the editorial columns of the *Western World* at Warsaw, the Whig organ, where it remained until the 22d of July. In the *World* of that date it was announced that Mr. Martin Hopkins, the candidate for Representative, had withdrawn, and that Dr. John F. Charles had been put up in his place. And what would the reader guess was the reason for this change? the purpose of a party in thus setting aside a good and capable man, and substituting another? Simply this: The autocrat of Nauvoo had signified that he would not support Mr. Hopkins! No good ground for such refusal was ever known; but to such extent did party subserviency go, in this second year of Mormonism in the State. It is not strange that Smith, ambitious of power, and so lately at the bottom round of the ladder, should have been elated at the change, and willing to use the power of which he found himself so suddenly in possession. The result was that the whole Whig ticket for the county was elected by an average majority of about four hundred votes.

A characteristic circumstance in connection with this election deserves to be mentioned. Of the names of Whig electors for President and Vice-President, that of Abraham Lincoln was "scratched" by about two hundred voters at Nauvoo, and that of his Democratic opponent in the district substi-

tuted. Mr. Lincoln had in some way unknown rendered himself obnoxious to the prophet.

Dr. Charles, the newly elected representative, and also State Senator Sidney H. Little (previously elected and holding over), were both instrumental the next winter in obtaining for the Mormons the unusual charters granted by the Legislature. These charters included one for the "City of Nauvoo," for the "Nauvoo University," and for an independent military organization called the "Nauvoo Legion." There was also one for an "Industrial and Mechanical Association." Mr. Little was very active in procuring their passage through the Senate; and to him and to Hon. Stephen A. Douglas, then Secretary of State, were the Mormons chiefly indebted for the extraordinary powers conferred by these charters; though they are stated to have passed both houses without opposition, and to have been read only by their titles. It is due, however, to the memory of these honored and talented dead statesmen, to believe that they could have had no conception of the means that would be resorted to for the abuse of powers so thoughtlessly conferred.

Mr. Little was a citizen of the county, a lawyer of fine abilities, and possessed of great personal magnetism, and was held in much esteem by all classes of people. He had great influence with the leaders of Nauvoo. He met a tragic death in Au-

gust, 1841, by being thrown from a buggy. What might have been his course had he lived, is for an inscrutable Providence to know; but we feel sure that had he remained among us, his fertile genius and talents would have found a better way out of the difficulties which were so soon to follow, than through a road marked with violence and blood-shed.

The act (the charters were all contained in one act) created a "City," a "University," and a "Military Legion"; represented respectively by a "City Council," a "Board of Trustees," and a "Court Martial," each of which was invested with legislative, judicial, and executive powers; the right to "enact, establish, ordain and execute, all laws and ordinances not repugnant to the constitution of the United States or of this State." No proviso appears in the act, guarding against infringement of the *laws* of either the State or the United States. That usual proviso in charters, may or may not have been purposely omitted; but it will be found on examination, that in all other charters granted at that session, infractions of the *laws* as well as the *constitutions* are included among the provisos. It is, however, an obvious fact, that the Judiciary Committee, both houses of the Legislature, and the Governor who signed the bill, in passing it in the

manner they did, omitted the performance of their plain duty.

The Legion was made independent of the rest of the military of the State. It had created for its commander, an officer whose title was unknown elsewhere in the State or nation, that of "Lieutenant-General"; and any citizen of the county was at liberty to enroll himself as a member, by which all the brethren everywhere in the county were brought under the same military control.

Soon after the settlement had begun at Nauvoo, and before the prophet had escaped from the Missouri jail, a small monthly organ of the church was established, under the charge of Ebenezer Robinson and Don C. Smith, the latter a young brother of the prophet. Its first issue was dated November, 1839. This paper was changed subsequently to a semi-monthly, and was continued during the whole period of the Mormon sojourn in the county, with numerous changes in its ownership and management. Its title was *Times and Seasons*. Once or twice it was nominally conducted by the prophet himself, its latest editor being John Taylor, one of the Twelve, and at the present writing, the successor to Brigham Young at Salt Lake.

On the third of February, 1841, the city of Nauvoo was organized under its charter, with Dr. John C. Bennett as its first mayor. The Legion

and the University were organized about the same time—President Joseph Smith as Lieutenant-General, and Bennett as Major-General of the Legion, and James Kelly, A. M., "an alumnus of Trinity College, Dublin," as chancellor of the University. All these organizations were effected with great show and ceremony, and attracted crowds of people, both Mormon and Gentile. One of the first acts of the city council was to pass a series of resolves conveying thanks to the State government for favors conferred, and to the citizens of Quincy for kindness shown them when driven from Missouri. The Legion was furnished with State arms by General Bennett, who, we omitted to state, had the year before been appointed Quarter-Master-General of the State by Governor Carlin.

Hon. Stephen A. Douglas, who had at the last legislative session been elected one of the Judges of the Supreme Court, and assigned to circuit duty in that district, held a court in Hancock County early in May, 1841. One of his first acts was the appointment of the newly-made Major-General of the Legion to the office of Master in Chancery. This act of indiscretion met with general condemnation by the old settlers of the county. It was rebuked in strong terms by the *Warsaw Signal* (then the only paper in the county outside of Nauvoo), urging as valid objections to the ap-

pointment, that Bennett was a stranger in the county, and that the mass of the people had no confidence in him. In the same issue of that journal was an editorial referring to an existing rumor that some newly-arrived emigrants from England were dissatisfied with affairs at Nauvoo. The *Signal* continued:

"But this is no concern of ours. While on the subject, however, we will notice an accusation which has been made against us—that of having for political effect flattered the Mormons. This is not true. We have occasionally noticed their doings, but not with any such design. We believe they have the same rights as other religious bodies possess, and ought to be protected in the just and proper exercise of those rights. We do not believe in persecution for opinion's sake. But whenever they, as a people, step beyond the proper sphere of a religious denomination, and become a political body, as many of our citizens are beginning to apprehend will be the case, then this press stands pledged to take a stand against them. On religious questions it is and shall remain neutral; but it is bound to oppose the concentration of political power in a religious body, or in the hands of a few individuals."

No one can claim that the foregoing was unjust in sentiment or purpose toward any class of people or any individual. It fairly and firmly expressed the feeling that existed in the public mind throughout the county and State, without regard to party distinctions. Yet it gave great offence to the

reigning authority at Nauvoo. Soon afterwards the following note was received by the editor of the *Signal* through the mail:

"NAUVOO, Ill., May 26, 1841.

"MR. SHARP, *Editor of the Warsaw Signal:*

"SIR:—You will discontinue my paper; its contents are calculated to pollute me. And to patronize that filthy sheet, that tissue of lies, that sink of iniquity, is disgraceful to any moral man.

"Yours with contempt,

"JOSEPH SMITH.

"P. S.—Please publish the above in your contemptible paper."

Dr. John C. Bennett was a late convert to the Mormon faith. He came to Nauvoo from a distant part of the State, soon ingratiated himself into the confidence of the prophet, and about the first of October, 1840, was baptized, and at once became a conspicuous and active leader. He was a man of liberal education, excessively vain and pompous, and of good address; and yet he brought with him, if not a tainted, at least a questionable reputation, which his career at Nauvoo did not improve. He was said to have been at the time a comparative stranger in the State; and how he came to be the recipient of two or three important offices, was not understood. Governor Ford's account of this individual is so tersely written, and so well accords with the general opinion concerning him, that we give it in his own language:

"This Bennett was probably the greatest scamp in the Western country. I have made particular inquiries concerning him, and have traced him in several places in which he has lived before he joined the Mormons—in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois—and he was everywhere accounted the same debauched, unprincipled and profligate character. He was a man of some little talent, and had the confidence of the Mormons, and particularly that of the leaders."—*Hist. of Illinois*, page 263.

In referring to the appointment of Bennett to be Master in Chancery, the *Signal* had used the following language:

"Bennett has but recently become an inhabitant of this State. He came here followed by evil report—he joins a sect and advocates a creed in which no one believes he has any faith—his true character is not known to our citizens, nor have they any confidence in him."

To this the next issue of the *Times and Seasons* responded:

". . . But General Bennett's character as a gentleman, an officer, a scholar and physician, stands too high to need defending by us; suffice it to say that he is in the confidence of the executive, holds the office of Quarter-Master-General of the State, etc."

It is interesting to contrast this with what these people had to say of Dr. Bennett about a year afterwards—for which see a future chapter.

CHAPTER XVIII.

AN ANTI-MORMON PARTY.

UNWORTHY SYCOPHANCY—A GROWING APPREHENSION—PUBLIC MEETINGS—ANTI-MORMON PARTY—CANDIDATES ELECTED—THOMAS FORD NOMINATED FOR GOVERNOR—THE WASP.

THE consideration with which the prophet was treated by the great men of the land—governors, judges, politicians, divines, and others—had much effect in pampering his pride and vanity, and leading him on to his destruction. Had all these prominent men treated him as they knew he deserved, and sternly said to him: "Joseph Smith! you are an arrant knave and impostor, and deserve the contempt of all honest men," or had they even neglected to run after and fawn upon him; he would have fallen into obscurity, and we would long since have ceased to hear of Mormonism, except as one of those fantastic tricks with which the world is so frequently afflicted.

The following is one among many instances of the character to which we refer. On a certain Sunday in May, Judge Douglas, then holding court in Carthage, in company with Cyrus Walker, Esq., an attorney at the bar—prominent leaders in the

two great political parties—paid Nauvoo and the prophet a visit, and were received with high consideration. They went to hear him deliver one of his usual politico-religious harangues, with which he weekly favored the gaping multitude; and there these two dignitaries were taken to the stand and introduced to the congregation, and after being complimented by the chief, made flattering speeches in return.

This is only one among the many cases that were constantly occurring during the greater period of Smith's residence in Nauvoo. It is not a matter of wonder, then, that in view of his constant commands to the faithful to come and settle in the county—the course so certain to be pursued by them at all times—with what was daily transpiring among the politicians, that the sober and reflecting people of the county, should become alarmed, and begin to look about for some mode of redress. In consequence of this growing apprehension, public meetings began to be held in various neighborhoods; and finally it was decided to call a county convention to consider the subject. One was accordingly held at the county seat on the 28th of June, 1841, composed of many of the best citizens from both political parties. This convention decided to adopt and carry forward a policy which at this day may be regarded by many as indiscreet;

namely, the organization of a party in opposition to Mormon influence, and to put forward candidates for office. Whether this policy was the best, in view of all the circumstances and of the results, it were hard to determine.

Accordingly a Democrat and a Whig were put up for the only two county offices to be filled that year—County Commissioner and School Commissioner. The first was elected by a majority of twenty-four and the latter by four votes over their competitors. It is proper to add that neither of their opponents were Mormons, but belonged to each of the political parties, and were supported by the Mormon vote. At this election, Hon. John T. Stuart received the almost unanimous Mormon vote for Congress.

From this convention—and it was one of the most respectable and earnest ones ever held in the county—may be dated the rise of the "Anti-Mormon" party, and the origin of the term "Anti-Mormon," as applied to those who were seeking to counteract Mormon influence in the county and State; a party which existed during the whole remaining period of Mormon residence in the county, and which met with much vituperation and misrepresentation by many of the presses of the country. Its aim was patriotic and commendable; yet it will not be denied that, in the excitements of

party strife, many acts of unnecessary and unlawful violence were committed by it—the crowning one of which was the expulsion of the sect from the State.

Two of the resolutions passed at the convention, will not be out of place in this connection. It resolved:

"That with the peculiar religious opinions of the people calling themselves Mormons, or Latter-Day Saints, we have nothing to do; being at all times perfectly willing that they shall remain in full possession of all the rights and privileges which our constitution and laws guarantee and other citizens enjoy.

"That in standing up, as we do, to oppose the influence which these people have obtained, and are likely to obtain, in a political capacity, over our fellow citizens and their liberties, we are guided only by a desire to defend ourselves against a despotism, the extent and consequences of which we have no means of ascertaining."

The convention also put forth an earnest address to the people, urging them to lay aside all party differences in support of the principles and policy of the new organization.

In the latter part of the year 1841, the Democratic party of the State met in convention at the capital, and nominated Hon. Adam W. Snyder for Governor, ex-Governor Joseph Duncan being the candidate of the Whigs. But Mr. Snyder dying soon after, Judge Thomas Ford was nominated in

his stead. Eearly in 1842, the prophet issued a proclamation enjoining his followers to vote the Democratic ticket—which they did, electing all its candidates in the county, and aiding to swell Judge Ford's majority over his competitor. The Anti-Mormon party, as in the year before, put a full ticket in the field, only to be defeated. It had obtained in 1841 its first and only success.

Among the elected this year was William Smith, a young brother of the prophet, to the responsible office of representative in the General Assembly. William (or as he was always called, "Bill Smith") was an illiterate, wild, and reckless scion of the family, of rather questionable character, even among his own people; but who had been advanced to the position of "Patriarch" in the church, in order to receive the perquisites arising therefrom. He had also aspired to the dignity of editor, and had conducted a little sheet which he had named *The Wasp*—indicating that he regarded it as a *stinger* among newspapers; but for illiterate and vulgar abuse, and silly nonsense, had seldom been excelled. It had a sickly existence of a few months, and was succeeded by the *Nauvoo Neighbor*, a larger, better, and more decent sheet.

These sheets, after the *Times and Seasons*, heretofore mentioned, were the organs and the only organs of the Saints during their stay in

Illinois. They were conducted—the monthly or religious organ—mainly by the prophet himself, though often relieved by others of his principal adherents, and the latter, a weekly secular sheet, by John Taylor, an English convert. The ability displayed in their editorial management was below that of most of the country press of the State.



THE TEMPLE AT NAUVOO.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE NAUVOO TEMPLE.

TEMPLE BUILDING—AT NAUVOO—CORNER STONES LAID—REVELATION DEMANDING IT—ALSO A "BOARDING HOUSE"—THE NAUVOO HOUSE UNFINISHED — STOCKHOLDERS NAMED BY REVELATION.

TEMPLE building seems to have ever been one of the chief purposes of Mormonism. The prophet began at a very early day, at Kirtland, to extract money and labor from his followers, ostensibly for the purpose of rearing a grand structure in Zion, in which to worship and receive messages from the Most High. One was built there, but never finished until thirty or forty years after his death. Others, how many we do not know, were begun or projected in Missouri; and now a still more imposing and magnificent one is to be commenced at Nauvoo.

The revelation ordering this great work is one of the most elaborate and remarkable among the many issued by him. As it could only be built by the free-will offerings of his people, ample provision had to be made to secure these. One of the latest revelations given in Missouri, was at Far West, dated July 8, 1838, and was in answer to the ques-

tion: "O Lord, show unto thy servants how much thou requirest of the properties of the people for a tithing." And this is the answer:

"1. Verily thus saith the Lord, I require *all their surplus property* to be put into the hands of the bishop of my church of Zion, for the building of mine house, and for the laying of the foundation of Zion, and for the priesthood, and for the debts of the Presidency of my church; and this shall be the *beginning* of the tithing of my people; and after that, those who have thus been tithed shall pay *one-tenth of all their interest annually;* and this shall be a standing law unto them forever, for my holy priesthood, saith the Lord."

What portion of a man's property may be called "surplus," would be hard for most men to determine, but was doubtless easy for the Mormon prophet; and as the question was left for him or the bishop to decide, we may conclude that the surplus was often large. It was rather heavy taxation, however, to require *all* his surplus at the beginning, and then ten per cent. annually forever on the remainder. But the requirements for this heavy taxation were great and numerous; the temple was to be built, the "foundations of Zion" were to be laid, the "priesthood" was to be supported, and the "debts of the Presidency" were to be paid. This was given in Missouri, where a temple was planned, insignificant in comparison with the one now to be built. It has been claimed by

Mormon authority, that this Nauvoo temple cost them over a million of dollars. Three to four hundred thousand, it is believed, would have been ample for the purpose. What became of the remainder, the reader must guess.

Preparations for the work were early begun, and on the 6th of April, 1841, the eleventh anniversary of the formation of the church in New York, the corner stone was laid with imposing ceremonies, and in presence of several thousand people. The Legion was out in full force, amounting to over six hundred men, under command of Lieutenant-General Smith and Major-General Bennett. Sidney Rigdon was the orator of the day. And from that day forward, until driven into the wilderness, these people contributed of their "surplus," and their labor, toward its completion; constant demands were made upon them for more, and constant commands sent abroad for money and means to carry forward the work.

The revelation given for the erection of this temple was dated January 19, 1841, and provided also for a grand hotel for the prophet to live in. It is very lengthy and explicit on many points. The Kings of the Earth were to be called upon for aid, and Robert B. Thompson was enjoined to help write the proclamation. We can only quote portions:

". . . I say unto you that you are now

called to make a solemn proclamation of my gospel, and of this Stake which I have planted to be the corner stone of Zion, which shall be polished with that refinement which is after the similitude of a palace. This proclamation shall be made to all the Kings of the World, to the four corners thereof, to the honorable President-elect, and the high-minded governors of the nation in which you live, and to all the nations of the earth, scattered abroad. . . . Awake! O Kings of the Earth! Come ye, O come ye, with your gold and your silver, to the help of my people, to the house of the daughters of Zion. And again, verily I say unto you, let my servant Robert B. Thompson help you to write this proclamation; . . .

"And again, I say unto you, blessed is my servant, Hyrum Smith, . . .

"Again let my servant John C. Bennett help you in your labor. . . . I have seen the work which he hath done, which I accept, if he continue, and will crown him with blessings and great glory.* . . .

"And again I say unto you, that it is my will that my servant, Lyman Wight, should continue preaching for Zion, . . . that when he shall finish his work, I may receive him unto myself, even as I did David Patten, who is with me at this time, and also my servant, Edward Partridge, and also my aged servant, Joseph Smith, Sr., who sitteth with Abraham, at his right hand, and blessed and holy is he, for he is mine.

"And again I say unto you, my servant George Miller is without guile, . . . I therefore seal upon his head the office of a bishoprick, . .

"Let my servant George, and my servant Ly-

* After the quarrel with Bennett, a short time afterwards, Smith published in the *Times and Seasons* a statement that soon after Bennett joined them, he had letters from abroad telling what a scamp he was, and cautioning them to beware of him.

man, and my servant John Snyder, and others, build a house unto my name, such an one as my servant Joseph shall show unto them, upon the place which he shall show unto them also. And it shall be for an house for boarding, an house that strangers may come from afar to lodge therein; therefore let it be a good house, worthy of all acceptation, that the weary traveller may find health and safety while he shall contemplate the word of the Lord, and the corner stone I have appointed for Zion. This house shall be a healthy habitation, if it be built unto my name, and if the governor, which shall be appointed unto it shall not suffer any pollution to come upon it. It shall be holy, or the Lord your God will not dwell therein. . . .

"And now, I say unto you, as pertaining to my boarding house, which I have commanded you to build, for the boarding of strangers, let it be built unto my name, and let my name be named upon it; and let my servant Joseph and his house have place therein, from generation to generation; for this anointing have I put upon his head, that his blessing shall be put upon the head of his posterity, after him; and as I said unto Abraham, concerning the kindreds of the earth, even so I say unto my servant Joseph, in thee and in thy seed, shall the kindred of the earth be blessed. Therefore, let my servant Joseph, and his seed after him, have place in that house, from generation to generation, forever and ever, saith the Lord, and let the name of that house be called the Nauvoo House; and let it be a delightful habitation for man, and a resting-place for the weary traveler, that he may contemplate the glory of Zion, and the glory of this the corner-stone thereof; that he may receive, also, the counsel from those whom I have set to be as plants of renown, and as watchmen upon her walls."

Then it goes on to organize a stock company for the building of the hotel, providing "my servants," George Miller, Lyman Wight, John Snyder, and Peter Haws, shall be the corporators; that they shall form a constitution and receive stock in shares of fifty dollars each, but that no one shall hold more than fifteen thousand dollars' worth of stock; "but if he pay nothing," he shall receive no stock; that they shall not appropriate the stock for any other purpose, under the penalty of repaying fourfold, "for I, the Lord, am God, and cannot be mocked in any of these things."

"My servant Joseph," is also allowed to pay stock into their hands; and "there are others also, who wish to know my will concerning them; for they have asked it of my hands"; therefore, Vinson Knight, and brother Hyrum, and Isaac Galland, and William Marks, and Henry G. Sherwood, and William Law, and Amos Davis, "my servants," were all specially named as authorized to become stockholders. But no man was allowed to become a stockholder, "unless he be a believer in the *Book of Mormon* and the revelations I have given unto you." It is quite certain that at least two of those named never believed in the *Book of Mormon*, and well understood the object of the revelations; it is not certain whether they ever subscribed to the stock.

And yet that house, which was to be "worthy of all acceptation," and the habitation of Smith and his family, "from generation to generation, forever," was never occupied by him, and was never finished. Mrs. Smith, with her Gentile second husband, resided in a portion of it during the latter years of her lifetime. The command for the erection of the temple was equally decisive and imperative. It said, in part:

"And again, verily I say unto you, let all my Saints come from afar; and send ye swift messengers, yea, chosen messengers, and say unto them, Come ye, with all your gold, and your silver, and your precious stones, and with all your antiquities; and with all who have knowledge of antiquities, that will come may come, and bring the box tree, and the fir tree, and the pine tree, together with all the precious trees of the earth; and with iron, with copper, with brass, and with zinc, and with all your precious things of the earth, and build an house to my name, for the Most High to dwell therein; for there is not a place found on earth that he may come and restore again that which was lost unto you, or, which he hath taken away, even the fulness of the priesthood; for a baptismal font there is not upon the earth; that they, my Saints, may be baptized for those who are dead; for this ordinance belongeth to my house, and cannot be acceptable to me, only in the days of your poverty, wherein ye are not able to build an house unto me. But I command you, all ye my Saints, to build an house unto me; and I grant unto you a sufficient time to build an house unto me, and during this time your baptisms shall be acceptable unto me. . . . "

And the temple was built, though never completely finished, a handsome and imposing structure, at a great cost of money and labor. For several years, the brethren residing over the county, and in near portions of the State and Iowa, would come and labor on it, giving to its service one-tenth of their time; and would convey to the city and deposit in the "Lord's Store House," for the use of the laborers, and for the support of the Presidency and the priesthood, one-tenth of all the products of their farms and shops. "HOLINESS TO THE LORD" was artistically displayed in golden letters upon it, and from its commanding position on the bluff in the city, it could be seen for miles around, a beautiful and imposing spectacle. Its walls were built of a beautiful dressed limestone, from extensive quarries on the Mississippi bluff, two miles below the city.



HYRUM SMITH.

CHAPTER XX.

MUCH ADO ABOUT THEFT.

HYRUM SMITH'S AFFIDAVIT—AND THE TWELVE—BROTHER JOSEPH'S AFFIDAVIT AND PROCLAMATION—THE COURT-MARTIAL AND ALL THE GENERALS.

ONE of the many charges made against the Latter-Day Saints while in Illinois, was that the rank and file were prone to appropriate the property of their Gentile neighbors to their own use. That this propensity did exist among them, to a greater extent than among outsiders, is capable of the clearest demonstration, though strenuously denied on their part. There were two causes—excuses, we may say—for this propensity. One was the extreme poverty of many of them, dragged about, as many of them had been, from place to place, and robbed of their scanty means, to pamper their leaders; and the other was, the teachings of the leaders themselves. It is not to be supposed that the prophet or many of his numerous missionaries meant to inculcate theft; but they did teach, and it was ever one of the chief burdens of their harangues, that "the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof," and that the Gentile possessions were soon to fall into the hands of his Saints for an inher-

itance, and "we" are his Saints. Many of the more ignorant among them interpreted these teachings too literally, and anticipated the time when this event was to take place. And it is a well-known fact, that leaders and officials would generally endeavor to screen those charged with the offence, under the pretext that it was outside persecution.

The fact that these charges of theft had become so frequent, and were evidently having effect in the community, led the authorities to take action upon them, and we copy below some curious documents, showing what that action was. They will be found in the *Times and Seasons* of December 1, 1841:

HYRUM SMITH'S AFFIDAVIT.

"Whereas, it hath been intimated to me by persons of credibility, that there are persons in the surrounding country who profess to be members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, who have been using their influence and endeavoring to instil into the minds of good and worthy citizens in the State of Illinois, and the adjoining States, that the First Presidency and others in authority and high standing in said church, do sanction and approbate the members of said church in stealing property from those persons who do not belong to said church, and thereby to induce persons to aid and abet them in the act of stealing, and other evil practices, I therefore disavow hereby any sanction or approbation by me, of the crime of theft, or any

other evil practice, in any person whatever, whereby either the lives or property of our fellow-citizens may be unlawfully taken or molested; neither are such things sanctioned or approbated by the First Presidency, or any other person in authority or good standing in said church, but such acts are altogether in violation of the rules, order, and regulations of the church, contrary to the teachings of said church, and the laws of both God and man. I caution the unwary, who belong to the aforesaid church, and all other persons, against being duped or led into any act or scheme which may endanger their character, lives, or property, or bring reproach upon the church; and I certify that I hold my person and property ready to support the laws of the land, in the detection of any person or persons who may commit any breach of the same. To which I subscribe my name and testify, this 26th day of November, 1841.

"HYRUM SMITH."

"Sworn to and subscribed before me, this 26th day of November, 1841.

"E. ROBINSON, J. P."

Then follows a long address from the Twelve, from which we copy only the concluding paragraph:

"We hope that what we have written may suffice, and take this opportunity of expressing our decided and unqualified disapprobation of anything like theft, in all its bearings, as being calculated to destroy the peace of society, to injure the Church of Jesus Christ, to wound the character of the people of God, and to stamp with eternal infamy all who follow such diabolical practices, to blast their

character on earth, and to consign them to eternal perdition.

"(Signed),

Brigham Young,	Orson Hyde,
Heber C. Kimball,	William Smith,
Parley P. Pratt,	Orson Pratt,
John E. Page,	Wilford Woodruff,
Willard Richards,	John Taylor,
Lyman Wight,	George A. Smith.

"*Nauvoo, Ill., Dec. 1, 1841.*"

Next follows another affidavit from the prophet himself, without doubt in his own language and of his own composition:

"City of Nauvoo, Nov. 20, a.d. 1841.

"To the Public:—The transpiration of recent events makes it criminal in me to remain longer silent. The tongue of the vile yet speaks, and sends forth the poison of asps; the ears of the spoiler yet hear, and he puts forth his hand to iniquity. It has been proclaimed upon the house-top, and in the secret chamber, in the public walks and private circle, throughout the length and breadth of this vast continent, that stealing by the Latter-Day Saints has received my approval; nay, that I have taught the doctrine, encouraged them in plunder, and led on the van—than which nothing is more foreign from my heart. I disfellowship the perpetrators of all such abominations; they are devils and not Saints, totally unfit for the society of Christians or men. It is true, that some professing to be Latter-Day Saints have taught such vile heresies, but all are not Israel that are of Israel; and I wish it to be distinctly understood, that in all coming time, that the church over which I have the honor of presiding, will ever set its brows like

brass, and its face like steel, against all such abominable acts of villainy and crime: and to this end I append my affidavit of disavowal, taken this day before General Bennett, that there may be no mistake hereafter as to my real sentiments, or those of the leaders of the church, in relation to this important matter:"

"STATE OF ILLINOIS, } ss.:
Hancock County. }

"Before me, John C. Bennett, Mayor of the City of Nauvoo, personally came Joseph Smith, President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (commonly called Mormons), who, being duly sworn according to law, deposeth and sayeth, that he has never directly or indirectly, encouraged the purloining of property, or taught the doctrine of stealing, or any other evil practice, and that all such vile and unlawful acts will ever receive his unqualified and unreserved disapproval, and the most vigorous opposition of the church over which he presides, and further this deponent saith not.

"JOSEPH SMITH,
"*President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints.*

"Sworn to and subscribed before me, at my office, in the City of Nauvoo, this 29th day of November, Anno Domini, 1841.

"JOHN C. BENNETT,
"*Mayor of the City of Nauvoo.*"

"Now, it is to be hoped that none hereafter will be so reckless as to state that I, or the church to which I belong, approve of thieving, but that all the friends of law and order will join in ferreting out thieves wherever and whenever they may be found,

and assist in bringing them to that condign punishment which such infamous crimes so richly merit.

"JOSEPH SMITH,

"*President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints.*"

Nor was this all. The Legion got after a brace of thieves and ran them clear through the Circumlocution Office:

COURT-MARTIAL.

"CITY OF NAUVOO, Nov. 30, 1841.

"*To Brevet Maj.-Gen. Wilson Law:*—

"We, the undersigned, members of the General Court-Martial, detailed by you, on the order of Lieut.-Gen. Smith, through Maj.-Gen. Bennett, for the trial of David Smith and Joseph Holbrook, officers of the Nauvoo Legion, charged with theft, and being accessory thereto, are of the opinion that they are guilty of the charge preferred against them, and our unanimous decision is that they be *cashiered*, and their names be stricken from the rank roll.

"Witness against David Smith: Hazen Kimball.

"Witness against Joseph Holbrook: B. Young and W. Richards.

"HYRUM SMITH,
Brev. Brig.-Gen. and President of the Court.
WM. LAW, *Brevet Maj.-Gen.*
C. C. RICH, *Brig.-Gen. 2d Cohort.*
H. MCFALL, *Adj.-Gen.*
DANIEL H. WELLS, *Com.-Gen.*
S. BENT, *Col. 3d Reg. 2d Cohort.*
T. BILLINGS, *Col. 1st Reg. 2d Cohort.*
J. T. BARNETT,
Capt. 3d Co. 1st Reg. 2d Cohort.
Members of the Court."

"*To Maj.-Gen. Bennett:*—I approve of the above decision, and submit it to you for action on the case.

"WILSON LAW, *Brevet Maj.-Gen.*"

"*To Lt.-Gen. Smith:*—The General Court-Martial detailed for the trial of David Smith and Joseph Holbrook, officers of the Nauvoo Legion, have made the above report to me, and asked my concurrence in the same, which, under the circumstances, cannot be withheld; it is, therefore, submitted to you for your final approval or disapproval.

"JOHN C. BENNETT, *Maj.-Gen.*"

"Approved:

"JOSEPH SMITH, *Lt.-Gen.*"

And the culprit officers heaved big sighs of relief, and escaped the legal punishment due to their crimes; while the people of the county put extra locks on their doors.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE GAME OF HABEAS CORPUS.

ARREST OF SMITH AT QUINCY, 1841—TRIAL BEFORE JUDGE DOUGLAS AT MONMOUTH AND DISCHARGE — ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION OF GOVERNOR BOGGS OF MISSOURI—O. P. ROCKWELL CHARGED WITH THE CRIME—NEW DEMAND FOR SMITH AND ROCKWELL—ARREST IN NAUVOO—HABEAS CORPUS APPLIED BY THE MUNICIPAL COURT—FORD'S STATEMENT—RE-ARREST AND TRIAL BEFORE JUDGE POPE AND DISCHARGE—THE WRITS, ETC.

IT will be remembered that the prophet and three or four of his associates had made their escape from prison in Missouri, and were consequently regarded as fugitives from justice. It was afterwards asserted, and was probably true, that their escape was effected by the connivance or gross carelessness of the officers in charge. At any rate, it is believed that the Missouri authorities were quite willing to be relieved of their presence. If this were really so, there can be no valid reason shown, why efforts should be again made to obtain them. Yet Missouri justice, or Missouri vengeance, was not satisfied; for, on June 5, 1841, Mr. Smith, being in Quincy, was arrested on a warrant from Governor Carlin, on a requisition from the Governor of Missouri. Smith's counsel

at once obtained a writ of *habeas corpus* from Calvin A. Warren, Esq., Master in Chancery for Adams County—Judge Douglas being then absent holding court at Monmouth, Warren County. But coming home to Quincy before the trial of the writ, he ordered the writ and the prisoner to be sent to Monmouth for a hearing on the following Monday. This was done, and after argument of counsel, the prisoner was discharged, on the ground that the writ had been once returned before it was served, and was *functus officio*.

The warrant for arrest, it appeared, had before been in the hands of an officer, who, through fear, or for some other cause, had returned it to the executive office. This arrest and discharge of the prophet caused much excitement and comment, at Nauvoo and elsewhere. The decision of the judge was generally accepted as correct; yet a strong suspicion prevailed that the whole thing was arranged and concocted for political effect. Of this we know of no existing proof.

On the morning of the 7th of May, 1842, the people near his residence in Missouri, were startled to learn that during the night an attempt had been made to assassinate ex-Governor Boggs of that State. He had been fired at through his window, as he sat reading in his room, and seriously but not fatally wounded. The assassin, who was after-

wards strongly suspected to have been the notorious Orrin P. Rockwell, of Nauvoo, made his escape. This man was known, far and wide, to be a desperado, and was believed to be an active member of the Danite Band. Though sometimes denounced by the church organ as a bad man, he was notoriously, through the whole period of eight years, kept in close intimacy with Smith and the leaders. Rockwell had been absent from the city for some time previous to the attempt on the life of the ex-Governor, and on his return openly boasted that he had been in the vicinity of the Governor's residence, visiting friends. He died a few years ago at Salt Lake City, where he had held much the same position under the authorities there as he had maintained under the prophet—feared by Gentile enemies and apostates as a "destroying angel."

That this man was the actual would-be-murderer of Governor Boggs, and that he was commissioned by Smith to do the deed, can scarcely admit of doubt. The prophet had declared that Boggs would die a violent death; and he had stated that Rockwell had gone "to fulfil prophecy." Nearly all seceders subsequent to the event agreed in maintaining the truth of the charge, including Major-General Bennett, and Brigham Young himself.

In the light of such proofs as are given in chap-

ter X. of this work, it is not difficult to believe that O. P. Rockwell was sent to kill ex-Governor Boggs.

The hostility of the Missourians toward the prophet was intensified by this attempt upon the life of their former governor; and in August a new demand reached Governor Carlin at Quincy, for Rockwell, as principal, and Smith, as accessory. Accordingly, the Governor issued a warrant for their arrest, which was placed in the hands of an officer during the week after the August election. He repaired to Nauvoo on Monday, the 8th, and made the arrest without difficulty. The prisoners were immediately taken on a writ of *habeas corpus* issued by the municipal court of the city, brought before that body, and at once discharged. The officer insisting that the court had no jurisdiction, and that the discharge was illegal, it was agreed by Smith, that if the writ should be returned to the Governor, with the indorsement that the prisoners had been discharged by the municipal court, he would hold himself in readiness to obey, in case the Governor should again send for him. The officer thereupon returned to Quincy; but was despatched back again by the executive, with orders to re-arrest them at all hazards. In the mean time Smith had taken legal counsel, and when the officer arrived had disappeared. It is believed that he was

secreted somewhere in the city. The name of Rockwell seems to have somehow been dropped. Why no effort was ever afterwards made to procure him, who was clearly amenable to the laws of Missouri, was never well understood by the public.

A clause in the city charter of Nauvoo provided that "the municipal court shall have power to grant writs of *habeas corpus* in all cases *arising under the ordinances of the city council.*" It was under this grant, construed to include all cases of arrest, that the court claimed its authority to take the prisoners from the officer and set them at liberty; and it was the knowledge that this would be done, which induced them so willingly to submit to arrest. We find an ordinance of the city council, dated the 8th day of August, the date of the arrest; but whether passed in anticipation of that event, or subsequent to it, and to guard against the future, does not appear. It provides for a *pro-tempore* Mayor and Chief Justice of the municipal court in contingent cases, and Smith, when arrested, held both those offices. (See *Ordinances.*)

Of course the discharge was flagrantly illegal. And thus the matter rested until the following year, and Governor Carlin's term having expired, Governor Thomas Ford occupied the executive chair. Quoting from Ford's History of Illinois, he says—page 314:

"As I before said, Governor Carlin, in 1842, had issued his warrant for the arrest of Joe Smith,* as a fugitive from justice in Missouri. This warrant had never been executed, and was still outstanding when I came into office. The Mormons were desirous of having the cause of arrest legally tried in the federal court. Upon their application a duplicate warrant was issued in the winter of 1842–3, and placed in the hands of the Sheriff of Sangamon County. Upon this, Joe Smith came to Springfield and surrendered himself as a prisoner. A writ of *habeas corpus* was obtained from Judge Pope of the federal court, and Smith was discharged."

As much controversy arose concerning this discharge by Judge Pope, and as the papers in the case illustrate the method of "How not to do it," we copy them in full, with the Judge's reasons for the prisoner's discharge. The following are the official papers in the case—the italics are our own:

"STATE OF MISSOURI, } *ss.*
County of Jackson, }

"This day personally appeared before me, Samuel Weston, a Justice of the Peace within and for the County of Jackson, the subscriber, Lilburn W. Boggs, who being duly sworn doth depose and say, that on the night of the 6th day of May, 1842, while sitting in his dwelling in the town of Independence, in the County of Jackson, he was shot with intent to kill, and that his life was despaired

* Governor Ford had little respect for the Mormon prophet, and usually designated him by the nick-name "Joe."

of for several days; and that he believes, and has good reason to believe, from evidence and information now in his possession, that Joseph Smith, commonly called the Mormon prophet, was accessory before the fact of the intended murder, and that the said Joseph Smith *is a citizen or resident of the State of Illinois;* and that the said deponent hereby applies to the Governor of the State of Missouri to make demand on the Governor of the State of Illinois, to deliver the said Joseph Smith, commonly called the Mormon prophet, to some person authorized to receive and convey him to the State and custody aforesaid, there to be dealt with according to law.

"LILBURN W. BOGGS."

"Sworn to and subscribed before me, this 20th day of July, 1842.

"SAMUEL WESTON, J. P."

"*The Governor of the State of Missouri to the Governor of the State of Illinois*, GREETING:

"WHEREAS, it appears by the annexed document, which is hereby certified to be authentic, that one Joseph Smith *is a fugitive from justice*, charged with being accessory before the fact, to an assault with intent to kill, *made by one O. P. Rockwell*, on Lilburn W. Boggs in this State; and it is represented to the executive department of this State, *has fled to the State of Illinois:*

"Now, therefore, I, Thomas Reynolds, Governor of the said State of Missouri, by virtue of the authority in me vested by the constitution and laws of the United States, do by these presents, demand the surrender and delivery of the said Joseph Smith to Edward R. Ford, who is hereby appointed as the agent to receive the said Joseph Smith, on the part of the State. In testimony, etc."

"*The People of the State of Illinois, to the Sheriff of Sangamon County*, GREETING:

"WHEREAS, it has been made known to me by the executive authority of the State of Missouri, that one Joseph Smith stands charged by the affidavit of one Lilburn W. Boggs, made on the 20th day of July, 1842, at the County of Jackson, in the State of Missouri, before Samuel Weston, a Justice of the Peace, within and for the County of Jackson aforesaid, with being accessory before the fact, to an assault with intent to kill, *made by one O. P. Rockwell* on Lilburn W. Boggs, on the night of the 6th day of May, 1842, at the County of Jackson, in said State of Missouri, *and that the said Joseph Smith had fled from the justice of said State, and taken refuge in the State of Illinois:*

"Now, therefore, I, Thomas Ford, Governor of the State of Illinois, pursuant to the constitution and laws of the United States, and of this State, do hereby command you to arrest and apprehend the said Joseph Smith, if he be found within the limits of the State aforesaid, and cause him to be safely kept, and delivered to the custody of Edward R. Ford, who has been duly constituted the agent of the said State of Missouri, to receive said *fugitive from the justice of said State*—he paying all fees and charges for the arrest and apprehension of the said Joseph Smith—and make due return to the executive department of this State, of the manner in which this writ may be executed. In testimony whereof, etc."

And now, at the distance of near a half century from the date of these events, and regarding the writs and the facts in the light of reason and common sense, it seems like mere boy's play that these chief magistrates of two great States, and other

officials, were engaged in; or, worse still, that they were purposely issuing writs which they knew to be defective, in order to avoid the responsibility resting upon them as conservators of the peace and upholders of the law's majesty. The writs were illegal and wrong—first, because if Joseph Smith did send Orrin P. Rockwell to Missouri to kill Governor Boggs, his offense was not against the State of Missouri, but against the State of Illinois, of which he was a resident and citizen, and by Illinois laws and in her courts must he be arraigned for trial and punishment. Secondly, Governor Boggs's affidavit plainly charges that Smith is a "resident and citizen of the State of Illinois;" and hence, for Governor Reynolds and Governor Ford to say that he had "fled from the justice of the State of Missouri," was a palpable and unwarrantable perversion of fact, not only as stated by Boggs, but as they all knew it to exist.

So it is fair to presume that these officials knew, and the prophet knew, before he submitted himself as a prisoner at Springfield, that Judge Pope must certainly discharge him. And he did discharge him, chiefly on the grounds above stated, in these words:

"The court can alone regard the facts as set forth in the affidavit of Boggs, as having any legal existence. The mis-recitals and over-statements

in the requisition and warrant are not supported by oath and cannot be received as evidence to deprive a citizen of his liberty, and transport him to a foreign State for trial. For these reasons Smith must be discharged."

CHAPTER XXII.

MORE HABEAS CORPUS WORK.

ANOTHER INDICTMENT AND DEMAND—CONGRESSIONAL CANVASS—WALKER AND HOGE—ARREST AT DIXON—GREAT EXCITEMENT—THE OFFICERS AS PRISONERS—THE PROPHET TRIUMPHANT—A STRANGE CAVALCADE—ANOTHER HABEAS CORPUS—LAWYER SOUTHWICK'S STATEMENT—RESULT OF THE CANVASS—BROTHER HYRUM'S REVELATION—WALKER DEFEATED.

THE interesting and exciting game of "Demand and Discharge," played by the two Governors, was not yet brought to an end. Major-General Bennett (as will be recounted in a future chapter), quarrelled with his chief, and was discomfited and disgraced, and compelled to leave the city. True to his threat, he had gone to Missouri and had succeeded in procuring another indictment against his old friend, and another requisition. Ford's history states that this indictment and requisition included both Smith and Rockwell for the attempt upon Governor Boggs. But Mr. Southwick, one of Smith's attorneys in the case, stated that they were for Smith alone, on the charge of "treason against the government of Missouri"—the old offence. As no after attempt was made to arrest Rockwell, this latter statement is probably the correct one. On

this requisition, Governor Ford issued his warrant for the arrest of the prophet, and placed it in the hands of Harman T. Wilson of Carthage, a bold and fearless Deputy Sheriff, with instructions to serve, and place the prisoner in the care of Joseph H. Reynolds, the agent of Missouri, who accompanied him.

Before proceeding to relate occurrences in connection with this arrest, we must go back and review the condition of affairs in the county at the time. In the year 1843 it was not deemed expedient, nor was it possible, to keep up the Anti-Mormon organization. Whig politicians had hopes of receiving the Mormon vote—or at least of dividing it. Smith had been released from arrest by Judge Pope, a Whig, and his cause had been ably argued by Whig lawyers. The Democrats also desired a party organization, and expected to retain the vote because they had heretofore secured it, and no reason was manifest for a change. The Warsaw *Message* (Whig) had succeeded for a time the Anti-Mormon *Signal*, and its political editor strongly favored distinct Whig action and a full Whig local and general ticket. On the 10th of May a Whig Congressional district convention was held at Rock Island, at which Mormon delegates attended. Cyrus Walker of Macomb, was unanimously chosen as the candidate for Congress.

Joseph P. Hoge of Galena, was about the same date nominated by a Democratic convention as his competitor. The district (the fifth) was very large, embracing the fifteen northwestern counties of Jo Daviess, Carroll, Stephenson, Winnebago, Ogle, Whiteside, Rock Island, Mercer, Warren, Henderson, McDonough, Stark, Lee, Knox, and Hancock, the latter being the most southern.

The two Congressional candidates were representative men of their respective parties, and personally popular. Mr. Walker was an old lawyer of distinction in the State, of the class to which Lincoln, McConnell, Bissell, Baker, Williams, Browning, and Edwards belonged, and was regarded as the peer of any of them. Mr. Hoge was a younger and newer man, but was talented, energetic, and a good stump orator. He had never been in any way identified with the Mormons, having his residence in a county the most remote from them in the district. Walker was supposed to be in good favor at Nauvoo, as he had on several occasions acted as counsel to the prophet.

Soon after the nominations, the campaign of the district began with great vigor. To make a thorough canvass in so large a district, required a great deal of time and a great amount of physical energy, it being necessary to address the people in three or four, and often eight or ten, places in a single

county. Irrespective of the Mormon vote, there was a decided Whig majority in the district, and the probabilities were strongly in favor of the success of the Whig candidate.

So stood affairs when the new warrant for Smith's arrest was placed in the hands of the officer. Learning that Smith and his wife were on a visit to her relatives at Palestine Grove in Lee County, toward the north end of the district, and about one hundred and fifty miles from Nauvoo, the officer, in company with the Missouri agent, quietly repaired thither. They found the prophet at the house of his friend, arrested him, and placing him in a carriage, started by way of Dixon, the county seat. Here the prisoner was allowed to consult with lawyers, who procured for him a writ of *habeas corpus* from the Master in Chancery of said county. This writ was made returnable before Judge Caton at Ottawa, in whose circuit they were. This proceeding placed the officers with their prisoner in the hands of the Sheriff of Lee County. The following morning they started for Ottawa, distant about forty miles, and after travelling three-fourths of the distance, were informed that Judge Caton was temporarily absent from the State, when they returned to Dixon.

Before starting for Ottawa, Smith had entered suit in the Lee circuit court for false imprisonment

against Wilson and Reynolds; and being unable to procure bail, they were held in the custody of the Sheriff. Against this arrest, the officers in turn procured a writ of *habeas corpus*, returnable before Judge Young at Quincy, in their own circuit, and this writ was also placed in the hands of the Lee Sheriff. After the return to Dixon, Smith procured another writ of *habeas corpus* (as a substitute for the first one) returnable before the "*nearest tribunal in the Fifth Judicial Circuit, authorized to hear and determine writs of habeas corpus.*" The fifth circuit embraced Quincy, the residence of Judge Young, and Nauvoo, the residence of the prophet, with a municipal court claiming the right to hear and determine writs of *habeas corpus* in all cases. (!)

These proceedings completely turned the tables upon the two officers, and filled the hands of the Lee Sheriff with prisoners and his pockets with writs. Instead of the prophet for their prisoner, they found themselves under arrest and unable to give bail, with Smith really a free man. The *fiat* had already gone forth that he was to be discharged; for was not the Nauvoo municipal court *nearer* by forty miles than the court of the honorable Judge Young at Quincy? and was not Smith himself the Mayor of said city and presiding officer of its court.

Smith's arrest was made on Thursday, the 23d of June, and on Monday, the 27th, the cavalcade, consisting of Wilson, Reynolds, and Smith; Messrs. Walker, Southwick, and Patrick, the counsel of Smith; McKay, employed by Reynolds to guard Smith; Sanger, the owner of the stage coach; McComsey, the driver of one of the teams employed; Ross, driver of the coach; Mason, attorney for Reynolds and Wilson; Wasson, the relative of Smith's wife, at whose house the arrest was made; Montgomery, son-in-law and travelling companion with Walker; and Mr. Campbell, Sheriff of Lee County, all started from Dixon southward in the direction of Nauvoo and Quincy. Where were they going, and what were they going for? The officer had in his pocket two writs of *habeas corpus*, directing him to convey the persons therein named, one to Judge Young of Quincy, and the other to the nearest authorized court in the Fifth Judicial District, to hear and determine on *habeas corpus*. It is not too severe a judgment to say that all four of those legal gentlemen well knew that the place where both those writs were properly returnable, was Judge Young's court at Quincy. Besides, in a legal sense, it was necessary and proper that the writ procured by Wilson and Reynolds should be the first heard and determined. Instead, they travelled directly to Nauvoo. The conclusion is

unavoidable, that when the second writ was obtained by Smith, the purpose was to carry them to that nondescript Nauvoo tribunal. We have the testimony of one of the attorneys to that effect. Mr. Southwick said, in a communication to the Warsaw *Message:*

"No threat or intimidation was used by any person whatever, to induce Mr. Campbell, the Sheriff of Lee County, to go to Nauvoo with Reynolds; and Mr. Campbell well knew before starting from Dixon, that it was the determination of the whole company to go to Nauvoo, he particularly consenting to the same. The stage was also chartered to go to Nauvoo. *Smith said before leaving Dixon, that he should submit to the law, and appeared desirous to do so.*"

"Smith pledged his word," continued Mr. Southwick, "previous to his arrival in Nauvoo, that Reynolds should not be harmed"; and he was not. He and Wilson were even invited to dine with the prophet at his home, which they did, and were introduced to his family.

Another writ of *habeas corpus!* Says Southwick:

"In the afternoon of the day of said arrival, a writ of *habeas corpus* was issued by the municipal court of the city of Nauvoo, directed to Reynolds, requiring him to bring before said court the body of said Smith; which he accordingly did, objecting, however, to the same, that said court had no jurisdiction in the case."

Of course he objected; the above, however, contains one slight mistake: it was Smith that

brought Reynolds before the municipal court. The report continues:

"The counsel of Smith, however, appeared to entertain a different opinion as to the jurisdiction of said court, and the examination was had before them, and Smith discharged upon the merits of the case, and upon the substantial defects in the warrant."

And this is what the "opinion" of those learned counsel was based on—a clause in the Nauvoo charter: "The municipal court shall have power to grant writs of *habeas corpus in all cases arising under the ordinances of the city council.*"(!)

When Smith was arrested, it so happened that both Walker and Hoge, the candidates for Congress, were canvassing in the vicinity of Dixon. In addition to the two Dixon attorneys, Smith sent for Walker. This gentleman left his appointments, and, as we have seen, rode with the cavalcade to Nauvoo; and it is said, there made a three-hour speech in favor of Smith's discharge. Governor Ford's history states that both he and Hoge, from the public stand in that city, afterwards declared their belief in the existence of the power claimed by the municipal court.

Being thus signally baffled, the Missouri agent applied to Governor Ford for a military force to enable him to retake Smith; and Mr. Walker, as Smith's attorney, repaired to Springfield to resist

the application. After considerable delay, the Governor declined to grant Reynolds's request, and the matter was dropped.

Thus ended another move, and the last one, in the interesting game of "Demand and Discharge," which the executives of two great States had for two or three years been playing.

While these legal proceedings were being enacted up north, tremendous excitement existed at Nauvoo and over Hancock County. As soon as possible after the arrest, the news thereof had been sent to the city by swift messenger, and hasty preparations were made for their chief's rescue. But it was not known what route would be taken by the Missouri officer with his prisoner. It was conjectured that he might drive eastward, and take steamer at the nearest point on the Illinois river, and so down to St. Louis; or that he might aim for a Mississippi steamer at Rock Island; or that they might take a land route across the country. All these contingencies were provided for. A little steamer, owned and employed at Nauvoo, was armed, it was said, with a cannon or two, and manned, and sent down the Mississippi, to intercept them in or at the mouth of the Illinois. At the same time, squads of armed horsemen were sent out on the various roads leading toward Dixon. The delay, as we have seen, at that place, gave time for numbers of these

horsemen to be a considerable distance on their way north, before the party of prisoners and lawyers had left for Nauvoo; and during the journey down it was met by many of them, who turned and escorted their chief back to the city.

These events occurred during the latter part of June and the first days of July; and it was some time before Mr. Walker was free to resume his canvass. His conduct, as well as that of Mr. Hoge, was severely criticised. Many Whigs were highly indignant. It is believed that the prophet had intended, in good faith, to throw the Mormon vote to Mr. Walker; but owing to the dissatisfaction of the Whigs in part, and for the reason that Reynolds's application for a force was still held *in terrorum* over him, he had changed his policy. Ford himself states that a friend of his, in his absence, and in his name, had pledged to a Mormon emissary, that if they would vote the Democratic ticket the force would not be sent.—*Hist. Ill.*, p. 317.

The Governor's statement of what occurred at Nauvoo in regard to the matter, so nearly accords with what we learned at the time from other sources, and it is doubtless true, that we give it in his own words:

"A great meeting was called of several thousand Mormons on Saturday before the election. Hyrum Smith, patriarch in the church, and brother to the prophet, appeared in this great assembly, and there

solemnly announced to the people that God had revealed to him that the Mormons must support Mr. Hoge, the Democratic candidate. William Law, another great leader of the Mormons, next appeared, and denied that the Lord had made any such revelation. He stated that to his certain knowledge, the prophet was in favor of Mr. Walker, and that the prophet was more likely to know the mind of the Lord on the subject than the patriarch. Hyrum Smith again repeated his revelation with a greater tone of authority. But the people remained in doubt until the next day, being Sunday, when Joe himself appeared before the assembly. He there stated that "he, himself," was in favor of Mr. Walker, and intended to vote for him; that he would not influence any voter in giving his vote; that he considered it a mean business for him or any other man to attempt to dictate to the people who they should support in elections; that he had heard his brother Hyrum had received a revelation from the Lord on the subject; that for his part, he did not much believe in revelations on the subject of elections; but brother Hyrum was a man of truth; he had known brother Hyrum intimately ever since he was a boy, and he had never known him to tell a lie. If brother Hyrum said he had received such a revelation, he had no doubt it was a fact. When the Lord speaks, let all the earth be silent."

The question was settled. It is believed that the prophet, with Law and a few others, did vote for Walker, in the face of the revelation; but the body of his followers voted for Hoge, giving him 2088 votes to Walker's 733 in the county, and beating him in the district 455 votes. The news of this revelation at Nauvoo did not reach the adjoining

district below, till after the election; and the Mormon vote there was thrown to O. H. Browning, the Whig candidate. To Mr. Walker and his friends and the Whig party generally, this result was most aggravating; more so from the fact, that by a straightforward and independent course, thereby securing a full and enthusiastic support from his party, it was believed he could have been elected with the Mormon vote solid against him.

CHAPTER XXIII.

TWO WAYS OF TELLING A STORY.

STORY OF THE ARREST OF THE PROPHET, AS TOLD BY TWO—THE PROPHET'S STORY—THE OFFICER'S STORY.

THERE is an adage that one story is good until another is told. The widely differing stories told concerning the arrest of the prophet, chronicled in the preceding chapter, will each be believed by a large number of people—the first, by the thousands of faithful followers of the prophet, who, like his brother Hyrum, "never told a lie"; and the other by everybody else. If either be true, the arrest must have been dramatic in the extreme. The *Times and Seasons* of July 1, 1843, tells it thus in behalf of the prophet:

"While he [Smith] was there [at his wife's sister's residence, 12 miles from Dixon] a Mr. J. H. Reynolds, Sheriff of Jackson County, Missouri (so he says), and Mr. Harman Wilson of Carthage, arrived at Dixon, professing to be Mormon preachers; from thence they proceeded to Mr. Wasson's, at whose house Mr. Smith was staying. They found Mr. Smith outside the door, and accosted him in a very uncouth, ungentlemanly manner, quite in keeping, however, with the common practice of Missourians. The following is as near the conversation as we can gather. Reynolds and his

coadjutor Wilson, both stepped up at a time to Mr. Smith, with their pistols cocked, and without showing any writ or serving any process, Mr. Reynolds, with his pistol cocked at Mr. Smith's breast, cried out: 'G—d d—n you! if you stir I'll shoot; G—d d—n you! be still or I'll shoot, by G—d!'

"'What is the meaning of this?' interrupted Mr. Smith.

"'I'll show you the meaning, by G—d! and if you stir one inch I'll shoot you, G—d d—n you!'

"'I'm not afraid of your shooting,' answered Mr. Smith; 'I am not afraid to die.' He then bared his breast and said: 'Shoot away! I have endured so much of oppression I am weary of life, and kill me, if you please. I am a strong man, however, and with my own natural weapons could soon level both of you; but if you have any legal process to serve, I am at all times subject to law, and shall not offer resistance.'

"'G—d d—n you, if you say another word, we'll shoot you, by G—d!'

"'Shoot away!' answered Mr. Smith, 'I'm not afraid of your pistols.'

"They then hurried him off to a carriage they had, and without serving any process were for hurrying him off without letting him see or bid farewell to his family or friends. Mr. Smith then said:

"'Gentlemen, if you have any legal process, I wish to obtain a writ of *habeas corpus*,' and was answered:

"'G—d d—n you! you shan't have one.'

"Mr. Smith saw a friend of his passing, and said: 'These men are kidnapping me, and I want a writ of *habeas corpus* to deliver myself out of their hands.'

"This friend immediately proceeded to Dixon, whence the Sheriff also proceeded at full speed. On arriving at the house of Mr. McKinnie, tavern-

keeper, Mr. Smith was thrust into a room and guarded there, without being allowed to see anybody, and horses were ordered in five minutes. Mr. Smith then stated to Reynolds: 'I wish to get counsel;' and was answered: 'G—d d—n you! you shan't have counsel; one word more, G—d d—n you, and I'll shoot you.'

"'What is the use of this so often?' said Mr. Smith. 'I have often told you to shoot, and I now tell you again, to shoot away;' and seeing a person passing, he said: 'I am falsely imprisoned here, and I want a lawyer.'

"A lawyer came, but had the door banged in his face, with the old threat of shooting, if he came any nearer; another afterwards came, and received the same treatment.

"Then the citizens of Dixon interfered, etc."

Whether the editor of the *Times and Seasons* drew upon his imagination for the foregoing or had it from Smith himself, is not known. The writer of these pages knew Mr. Wilson well for many years, and believes the story told by him to be substantially true, as heard more than once from his own lips. He stated that he and Reynolds drove in their carriage to the residence of Mr. Wasson, alighted and hitched their team, and stepping to the front door, inquired for Mr. Smith. The answer was very unsatisfactory, but that he was not there. They took seats, however —Reynolds in the doorway, and Wilson on the step outside—and entered into conversation. While thus engaged, Wilson, who had a view of the stair-

way, saw Emma, the prophet's wife, whom he had before known, hastily cross the hall at the head of the stairs. This convinced him that they were on the right track. The conversation continued a little longer; but Wilson was becoming excited and uneasy. Rising from his seat, he made a step or two to the corner of the house, and casually casting his eye along the side of the building, was astonished to see the object of their search off in an open field two hundred yards away, running toward a piece of woods some distance off.

On the impulse of the moment, and without bidding good-bye to the household, or explaining to Reynolds, he gave a whoop, and started in pursuit, leaving his companion to bring up the rear. The pursuers, being lighter and more nimble of foot, gained upon the pursued. So he resorted to strategy. He was nearing an old cabin, uninhabited, but at the side of which was a well, and near by a lot of clothes spread over some tall grass and weeds to dry. It was evident the flying chieftain had been aiming for the forest beyond; but on arriving at the building, Wilson could nowhere see the fugitive. He certainly had not had time to reach the timber, nor could he be seen anywhere about the building. Giving a hurried glance at the surroundings—taking in the cabin, the well, the drying bed-clothes, etc.—an idea struck him,

and the next moment he saw a pair of boots protruding from beneath some bedding on the weeds.

By this time Reynolds was close at hand; but in his excitement, and without waiting to see if there was a man in the boots, or who that man might be, Wilson sprang upon the blanket and called to Reynolds to come on. The man in the boots soon emerged from his hiding place, and stood before them as their prisoner, in great trepidation assuring them of his surrender. In due time he was placed in their carriage and started on their journey—a journey ludicrous in its beginning, but disastrous to them in the end; and which, instead of landing their prisoner in Missouri, brought them into a dismal swamp of *habeas corpus*, finally standing them, conquered and abashed, before the municipal court at Nauvoo.

CHAPTER XXIV.

A STORM-CLOUD RISES.

QUARREL BETWEEN THE CHIEFS—GENERAL BENNETT'S DEFECTION—CHARGES AND DENIALS—BENNETT ACCEPTS THE "BUFFETINGS" AND LEAVES — HIS LETTERS TO THE SANGAMO JOURNAL—TESTIMONIALS PRO AND CON.

DURING the summer of 1842, an ugly storm-cloud burst upon the horizon of Nauvoo, which threatened serious disaster. A quarrel sprung up between the two great leaders, Generals Smith and Bennett. The true inwardness of this quarrel was never fully known; but there is good reason for the opinion that it originated in jealousy. The city at that time contained some five or six thousand people, and was rapidly growing; yet it was not large enough for them both. Bennett had fast risen into power and greatness through the ill-advised generosity of the state government and the favoritism of the Mormon people. He was excessively vain and ambitious, and desired a greater share of the honors and emoluments than the prophet was willing to grant him. Immediately upon organizing under the charters, he had been given the two best offices, next to the supreme one held by the prophet himself. It is believed, further, that the

cause of the quarrel was not alone a jealousy of each other's power and influence; but that a jealousy resulting from quite another cause had much to do with it. In fact, it is very evident from the published statements by both parties, that there was a woman or two concerned. As they had been in confidential and close intimacy before, they now became vindictive and bitter enemies. But with his usual luck, Smith held the reins of power. The Lieutenant-General out-generaled the Major-General with the masses, and the latter went down, and was compelled to leave the city. He who had so lately been basking in the sunshine of prosperity, was expelled from the church—"seceded," he called it—and deposed from the high places which he had for so brief a period occupied. He left the city, vowing a determination to expose the wrongs and wickedness of Mormonism, and his intention to bring the prophet to condign punishment; declaring, further, that he had never been a believer, but had only joined them to acquaint himself with their nefarious designs. On the other hand, Smith and the church organs were not slow in denouncing the apostate general. If the half were true that these belligerent chiefs told of each other, they both deserved the contempt of mankind. As a general rule, and not to show partiality, the great mass of the Gentile people believed them both.



MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN C. BENNETT.

At the time of Bennett's defection, several others of the principal men manifested a rebellious spirit; and it looked for a season as if there would be a serious disruption. Of these, Sidney Rigdon, so long the confidential counsellor of Smith, and Orson Pratt, were the most prominent. And if Bennett's stories were true, each of these, with several others, had strong private reasons for entering into the rebellion. But the power of the prophet restrained them all, and Bennett alone was turned over to the "buffetings of Satan." The fallen chief at once left the city, and proceeded to Carthage, the county seat, claiming that his life was in danger—how truly we can only judge in the light of subsequent events. He began a series of letters to the *Sangamo Journal* at Springfield, carrying out his purpose of exposure. These letters were widely read and commented on. They were interesting for many reasons. First: They exhibited in strong light the character of Bennett himself. Second: Whether he was worthy of full credence or not, they portrayed the workings of that theocratic despotism which prevailed at Nauvoo. And third: They give us an idea of the sort of people he had been associating with and upholding and defending; and of the motives which actuated him and them. As literary productions they were weak, bombastic, and in bad taste.

Bennett, through his letters to the *Journal*, and the Mormons, through their organs, kept up for several weeks a terrible tirade of abuse and so-claimed exposure of villainies, *ad nauseum*. The *Times and Seasons* of July 1, 1842, contains a long article relating to the difficulty. It denounces Bennett in severe terms, charging him with falsehood, debauchery, and many other crimes; and publishes letters from abroad showing that his disreputable character was known to them more than a year before. The Master of Nauvoo Lodge of "Free and Accepted York Masons," publicly announced that Bennett had "palmed himself upon the fraternity as a regular Mason in good standing," when he was an expelled Mason, and cautioned the fraternity against him. In the organ of August 1st, may also be found a report of a meeting called to give an expression of the public mind in the matter of this grave quarrel. At this meeting, General Wilson Law offered the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That having heard that John C. Bennett was circulating many base falsehoods respecting a number of citizens of Nauvoo, and especially against our worthy and respected Mayor, Joseph Smith, we do hereby manifest to the world that so far as we are acquainted with Joseph Smith, we know him to be a good, moral, virtuous, peaceable and patriotic man, and a firm supporter of law, justice and equal rights; that he at all times up-

holds and keeps inviolate the constitution of this State and of the United States."

Being put to vote, about a thousand, the report says, voted in the affirmative; but Orson Pratt and two or three others, voted in the negative. This temerity occasioned great surprise, and Mr. Pratt was at once subjected to a categorical examination by the prophet. His reasons for the vote are withheld in the report, but he was pressed with the following question:

"Have you, *personally*, a knowledge of any immoral act in me toward the female sex, or in any other way?"

And Mr. Pratt answered: "PERSONALLY, toward the female sex, I have not." Dr. Bennett's charge against Smith of making improper advances toward Mrs. Pratt, was that they occurred in her husband's absence from the city. The resolution offered at the meeting and which was passed so overwhelmingly, it will be observed, was presented by one of the Laws, who soon afterwards engaged in another insurrection, and reaffirmed all the charges and more, that are therein denied.

The "Ladies' Relief Society" also joined with a paper, signed by one thousand ladies, attesting to the "virtue, philanthropy and benevolence of Joseph Smith."

Thirteen members of the city council made affidavit denying Bennett's charges, and further

declaring that there was no such a thing as a Danite Society in the city, within their knowledge. The *Times and Seasons* for August 1st, also is largely filled with the story of Bennett's character; and to these issues of that organ and to the *Sangamo Journal* at Springfield, during that interesting period, we refer the reader for the whole history of the war between the two doughty generals of the Nauvoo Legion.

Bennett, in his letters, made free use of the names of men high in authority in the city, to corroborate his statements, evidently expecting to draw them off. But he failed; most of them controverted his stories through the organ. Some of these denials are carefully worded, and when closely examined are found to be partly denial and partly evasion. Others are more direct, and embrace points which a year or so afterwards were as vehemently charged by themselves.

Among charges brought by Bennett against the prophet, was one of the attempted seduction of a buxom young English girl, who with her parents had not long before embraced the faith and emigrated to the city. This girl (Miss Martha Brotherton) corroborated Bennett's charges in a published letter, giving circumstances in detail. Whether their story was true or not, it is known that the girl and her parents—people of standing

and means—left the city, and, it is believed, returned to England.

An apology may seem to be necessary for occupying so much space with the quarrel between these two men. But let it be remembered that Dr. Bennett was for more than a year the second man in position in the city, and a bright light in the church, and that he had during that time the seeming confidence of Smith and his followers; and more, that he was an appointee of the Governor of the State and of a Judge of the Supreme Court, to responsible offices. That he was a weak man and a knave, his own conduct and *exposé* abundantly prove. How far the charges and criminations against each other are to be accepted by an honest public, we prefer to leave for the discerning reader to decide.

Dr. Bennett's book, entitled *The History of the Saints; an Exposé of Joe Smith and Mormonism*, issued soon after his defection and fall, contains this in its opening chapter:

"I find that it is almost universally the opinion of those who have heard of me in the eastern part of the United States, that I united myself to the Mormons from a conviction of the truth of their doctrines, and that I was, at least for some time, a convert to their pretended religion. This, however, is a very great error. *I never believed in them or their doctrines.*"

But he claimed that he joined them in order to

ascertain the truth about their objects and designs, and to expose them. And he adds that there was in existence among them a deep-laid scheme to conquer the five States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, and Iowa, for a military and religious empire, over which Joe Smith was to rule as Emperor and Pope, and Prophet of the Lord. This is all folly; Dr. Bennett found no such scheme among them. Who can be made to accept the story that the Mormon prophet would limit himself to those five insignificant States for his rule? Did he not proclaim that the "whole earth" was to be brought, and the possessions of all the Gentiles therein, under the sway of the Saints for an inheritance? However true many of Bennett's charges against the Mormons and their leaders may be, and we are forced to believe that many of them are true, we must be excused from accepting that story.

But Dr. Bennett's book is a curiosity in itself. It abounds in egotism and bombast, indicative of the character of its author; yet he brings together an array of specifications and charges against the prophet and the leaders, which, corroborated and sustained by many well-known facts and circumstances, render it difficult to reject; and had it not been for the questionable position he occupied, and his vain-glorious manner throughout, his *exposé* would have been much more effective.

He evidently failed in drawing off from the support of the prophet, a number of prominent men, who were disaffected and manifesting a rebellious spirit, but who afterwards followed him, reiterating most of his charges and statements. Had they openly declared themselves as he did, and when he did, the prophet would have had a formidable rebellion on his hands, that he might not have been able to subdue.

CHAPTER XXV.

A PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE.

FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, GEN. JOSEPH SMITH, OF NAUVOO, ILLINOIS; FOR VICE-PRESIDENT, SIDNEY RIGDON, OF PENNSYLVANIA.

AMONG the many methods adopted by the Mormon prophet for obtaining notoriety, was that of causing himself to be proclaimed a candidate for President of the United States. In the memorable campaign of 1840, such of the Mormons as had acquired citizenship in Illinois, had supported Harrison and Tyler. General Harrison had now gone to his rest and Tyler was near the close of his accidental term. All parties were discussing presidential probabilities. Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun were regarded as prominent candidates of their respective parties; to each of these the prophet had addressed a long letter, requesting to be informed as to the policy he would pursue if elected, in relation to Mormon grievances. Unsatisfactory replies had been received from each of those statesmen, and commented upon in Smith's organ. On the 15th of February, 1844, said organ, under the editorial charge of John Taylor, a lately imported English recruit, printed a long leader on the question:

"Who shall be our next President?" After discussing the merits of the respective candidates from a Mormon standpoint, and finding them all wanting, the editor says:

"Under these circumstances, the question again arises, who shall we support? GENERAL JOSEPH SMITH! A man of sterling worth and integrity and of enlarged views; a man who has raised himself from the humblest walks in life to stand at the head of a large, intelligent, respectable, and increasing society, that has spread not only in this land, but in distant nations; a man whose talents and genius are of an exalted nature, and whose experience has rendered him every way adequate to the onerous duty. Honorable, fearless and energetic; he would administer justice with an impartial hand, and magnify and dignify the office of chief magistrate of this land; and we feel assured there is not a man in the United States more competent for the task." (!!)

And after several more paragraphs, our editor concludes:

"Whatever therefore be the opinions of other men, our course is marked out, and our motto from henceforth will be GENERAL JOSEPH SMITH."

And the next issue of the *Times and Seasons* contained the announcement:

"*For President*,

"GENERAL JOSEPH SMITH, Nauvoo, Illinois";

and subsequent issues contained in addition:

"*For Vice-President*,

"SIDNEY RIGDON, of Pennsylvania."

This ticket stood till Mr. Smith was killed, on June 27th, the same year. We have not learned that any effort was ever made to form an Electoral ticket in Illinois or any other State. Had he lived, and such ticket had been formed, he would have obtained some votes most probably in several of the States of the Union, under the full faith that he would be elected.

But how it was that Joseph Smith became a citizen of Illinois, and Sidney Rigdon a citizen of Pennsylvania, when they both had resided at Nauvoo for several years with their families—both coming here the same year from Missouri, and to Missouri from Ohio at the same time—was one of the many Mormon problems.

CHAPTER XXVI.

AN IMPENDING CRISIS.

RUMBLINGS OF A VOLCANO—A SECESSION ORGANIZED—AN OPPOSITION CHURCH—A NEWSPAPER "NUISANCE" ABATED.

THE conduct of politicians and political parties during the campaign of 1843, gave a new impulse to the anti-Mormon sentiment, and measures to prevent its recurrence began to be taken. The late election fully developed the fact, that, although two or three good men had been chosen to office—men not objectionable to the great body of the people—practically the whole county and district were at the beck of the prophet. Four of the county officers were Mormons, and one of them was not even a resident of the county, but held a similar office at the time in a distant county; but having joined the church was intending to settle in Nauvoo.* An effort to reorganize the Anti-Mormon party was determined on, and a mass convention was held at the county seat on the 7th of September, at which preliminary measures were

* James Adams, when elected Probate Judge in Hancock, was residing in Springfield, and holding the same office in Sangamon County.

taken. Among the resolutions passed was one which, in view of past events, was impolitic, and should have been omitted—requesting the Governor of Missouri to make another demand for Smith, and pledging aid in the execution of the writ.

In the mean time, frequent difficulties were occurring between the Gentiles and Mormons over the county and at Nauvoo, which kept alive the excitement. Numerous acts of tyranny were perpetrated by the prophet on citizens of the county, and even on his own followers; and heavy fines were inflicted, at his instance, for no punishable offense, by the municipal court, or by himself as mayor or presiding officer of the court. If he committed an offense against an individual which rendered him liable, he had invented an easy way of escape—which was to procure an arrest by some of his tools, have an *ex-parte* hearing, and get discharged; then, when an officer called upon him with an honest writ, he was coolly informed that he was too late.

General Bennett's *exposé* referred to several of the prominent leaders by name, as being disaffected and having good cause for their rebellious attitude. These never afterwards became heartily reconciled, though they refused to "come out," when so strongly urged by the General. They were not

ready, but would bide their time. Some of these were Sidney Rigdon, Bishop Marks, George W. Robinson, Wilson and William Law, Dr. Robert D. and Charles A. Foster, and Francis M. and Chauncey L. Higbee, and a number of others of lesser note and position in the church. To these may be added Sylvester Emmans, an attorney at law and a member of the city council, who was not a church member. None of these had ever been fully restored in the prophet's confidence since the secession of the Major-General; and the breach was daily widening. Dr. Foster had been elected school commissioner of the county by Mormon votes, probably as a means of keeping him loyal and quiet.

During the winter and spring of 1844, the breach had widened to the extent of organizing a new church, and one was instituted in April or May, with William Law as its President; but he disclaimed any prophetic attainments or privileges. It was also decided to establish a new paper in the city as their organ, and with it to fight the prophet. Accordingly, in May a printing press and materials arrived by steamer from St. Louis, and were landed and hauled into the city and set up without molestation. Of course these events caused great excitement, not only in the city among the faithful but over the whole country. Evidently a

crisis was approaching. The lion was being bearded in his very den. His own cubs were growling defiance.

In the mean time the *habeas corpus*—the great safeguard of liberty everywhere else, but at Nauvoo the great engine of despotic power—was not inactive. In May, Mr. Francis M. Higbee, one of the seceders, commenced against the prophet a civil action for slander, in the Hancock circuit court, on which, in accordance with usage, a *capias* was issued. On this being served by the Sheriff, instead of entering bail for his appearance, Smith obtained a writ of *habeas corpus* from the city court and was set at liberty. About the same time, one Jeremiah Smith, an Iowa defaulter to the United States government, fled to the city for protection; was arrested there by a United States Marshal, and twice released by the *habeas corpus*—the court rendering a judgment for costs against the United States!

The May term of the Hancock circuit court commenced its session at Carthage on the 20th, Hon. Jesse B. Thomas presiding. At this term, four cases were on docket against the prophet, and were disposed of as follows:

Alexander Sympson—For false imprisonment: change of venue to Adams County.

Francis M. Higbee—For slander: change to the County of McDonough.

Charles A. Foster—False imprisonment: to the County of McDonough.

Amos Davis — For trespass: to McDonough County.

These were all civil actions. At the same term, two indictments were found against Smith by the grand jury—one for adultery, and one for perjury. To the surprise of all, on the Monday following these presentments, the prophet appeared in court and demanded trial on the last-named indictment. The prosecution not being ready, a continuance was taken to the next term.

In the mean time the seceders were not idle. President Law boldly denounced the prophet from the platform in the city; while the others were busy among the people in and out of the city. The prospectus for the new paper was extensively circulated, and received with much encouragement. Its title was to be the *Nauvoo Expositor*, and its purposes as set forth in the prospectus were:

"The unconditional repeal of the city charter; to correct the abuses of the unit power; to advocate disobedience to political revelations."

In short, its purpose was to oppose the prophet Smith, and reform the abuses of which he was claimed to be the author.

The paper was issued under date of June 7, 1844. It had for its editor Sylvester Emmans, and the names of William Law, Wilson Law, Charles Ivins, Francis M. Higbee, Chauncey L. Higbee, Robert D. Foster, and Charles A. Foster, as its publishers. In a literary point of view, it exhibited little talent. It had evidently been prepared in a hurry and under excitement, and with no attempt at artistic arrangement. About half of its reading matter was made up from miscellaneous selections. Of its original contents, five or six columns were occupied with a "Preamble, Resolutions, and Affidavits of the Seceders from the Church at Nauvoo"; giving reasons for their action, and making charges against the prophet and his adherents. A number of editorial articles followed, mostly of the same purport, couched in strong language, but not remarkable for ability or point.

As we have seen, the professed aim and purpose of this sheet were to expose the enormities practiced by the prophet and his followers at Nauvoo. And from the statements and proofs adduced, and from corroborative facts—making all due allowance for exaggeration, and vindictive feeling—we are compelled to accept many of them as true. Yet, it is painful to remember that while they were showing Joseph Smith to have been a desperately bad man, they were—to put it in as mild a way as

possible—adding little to their own characters; inasmuch as for years they had been his supporters and defenders, and (having been in his confidence) must have known long before what his true character was, and that all his pretensions to religion and sanctity were false. And it will be remembered, too, that when Dr. Bennett revolted, but a short period before, and made the same or similar charges, all, or most of these men made public contradiction of them.

Sidney Rigdon, who, taking their statements with Bennett's to be true, had as much cause as any one to come out and denounce their chief, still refused—until after the prophet's death, when Brigham Young and the Twelve had thrown him overboard. Did Rigdon know of Smith's villainies, after fourteen years' association with him? These seceders all gave countenance to one Joseph H. Jackson, in his exposures—a new-comer, who, as he says, had only been in Smith's confidence a little time; and Jackson published a pamphlet stating that the prophet had confided to him that he was a counterfeiter, an adulterer, an instigator of murder (as in the case of Governor Boggs), and that the *Book of Mormon* and the Golden Plates were frauds. This Jackson may have been a fraud and a falsifier himself; it is true that his statements, excepting wherein corroborated, did not gain full

credence. Yet many of them coincided with those of the seceders. And is it likely that Jackson in a few months would be able to gain more of the prophet's confidence, than would these in several years' intimacy?

The life of the *Expositor* was a short one. This first issue was its final one. It was issued on Friday, the 7th of June, and on Saturday the 8th, the city council was in session considering what should be done. They deliberated all that day and all day Monday, and at six o'clock in the evening passed a resolution declaring the *Expositor* a nuisance, and instructing the Mayor to cause it to be abated—which he did about eight o'clock the same evening.

An extra of the Nauvoo *Neighbor*, the weekly organ, containing a certified copy of the proceedings of the council on those two days, now lies before us. It is due to them that *their* side of the controversy should be given; and this extra fully and at great length sets forth the reasons for their action. Besides, it should be preserved for all time to come as a curiosity, and as illustrating to future law-makers the nature of a nuisance, and the proper mode of treating it. It will be found entire in the next chapter.

It was stated by Gentiles who were present during the deliberations of the council, that the brothers, Hyrum and Joseph Smith, were at times

greatly excited, and indulged in violent language. The latter was reported to have vehemently ex-exclaimed: "If you will not stick by me, *and wade to your knees in blood for my sake, you may go to h—ll and be d—d;* and I will go and build another city!" Hyrum was reported to have said: "We had better send a message to long-nosed Sharp [editor of the Warsaw *Signal*] that if he does not look out, he might be visited with a pinch of snuff that will make him sneeze!" And he continued: "If any person will go to Warsaw boldly, in daylight, and break the press of the *Signal* office with a sledge-hammer, I will bear him out in it, if it costs me a farm. He could only be taken with a warrant at any rate, and what good would that do?" In view of *habeas corpus*, that was a significant question.

Of course such language would not be reported in the organ. It is proper to state, however, that Hyrum and his friends made emphatic denial of having made threats against the *Signal* or its editor.

The report in the extra is to be taken as conclusive of the reasons for the destruction of the press. When analyzed, they resolve themselves into these half-dozen propositions.

1. Sylvester Emmans was poor when he came to the city, with only two shirts to his back,

2. The Laws oppressed the poor, by adhering to their rules in grinding grain.

3. Besides, they had dunned the prophet for money due them.

4. Dr. Foster had been too intimate with a sister in Ohio—and he had written the Mayor a saucy letter.

5. Wilson Law had seduced another sister, and—

6. They had all misrepresented the spiritual wife doctrine.

And these six counts, with several more of minor importance, amounted to treason against the independent sovereignty of Nauvoo, and the head thereof, and rendered the printing press of the traitors a nuisance, and it must be destroyed! Even in this the Mayor transcended the authority given him by the council. The resolution instructed him to abate the nuisance by *removal;* he issued his order to the City Marshal to *destroy the press and pi the types in the street*, and if necessary demolish the house, and arrest all who opposed.

CHAPTER XXVII.

GIVING THE REASON WHY.

A STRANGE DOCUMENT—RECITING PROCEEDINGS OF THE NAUVOO CITY COUNCIL REGARDING THE "EXPOSITOR" NUISANCE—OFFICIAL.

THE document which follows is a verbatim copy of a half-sheet extra which was issued from the office of the Nauvoo *Neighbor* soon after the destruction of the *Expositor* office. It is given entire, Editorials, Mayor's Proclamation, Clerk's Statement and all, as showing their side of the question and their reasons for the course pursued. It is valuable, too, as showing to the Gentile world what kind of people these Latter-Day Saints were, thus congregated together in the holy city:

NAUVOO NEIGHBOR EXTRA.

[Editorial.]

TO THE PUBLIC.

"As a soft breeze in a hot day mellows the air, so does the simple truth calm the feelings of the irritated, and so we proceed to give the proceedings of the city council relating to the removal of the Nauvoo *Expositor* as a nuisance. We have

been robbed, mobbed and plundered with impunity some two or three times, and as every heart is more apt to know its own sorrows, the people of Nauvoo had ample reason, when such characters as the proprietors and abettors of the Nauvoo *Expositor* proved to be before the city council, to be alarmed for their safety. The men who got up the press were constantly engaged in resisting the authority or threatening something. If they were fined an appeal was taken, but the slander went on; and when the paper came, the course and the plan to destroy the city was marked out. The destruction of the city charter and the ruin of the Saints was the all-commanding topic. Our lives, our city, our charter, and our characters are just as sacred, just as dear, and just as good as other people's; and while no friendly arm has been extended from the demolition of our press in Jackson County, Missouri, without law, to this present day, the city council, with all the law of nuisance, from Blackstone down to the Springfield city charter, knowing that if they exceeded the law of the land, a higher court would regulate the proceedings, abated the Nauvoo *Expositor*.

The proceedings of the council show, as sketched, that there was cause of alarm. The people when they reflect will at once say that the feelings and rights of men ought to be respected. All persons otherwise, and without recourse to justice, mercy, or humanity, to come out with inflammatory publications, destructive resolutions, or more especially extermination, shows a want of respect and a want of religious toleration, that honorable men will deprecate among Americans, as they would the pestilence, famine, or the horrors of war. It cannot be that the people are so lost to virtue as to coolly go to murdering men, women, and children. No. Candor and common sense forbid it."

Clerk's Statement.

For the Neighbor.

"Mr. Editor: In your last week's paper I proposed giving your readers an account of the proceedings of the city council, but time forbids anything more than a brief synopsis of the proceedings of the municipality of the city of Nauvoo, relative to the destruction of the press, and fixtures of the Nauvoo *Expositor*.

"CITY COUNCIL, REGULAR SESSION.

"*June* 8, 1884.

"In connexion with other business, as stated in last week's paper, the Mayor remarked that he believed it generally the case, that when a man goes to law he has an unjust cause, and wants to go before some one who wants business, and that he had very few cases on his docket; and referring to Councillor Emmons, editor of the Nauvoo *Expositor*, suggested the propriety of first purging the city council; and referring to the character of the paper and proprietors, called up Theodore Turley, a mechanic, who, being sworn, said that the Laws (Wm. and Wilson) had brought bogus dies to him to fix.

"Councillor Hyrum Smith inquired what good Foster and his brother, and the Higbees, and the Laws had ever done; while his brother Joseph was under arrest, from the Missouri persecution, the Laws and Foster would have been rode on a rail, if he had not stepped forward to prevent it, on account of their oppressing the poor.

"Mayor said, while he was under arrest by writ from Governor Carlin, Wm. Law, pursued him for $40 he was owing Law, and it took the last expense money he had to pay it.

"Councillor H. Smith, referred to J. H. Jack-

son's coming to this city, &c. Mayor said, Wm. Law, had offered Jackson, $500 to kill him.

"Councillor, H. Smith, continued, Jackson, told him, he (Jackson,) meant to have his daughter; and threatened him if he made any resistance. Jackson, related to him a dream; that Joseph and Hyrum were opposed to him, but that he would execute his purposes; that Jackson, had laid a plan with four or five persons to kidnap his daughter, and threatened to shoot any one that should come near, after he had got her in the skiff; That Jackson, was engaged in trying to make Bogus, which was his principal business,—referred to the revelation, read to the high council of the church, which has caused so much talk about a multiplicity of wives; that said Revelation was in answer to a question concerning things which transpired in former days, and had no reference to the present time. That when sick, Wm. Law, confessed to him that he had been 'guilty of adultery,' and 'was not fit to live,' and had 'sinned against his own soul,' &c., and inquired, who was Judge Emmons? When he came here he had scarce two shirts to his back, but he had been dandled by the authorities of the city, &c. and was now editor of the "Nauvoo Expositor," and his right hand man Francis M. Higbee, who had confessed to him that he had * *.

"Washington Peck, sworn, said soon after Joseph H. Jackson came here, he came to witness to borrow money, which witness loaned him, and took some jewelry as security. Soon after a man from across the river came after the jewelry,—Jackson, had stolen the jewelry from him. At another time wanted to get money of witness, asked witness if he would do anything dishonorable to get a living. Witness said he would not. Jackson said witness was a damned fool, for he could get a living a deal easier than he was then doing by making Bogus,

and some men high in the church was engaged in the business. Witness asked if it was Joseph. No said Jackson, I dare not tell it to Joseph. Witness understood him, the Laws was engaged in it. Jackson said he would be the death of witness, if he ever went to Joseph or any one else to tell what he had said.

"Ordered by the council that, Sylvester Emmons, be suspended until his case could be investigated for slandering the city council, that the recorder notify him of his suspension, and that his case would come up for investigation at the next regular session of the council. [The order is in the hands of the marshal.]

"Councillor J. Taylor said that Councillor Emmons helped to make the ordinances of the city, and had never lifted his voice against them in the council, and was now trying to destroy the ordinances and the charter.

"Lorenzo Wasson, sworn, said Joseph H. Jackson, told witness, that Bogus making was going on in the city;—but it was too damned small business. Wanted witness to help him to procure money, for the general, (Smith,) was afraid to go into it, and with $500 he could get an engraving for bills on the bank of Missouri, and one on the state of New York, and could make money,—said many times witness did not know him;—believed the general had been telling witness something. God damn him if he has I will kill him,—swore he would kill any man that should prove a traitor to him. Jackson said if he could get a company of men to suit him, he would go into the frontiers and live by highway robbery, had got sick of the world.

"Mayor suggested that the council pass an ordinance to prevent misrepresentation and libellous publications, and conspiracies against the peace of the city; and referring to the reports that Dr. Fos-

ter had set afloat, said he had never made any proposals to Foster to come back to the church. Foster proposed to come back; came to Mayor's house and wanted a private interview; had some conversation with Foster in the hall, in presence of several gentlemen, on the 7th inst.; offered to meet him and have an interview in presence of friends, three or four to be selected by each party—which Foster agreed to; and went to bring his friends for the interview, and the next notice he had of him was the following letter:

"*June* 7th, 1844.

"*To Gen. J. Smith:*

"SIR:—I have consulted my friends in relation to your proposals of settlements, and they as well as myself are of the opinion that your conduct and that of your unworthy, unprincipled clan is so base that it would be morally wrong and detract from the dignity of gentlemen to hold any conference with you. The repeated insults and abuses, I as well as my friends have suffered from your unlawful course towards us demands honorable resentment. We are resolved to make this our motto; nothing on our part has been done to provoke your anger but have done all things as become men. You have trampled upon every thing we hold dear and sacred, you have set all law at defiance and profaned the name of the most high to carry out your damnable purposes—and I have nothing more to fear from you than you have already threatened. And I as well as my friends will stay here and maintain and magnify the law as long as we stay—and we are resolved never to leave until we sell or exchange our property that we have here. The proposals made by your agent Dimick Huntington as well as the threats you sent to intimidate me, I disdain and despise as I do their unhallowed author. The right of my family and my friends, demand at

my hand a refusal of all your offers; we are united in virtue and truth, and we set hell at defiance and all her agents adieu. R. D. FOSTER.

"*To General J. Smith.*

"Mayor continued:—And when Foster left his house, he went to a shoe shop on the hill and reported, that 'Joseph said to him if he would come back he would give him Law's place in the church, and a hat full of specie.'

"Lucian Woodworth, sworn, said that the conversation as stated by the Mayor was correct; was at the Mansion June 7th when Dr. Foster rode up and inquired if General Smith was at home—Dr. Foster went into the house—witness followed, Dr. Foster was there, the General and others looking at some specimens of penmanship, something was said respecting a conversation at that time, between the General and Dr.; General Smith observed to Foster, if he had a conversation he would want others present. The doctor said he would have a word with him by himself; and went into the Hall. Witness went to the door, that he might see and hear what was passing. They still continued to talk on the subject of a conversation that they might have afterwards with others present, whom Mr. Smith might choose and Foster might choose. Foster left, and went for them that he said he wanted present, and would return soon with them —thinks he heard all the conversation, heard nothing about General Smith's making any offers to Foster to settle, was present all the time. Dimick Huntington said he had seen Foster and talked with him.

"Mayor said he wished it distinctly understood that he knew nothing about Dimick Huntington going to see Foster.

"Woodworth said he sent Dimick Huntington to Foster, and Joseph knew nothing about it.

"Counsellor H. Smith said Dimick Huntington came to him on the 7th inst. and said he had had an interview with Dr. Foster, and thought he was about ready to come back, and a word from him to Joseph would bring it about.

"Mayor said, the conduct of such men, and such papers are calculated to destroy the peace of the city; and it is not safe that such things should exist, on account of the mob spirit which they tend to produce; he had made the statements he had, and called the witnesses to prepare the council to act in the case.

"Emmons was blackguarded out of Philadelphia, and dubbed with the title of judge (as he had understood from citizens of Philadelphia) was poor, and Mayor helped him to cloth for a coat before he went away last fall, and he labored all winter to get the post office from Mr. Rigdon (as informed).

"Mayor referred to a writing from Dr. Goforth, showing that the Laws presented the communication from the 'Female Relief Society' in the Nauvoo Neighbor, to Dr. Goforth, *as the bone of contention*, and said, if God ever spake by any man, it will not be five years before this city is in ashes and we in our graves, unless we go to Oregon, California, or some other place, if the city does not put down every thing which tends to mobocracy, and put down their murderers, bogus makers and scoundrels; all the sorrow he ever had in his family has arisen through the influence of Wm. Law.

"C. H. Smith spoke in relation to the Laws, Fosters, Higbees, Editor of the Signal, &c., and of the importance of suppressing that spirit which has driven us from Missouri &c., that he would go in for an effective ordinance.

"Mayor said, at the time Governor Carlin was pursuing him with his writs, Wm. Law came to his house with a band of Missourians for the purpose

of betraying him. Came to his gate, and was prevented by Daniel Cairns, who was set to watch; Law came within his gate, and called Mayor, and the Mayor reproved Law for coming at that time of night, with a company of strangers.

"Daniel Cairns, sworn, said that about 10 o'clock at night, a boat came up the river with about a dozen men. Wm. Law came to the gate with them, witness on guard. Stopped them. Law called Joseph to the door, and wanted an interview. Joseph said, Bro. Law you know better than to come here at this hour of the night, and Law retired—next morning Law wrote a letter to apologize, which witness heard read—which was written apparently to screen himself from the censure of a conspiracy and the letter betrayed a conspiracy on the face of it.

"Adjourned at half past 6 P. M., till Monday 10th at 10 o'clock A. M. Adjourned session June 10th, 10 o'clock, A. M. Alderman Harris presiding.

"Mayor, referred to Dr. Foster—and again read his letter of the 7th inst. (as before quoted).

"Cyrus Hills, a stranger sworn: said one day last week, believed it Wednesday, a gentleman, whom witness did not know came into the sitting room of the 'Nauvoo Mansion,' and requested the Hon. Mayor to step aside—he wanted to speak with him. Mayor stepped through the door into the entry, by the foot of the stairs, and the General (Mayor) asked him what he wished? Foster (as witness learned since the gentleman's name), said he wanted some conversation on some business witness did not understand at the time; the General refused to go any farther, and said he would have no conversation in private, what should be said should be in public; and told Foster if he would choose three or four men, he would meet him with the same num-

ber of men (among whom was his brother Hyrum), and they would have a cool and calm investigation of the subject, and by his making a proper satisfaction, things should be honorably adjusted. Witness judged from the manner in which Foster expressed himself that he agreed to the Mayor's proposals, and would meet him the same day, in presence of friends; heard no proposals made by Mayor to Foster for settlement, heard nothing about any offers of dollars, or money, or any other offer except those mentioned before; nothing said about Wm. Law; was within hearing of the parties at the time conversation was going on.

"O. P. Rockwell, sworn. Some day last week, said Dr. Foster rode up to the Nauvoo Mansion and went in, witness went in and found the Mayor and Dr. Foster in conversation. General Smith was naming the men he would have present, among whom was Hyrum Smith, Wm. Marks, Lucian Woodworth, and Peter Hawes, and Dr. Foster had leave to call an equal number of his friends, as witness understood, for the purpose of having an interview on some matters in conversation.

"The doctor's brother was proposed. General said he had no objections, wanted him present. Dr. Foster started, saying he would be back shortly. Before Dr. F. left, the men whom General Smith had named to be present at the conversation were sent for. Cross-examined: witness went into the house as Mayor and Dr. Foster were coming out of the Bar Room into the Hall; nothing said by the Mayor to Dr. Foster about his coming back,—made no offer to Foster about a settlement.

"Mayor said the first thing that occurred when he stepped into the hall with Foster was that he wanted to assassinate him; he saw something shining below his vest; Mayor put his finger on it and said, *what is that?* Foster replied *it is my pistol*, and

immediately took out the pistol, and showed it openly, and wanted the Mayor to go with him alone. Mayor said he would not go alone, Mayor never saw the pistol before; had a hook on its side, to hang on his waist-coat.

"Andrew L. Lamaraux, sworn, said that in 1839 or 40 while President Joseph Smith, Elder Rigdon, Judge Higbee, O. P. Rockwell and Dr. R. D. Foster, on their way to Washington, called at witness's house in Dayton, Ohio, that the evening was spent very agreeably except some dissatisfaction on the part of certain females with regard to the conduct of Dr. Foster. On their return from Washington witness informed President Smith of Foster's conduct. President Smith said he had frequently reproved Foster for such conduct and he had promised to do better, and told witness to reprove Foster if he saw anything out of the way. That evening Foster refused to join the company, and walked through the town till about 8 o'clock when he came in and interrupted President Smith, who was expounding some passages of scriptures, and changed the conversation. Soon after the company was invited to Mr. Brown's at the next door, whither they all repaired. While at Mr. Brown's, conversation going on, and the room much crowded, Dr. Foster and one of the ladies he had paid so much attention to before took their seats in one corner of the room. Witness heard her state to Dr. Foster that she supposed she had been *enciente* for some time back, but had been disappointed, and supposed it was on account of her weakness, and wanted Foster to prescribe something for her. Foster said he could do it for her, and dropped his hand to her feet, and began to raise it, she gave him a slight push and threw herself close to the wall.

"He laid his hand on her knee, and whispered so low that witness could not hear. Next morning

witness went in while Foster and others were at breakfast and related what he had seen. Foster denied it. President Smith told him not to deny it for he saw it himself and was ashamed of it. Foster confessed it was true, and promised to reform.

"Peter Hawes sworn—Said that he came to Nauvoo before the Laws and brought considerable property; it was a short time after the church had been driven out of Missouri and had arrived in this place. The families having been robbed of all in Missouri were in a starving condition. By the counsel of the Presidency, witness converted his funds to feeding the poor, bringing in meat and flour, &c., and while thus engaged drew upon the Laws, who were at that time engaged in merchandise to the amount of some six hundred dollars, which, on account of expenditure for the poor, he was not able to pay, to within some 70 or 80 dollars—which they pressed him for as soon as they wanted it—although he offered them good property at considerable less than the market value. As witness was obliged to leave the city on church business for a little season, Wm. Law threatened and intimidated witness's family during his absence for the pay.

"Dr. Foster made a public dinner on the 4th of July. Witness was obliged to be absent and deposited meat, flour, &c., with Wm. Law, to give to the poor at that dinner, and Law handed it out as his own private property. Witness carried a load of wheat to Law's mill to be ground—Law would not grind it only to give a certain quantity of flour in return by weight. Law used up the flour, promising from time to time he would refund it. As witness was about to start on a mission to the south, with his valise in hand, saw Law before his door, talking with Hyrum Smith; called on Law and told him he was going away, and his family

wanted the flour: Law promised on the honor of a gentleman and a Saint, his family should have the flour when they wanted.

"Councillor H. Smith said he recollected the time and circumstance.

"Hawes said when he returned, found his family must have starved if they had not borrowed money to get food somewhere else—could not get it of Law. And Law was preaching *punctuality*, PUNCTUALITY, PUNCTUALITY, as the whole drift of his discourses to the Saints, and abusing them himself all the time, and grinding the poor.

"Mayor said if he had a city council who felt as he did, the establishment (referring to the Nauvoo *Expositor*) would be a nuisance before night—and he then read an editorial from the Nauvoo *Expositor*. He then asked who ever said a word against Judge Emmons until he has attacked this council,—or even against Joseph H. Jackson or the Laws, until they came out against the city? Here is a paper (Nauvoo *Expositor*), that is exciting our enemies abroad. Joseph H. Jackson has been proved a murderer before this council, declared the paper a nuisance, a greater nuisance than a dead carcass; they make a criminality for a man to have a wife on the earth, while he has one in heaven, according to the keys of the holy priesthood, and he then read a statement of William Law's from the *Expositor*, where the truth of God was transformed into a lie concerning this thing. He then read several statements of Austin Cowles in the *Expositor* concerning a private interview, and said he never had any private conversation with Austin Cowles on these subjects; that he preached on the stand from the Bible, showing the order in ancient days, having nothing to do with the present times. What the opposition party want, is to raise a mob on us and take the spoil from us, as they did in Missouri. He said

it was as much as he could do to keep his clerk, Thompson, from publishing the proceedings of the Laws and causing the people to rise up against them. Said he would rather die to-morrow and have the thing smashed, than live and have it go on, for it was exciting the spirit of mobocracy among the people and bringing death and destruction upon us.

"Peter Hawes recalled a circumstance, which he had forgot to mention, concerning a Mr. Smith who came from England and soon after died—the children had no one to protect them; there was one girl 16 or 17 years old and a younger sister. Witness took these girls into his family out of pity.—Wilson Law, then Major-General of the Nauvoo Legion, was familiar with the eldest daughter.—Witness cautioned the girl.—Wilson was soon there again and went out in the evening with the girl, who when charged by the witness's wife confessed that Wilson Law had seduced her. Witness told her he could not keep her. The girl wept, made much ado, and many promises—witness told her if she would do right, she might stay, but she did not keep her promise. Wilson came again and she went out with him. Witness required her to leave his house.

"Mayor said certain women came to complain to his wife,—that they had caught Wilson Law with the girl on the floor at Mr. Hawes's in the night.

"Councillor C. H. Smith proceeded to show the falsehood of Austin Cowles in the *Expositor* in relation to the revelation referred to, that it was in reference to *former* days, and not the present time as related by Cowles.

"Mayor said he had never preached the revelation in private, as he had in public,—had not taught it to the anointed in the church in private, which statement many present confirmed, that on inquir-

ing concerning the passage in the resurrection concerning 'they neither marry nor are given in marriage,' &c., he received for answer, 'Men in this life must marry in view of eternity, otherwise they must remain as angels, or be single in heaven,' which was the amount of the revelation referred to; and the Mayor spoke at considerable length in explanation of this principle and was willing for one to subscribe his name, to declare the *Expositor* and whole establishment a nuisance.

"2 O'CLOCK P. M.

"The clerk of the council bore testimony of the good character and high standing of Mr. Smith and his family, whose daughter was seduced by Wilson Law, as stated by the last witness before the morning council, that Mrs. Smith died near the mouth of the Mississippi, and the father and eldest daughter died soon after their arrival in this place; and that the seduction of such a youthful, fatherless, and innocent creature by such a man in high standing as the Major-General of the Nauvoo Legion, was one of the darkest, damnedest and foulest deeds on record.

"Councillor Hyrum Smith concurred in the remarks made by the clerk concerning the excellent character of Mr. Smith and his family.

"Mayor said the constitution did not authorize the press to publish libels, and proposed that the council make some provision for putting down the Nauvoo *Expositor*.

"Councillor Hyrum Smith called for a prospectus of the *Expositor*.

"Councillor Phelps read article 8, section 1, Constitution of Illinois.

"Mayor called for the charter.

"The clerk read the prospectus of the Nauvoo *Expositor*.

"Mayor read the statements of Francis M.

Higbee from the *Expositor* and asked, 'Is it not treasonable against all chartered rights and privileges, and against the peace and happiness of the city?'

"Councillor H. Smith was in favor of declaring the *Expositor* a nuisance.

"Councillor Taylor said no city on earth would bear such slander, and he would not bear it, and was decidedly in favor of active measures.

"Mayor made a statement of what Wm. Law said before the city council under oath, that he was a friend to the Mayor, &c., &c., and asked if there were any present who recollected his statement, when scores responded, Yes!

"Councillor Hunter was one of the grand jury, said Wm. Law stated before the grand jury that he did not say to the council that he was Joseph's friend.

"Councillor Taylor continued: 'Wilson Law was president of this council during the passage of many ordinances, and referred to the records. Wm. Law and Emmons were members of the council; and Emmons has never objected to any ordinance while in the council; but has been more like a cipher, and is now become editor of a libellous paper, and is trying to destroy our charter and ordinances.' He then read from the Constitution of the United States on the freedom of the press, and said: 'We are willing they should publish the truth; but it is unlawful to publish libels; the *Expositor* is a nuisance and stinks in the nose of every honest man.'

"Mayor read from Illinois Constitution, article 8, section 2, touching the responsibility of the press for its Constitutional liberty.

"Councillor Stiles said a nuisance was anything that disturbs the peace of a community and read Blackstone on Private Wrongs, vol. 2, page 4, and

the whole community has to rest under the stigma of these falsehoods, referring to the *Expositor*, and if we can prevent the issuing of any more slanderous communications, he would go in for it. It is right for this community to show a proper resentment, and he would go in for suppressing all further communications of the kind.

"Councillor H. Smith believed the best way was to smash the press and 'pi' the type.

"Councillor Johnson concurred with the councillors who had spoken.

"Alderman Bennett referred to the statement of the *Expositor* concerning the municipal court in the case of Jeremiah Smith as a libel, and considered the paper a public nuisance.

"Councillor Warrington considered his a peculiar situation, as he did not belong to any church or any party; though it might be considered rather harsh for the council to declare the paper a nuisance, and proposed giving a few days' limitation and assessing a fine of $3,000 for every libel, and if they would not cease publishing libels, to declare it a nuisance; and said the statutes made provision for a fine of $500.

"Mayor replied that they threatened to shoot him when at Carthage; and the women and others dare not go to Carthage to prosecute, and read a libel from the *Expositor* concerning the imprisonment of Jeremiah Smith.

"Councillor H. Smith spoke of the Warsaw *Signal* and disapproved its libellous course.

"Mayor remarked he was sorry to have one dissenting voice in declaring the *Expositor* a nuisance.

"Councillor Warrington did not mean to be understood to go against the proposition; but would not be in haste in declaring it a nuisance.

"Councillor H. Smith referred to the mortgages and property of the proprietors of the *Expositor*

and thought there would be little chance of collecting damages for libels.

"Alderman E. Smith considered there was but one course to pursue, that the proprietors were out of reach of the law; that our course was to put an end to the thing at once; believed by what he had heard that if the city did not do it others would.

"Councillor Hunter believed it to be a nuisance; referred to the opinion of Judge Pope on *habeas corpus*, and spoke in favor of the charter, &c.; asked Francis M. Higbee before the grand jury, if he was not the man he saw at Joseph's house making professions of friendship; Higbee said he was not [hundreds know this statement to be false]; he also asked R. D. Foster if he did not state before hundreds of people that he believed Joseph to be a prophet; 'no' said Foster. They were under oath when they said it. [Many hundreds of people are witness to this perjury.]

"Alderman Spencer accorded with the views expressed, that the Nauvoo *Expositor* is a nuisance, did not consider it wise to give them time to trumpet a thousand lies. Their property could not pay for it; if we pass only a fine or imprisonment, have we any confidence that they will desist? None at all! We have found these men covenant-breakers with God! with their wives! ! &c. Have we any hope of their doing better? Their characters have gone before them; shall they be suffered to go on, and bring a mob upon us and murder our women and children, and burn our beautiful city? No! I had rather my blood would be spilled at once, and would like to have the press removed as soon as the ordinance would allow; and wish the matter might be put into the hands of the Mayor, and everybody stand by him in the execution of his duties, and hush every murmur.

"Councillor Levi Richards said he had felt deeply

on this subject, and concurred fully in the view General Smith had 'expressed of it this day,' thought it unnecessary to repeat what the council perfectly understood; considered private interest as nothing in comparison with the public good. Every time a line was formed in the Far West he was there, for what? To defend it against just such scoundrels and influence as the Nauvoo *Expositor* and its supporters were directly calculated to bring against us again. Considered the doings of the council of this day of immense moment, not to this city alone, but to the whole world; would go in to put a stop to the thing at once; let it be thrown out of this city, and the responsibility of countenancing such a press be taken off our shoulders and fall on the State, if corrupt enough to sustain it.

"Councillor Phineas Richards said that he had not forgotten the transactions at Haun's Mills, and that he recollected that his son George Spencer then lay in the well referred to, on the day previous, without a winding-sheet, shroud, or coffin. He said he could not sit still when he saw the same spirit raging in this place; he considered the publication of the *Expositor* as much murderous at heart as David was before the death of Uriah. Was for making a short work of it, was prepared to take his stand by the Mayor, and whatever he proposes, would stand by him to the last. The quicker it is stopped the better.

"Councillor Phelps had investigated the Constitution, charter, and laws; the power to declare that office a nuisance is granted to us, in the Springfield charter, and a resolution declaring it a nuisance is all that is required.

"John Birney sworn: Said Francis M. Higbee and Wm. Law declared they had commenced their operations and would carry them out, *law or no law.*

"Stephen Markham, sworn: Said that Francis

M. Higbee said the interest of this city is done the moment a hand is laid on their press.

"Councillor Phelps continued, and referred to Wilson Law in destroying the character of a child, an orphan child, who had the charge of another child.

"Warren Smith sworn: Said F. M. Higbee came to him and proposed to have him go in as a partner in making bogus money. Higbee said he would not work for a living; that witness might go in with him if he would advance fifty dollars, and showed him (witness) a half a dollar he said was made in his dies.

"Councillor Phelps continued and said he felt deeper this day than ever he felt before, and wanted to know, by Yes if there was any present who wanted to avenge the blood of that innocent female who had been seduced by the then Major-General of the Nauvoo Legion, Wilson Law; when 'Yes!!' resounded from every quarter of the house. He then referred to the tea plot at Boston, and asked if anybody's rights were taken away with that transaction, and are we offering, or have we offered to take away the rights of any one, these two days? (*No!!!* resounded from every quarter.) He then referred also to Law's grinding the poor during the scarcity of grain, while the poor had nothing but themselves to grind; and spoke at great length in support of active measures to put down iniquity and suppress the spirit of mobocracy.

"Alderman Harris spoke from the chair, and expressed his feelings that the press ought to be demolished.

"The following resolution was then read and passed unanimously, with the exception of Councillor Warrington:

"*Resolved*, By the city council of the city of Nauvoo, that the printing office from whence issues

the Nauvoo *Expositor* is a public nuisance, and also all of said Nauvoo *Expositors*, which may be or exist in said establishment, and the Mayor is instructed to cause said printing establishment and papers to be removed without delay, in such manner as he shall direct.

"Passed June 10, 1844.

"GEO. W. HARRIS,
"*President pro tem.*

"W. RICHARDS, *Recorder.*

"Six o'clock, P. M., council adjourned.

"This certifies that the foregoing is a true and correct synopsis of the proceedings of the city council of the city of Nauvoo, on the 8th and 10th days of June, 1844, in relation to the Nauvoo *Expositor* and proprietors, as taken from the minutes of said council.

"In testimony whereof I have hereunto
[L.S.] set my hand, and the corporation seal, at Nauvoo, this 17th day of June, 1844.

"WILLARD RICHARDS,
"*Recorder and Clerk of the City Council.*

"The following order was immediately issued by the Mayor:

"*State of Illinois,* }
CITY OF NAUVOO. }

"*To the Marshal of said city,* GREETING:

"You are hereby commanded to destroy the printing press from whence issues the Nauvoo *Expositor* and pi the type of said printing establishment in the street, and burn all the *Expositors* and libellous handbills found in said establishment, and if resistance be offered to your execution of this order, by the owners or others, demolish the house, and if any one threatens you, or the Mayor, or the officers of the city, arrest those who threaten

you, and fail not to execute this order without delay, and make due return hereon.

"By order of the city council,

"JOSEPH SMITH,
"*Mayor.*

"MARSHAL'S RETURN—The within named press and type is destroyed and pied according to order, on this 10th day of June, 1844, at about 8 o'clock, P. M.

"J. P. GREEN, C. M.

"HEADQUARTERS,

NAUVOO LEGION,
June 10, 1844.

"*To Jonathan Dunham, acting Major General of the Nauvoo Legion:*

"You are hereby commanded to hold the Nauvoo Legion in readiness, forthwith to execute the city ordinances, and especially to remove the printing establishment of the Nauvoo *Expositor*, and this you are required to do at sight, under the penalty of the laws; provided the marshal shall require it, and need your services.

"JOSEPH SMITH,
Lieut.-Gen. Nauvoo Legion.

PROCLAMATION.

MAYOR'S OFFICE,
NAUVOO, June 16, 1844.

"As there are a number of statements in circulation which have for their object the injury of the 'Latter-Day Saints,' all of which are false and prompted by blackhearted villains, I therefore deem it my duty to disabuse the public mind in regard to them, and to give a plain statement of facts which

have taken place in the city within a few days past, and, which has brought upon us the displeasure of the unprincipled and the uninformed, and seems to afford an opportunity to our enemies, to unite and arouse themselves to mob; and already they have commenced their hellish operations by driving a few defenceless Mormons from their houses and homes in the vicinity of Warsaw and Carthage.

"A short time since a press was started in this city which had for its object the destruction of the institutions of the city, both civil and religious; its proprietors are a set of unprincipled scoundrels who attempted in every possible way to defame the character of the most virtuous of our community, and change our peaceful and prosperous city into a place as evil and polluted as their own black hearts. To rid the city of a paper so filthy and pestilential as this, becomes the duty of every good citizen, who loves good order and morality; a complaint was made before the city council, and after a full and impartial investigation it was voted—without one dissenting voice, a public NUISANCE, and to be immediately destroyed; the peace and happiness of the place demanded it, the virtue of our wives and daughters demanded, and our consciences demanded it at our hands as conservators of the public peace. That we acted right in this matter we have the assurance of one of the ablest expounders of the laws of England, viz.: Blackstone—the Constitution of the State of Illinois, and our own chartered rights. If then our charter gives us the power to decide what shall be a nuisance and cause it to be removed, where is the offence? What law is violated? If then no law has been violated, why this ridiculous excitement and bandying with lawless ruffians to destroy the happiness of a people whose religious motto is 'peace and good will toward all men?'

"Our city is infested with a set of blacklegs,

counterfeiters and debauchees, and that the proprietors of this press were of that class, the minutes of the municipal court fully testify, and in ridding our young and flourishing city of such characters, we are abused by not only villainous demagogues, but by some who from their station and influence in society, ought rather to raise than depress the standard of human excellence. We have no disturbance or excitement among us, save what is made by the thousand and one idle rumors afloat in the country. Every one is protected in his person and property, and but few cities of a population of twenty thousand people, in the United States, hath less of dissipation or vice of any kind, than the city of Nauvoo.

"Of the correctness of our conduct in this affair, we appeal to every high court in the State, and to its ordeal we are willing to appear at any time that His Excellency, Governor Ford shall please to call us before it. I therefore, in behalf of the municipal court of Nauvoo, warn the lawless, not to be precipitate in any interference in our affairs, for as sure as there is a God in Israel, we shall ride triumphant over all oppression.

"JOSEPH SMITH,
"*Mayor.*"

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE ATONEMENT.

GREAT EXCITEMENT—WRITS PROCURED—PUBLIC MEETINGS—CITIZENS ARMING—THE GOVERNOR APPEALED TO—ARRIVES AT CARTHAGE—TAKES COMMAND—MAYOR AND COUNCIL OF NAUVOO SUMMONED—ARRESTED BUT FAIL TO APPEAR—FINALLY COME IN AND SURRENDER—RELEASED ON BAIL—RE-ARRESTED FOR TREASON—GOVERNOR'S DEFINITION OF TREASON—MARCHES WITH A SMALL FORCE TO THE CITY—THE SMITHS KILLED IN JAIL—GREAT CONSTERNATION.

THE destruction of the press and types of the *Expositor* put the city of Nauvoo and the whole county of Hancock at fever heat. The seceders all left the city, and the owners of the destroyed property repaired to the county seat, and procured writs for the Mayor and others concerned, on a charge of riot. These writs were placed in the hands of an officer, who, with a small *posse*, repaired to the city and arrested a number of the persons charged. The inevitable *habeas corpus* was again applied from the municipal court, and they were "honorably discharged."

Meanwhile, the whole county was in commotion. Public meetings were held at various points, and the people called upon to arm for a crisis that seemed to be approaching. The following resolu-

tions were passed at two principal points in the county (Carthage and Warsaw), by acclamation, and preparations actively made to carry them out:

"*Resolved*, That the time, in our opinion, has arrived when the adherents of Smith as a body, should be driven from the surrounding settlements into Nauvoo: that the prophet and his miscreant adherents should then be demanded at their hands, and if not surrendered, a war of extermination should be waged to their entire destruction, if necessary for our protection.

"*Resolved*, That every citizen arm himself to be prepared to sustain the resolutions herein contained."

These looked to extreme measures. It is proper to here remark, that there were at this time, and ever afterwards while the Mormons remained, *four* classes of citizens in the county: *First*, the Mormons themselves; 2. A class called Jack-Mormons, who, not members of the sect, adhered to and sustained them for political gain; 3. Old citizens who were Anti-Mormon at heart, but who refused to countenance any but lawful measures for the redress of grievances; and, 4. Anti-Mormons, who, now that the crisis was at hand, advocated "war and extermination." Some of the third class were denounced as "Jacks," by the extremists; though the great body of them acted usually with the fourth class in all things but their extreme measures.

All over the county, men were arming, organ-

izing, and drilling; having been notified by the officer holding the writs that a *posse comitatus* would be called for to aid in making the arrests. A great want existed in the absence of arms and ammunition. Agents to procure these were sent to Quincy and St. Louis and other places. At St. Louis a cannon and a lot of ammunition were obtained and brought up to Warsaw. The authorities of the town voted a thousand dollars for supplies. A deputation having been sent to Governor Ford at Springfield, that functionary decided to visit the county in person and judge for himself.

In much that follows regarding the death of the Smiths, and the events leading thereto and subsequent, we use Ford's Message as Governor, and his *History of Illinois*, correcting his many mistakes and misstatements of facts.

Upon the Governor's arrival in the county, he found an armed force collected and collecting, while another was arming and assembling at Warsaw. The General of the militia, Deming, had also called out the militia of the adjoining counties of McDonough and Schuyler. The Governor promptly placed all the troops under orders and under command of their proper officers. He next summoned the Mayor and the city council of Nauvoo to present their side of the question, which they did, through a committee sent to the Governor at the

county seat, his headquarters. After some considerable delay and indecision as to what course to pursue next, a force of ten men was sent to the city with the officer to make the arrest and guard the prisoners to headquarters. The officer made the arrests without trouble, the Mayor and councillors signifying their willingness to accompany him to Carthage at eight o'clock the next morning. Eight o'clock came, but the accused failed to appear, and the *posse* marched back to Carthage without them. This incensed the Governor. He blamed the officer very unjustly for returning without them. That individual knew better than his excellency the ways of the accused. He knew that if they had intended submission, they would have presented themselves at the time fixed; and if they did not, that an officer and ten men would find it an up-hill business to hunt out and bring away an equal number from a city full of armed enemies.

The Governor next demanded that the State arms in the hands of the Legion, with which they had been supplied by Quartermaster-General Bennett, should be delivered to him. To this demand they complied by sending in three pieces of cannon and two hundred stands of small arms.

The surrender of the chiefs being insisted on by Governor Ford, on the 24th, the prophet, his brother Hyrum, and some members of the city

council came in and surrendered to the officers holding the writs, and voluntarily entered into recognizance to appear at court. In the mean time a new warrant, charging Joseph and Hyrum Smith with treason, had been issued, and they were again arrested by the constable. This charge of treason was based on the alleged fact of levying war against the State, and of declaring martial law in the city, and ordering out the Legion to resist the execution of the laws. Here Historian Ford, in order to find fault with the Hancock people, gives us a new and novel definition of treason. He says:

"Their actual guiltiness of the charge would depend upon circumstances. If their opponents had been seeking to put the law in force in good faith, and nothing more, then an array of military force in open resistance to the *posse comitatus* and the militia of the State, most probably would have amounted to treason. But if those opponents mainly intended to use the process of the law, the militia of the State, and the *posse comitatus*, as cat's-paws to compass the possession of their persons for the purpose of murdering them afterwards, as the sequel demonstrated the fact to be, it might well be doubted whether they were guilty of treason."—*Hist. Ill.* p. 337.

So treason, instead of depending upon the acts and intentions of the persons charged, is to be measured by the acts and intentions of others. It is a principle of law that *intention* must be taken into account in defining crime,

but it comes strangely from the executive of a State, that to constitute crime, the intentions of persons who are endeavoring to bring a criminal to justice, rather than his own, are to be considered. But by what process does Governor Ford so summarily arrive at the intentions of those he styles the "opponents" of the Mormon leaders?

Neither party being prepared for the examination on the charge of treason, the accused were committed to the county jail for safe-keeping.

The Governor now decided to march his whole force into Nauvoo, but does not seem to have had any clearly defined object for so doing. The morning of the 27th was fixed on for the march; and on the 26th the order was given, and a message sent to the troops at Warsaw, to meet him and the main body at Golden's Point, about seven miles from the city. But on the morning of the day fixed for the march, he wavered in his intention of taking a force into the city, and called a council of his officers for consultation. A small majority of them voted in favor of going; but the Governor took the responsibility, countermanded his orders, and disbanded the troops—except three companies, two to remain at Carthage, and one to accompany himself and a few friends into Nauvoo. An order to this effect was accordingly forwarded to the companies at Warsaw, who were already on the march, and they were met

on the prairie by the disbanding officer before reaching Golden's Point. After being disbanded, portions of these returned to their homes, while others changed their course eastward toward the county seat. The two companies left to guard the jail were put under command of Captain Robert F. Smith, of the Carthage Greys, an independent and well-disciplined company—his own being one of them.*

"Having ordered the guard and left Gen. Deming in command in Carthage, and discharged the residue of the militia, I immediately departed for Nauvoo, eighteen miles distant, accompanied by Col. Buckmaster, Quarter-Master-General, and Capt. Dunn's (Augusta) company of dragoons." —*Ford's Hist.* p. 345.

It was supposed that one, and perhaps a chief purpose of this expedition, was "to search for counterfeit money." Be this as it may, the Governor changed his mind again. He began to fear an attack on the jail, it was said; so he decided to omit the search, but to hurry on to the city, make the Mormons a speech, and return to Carthage the same night. The baggage wagons were halted on the prairie, with orders to return at night. He and his escort reached the city about four o'clock. The

*Some writers have criticised Governor Ford severely for leaving this officer and his company as guard to the prisoners, charging that they were conspicuously enemies to the prophet. This was not the fact. That company had no reason to be, and were no more hostile to Smith and the Mormons than any others of the old citizens of the county.

people were called together, and the Governor made them an address, in which, he says, he rated them pretty severely for their bad conduct, and ended by putting the vote whether they would in future obey the laws. They unanimously voted YES!—when his excellency and his retinue started back to Carthage a little before sundown. A few miles out from the city they were met by a messenger with the information that *the prophet and his brother had been assailed in jail by a mob, and* KILLED! The messenger who brought the news was ordered to return with them to Carthage, which he did; but by some unknown means the news reached the city during the night.

General consternation now pervaded the whole county. The troops had been disbanded, and most of them had, during the day, left for their homes. Captain Dunn's company, with the Governor and the two companies left at Carthage, were all that were now under arms in the county to confront the Legion should it make a raid to avenge its chief. The Governor, in a state of high excitement, hurried on with his command to Carthage, where he arrived long after night, only to find the place partially deserted; and all who had not gone, with a few exceptions, were going as fast as means of conveyance could be found for their families. All were fleeing in an easterly or south-easterly

direction, opposite to that of the Mormon city. The bodies of the murdered men, together with that of John Taylor, their wounded companion, and Willard Richards, who was unhurt, had been removed by kindly hands to the hotel, where they remained during the night. General Deming had left for his home in the country during the afternoon, before the deed had been committed. The Governor only halted long enough to denounce the people for their folly, and rode on to Augusta that night, and thence the next day to Quincy.

At Warsaw, the people were not long in hearing of the crime, and apprehending Mormon vengeance, many of them also hurried from their homes, mostly taking refuge in Alexandria, across the river in Missouri. Picket guards were placed about both Carthage and Warsaw, to watch the approach of the enemy.

At Nauvoo the greatest consternation prevailed. The messenger bringing them the news had been turned back by the Governor; yet late at night the terrible fact had somehow reached the city. The people were appalled at the disaster which had befallen them. Not knowing that the troops had been disbanded, and fearing an attack from the mob, they also fled from their homes—many of them crossing over into Iowa.

From a late account of these exciting events,

which we find in a New York paper, written by a highly intelligent gentleman who was a resident of Carthage at that time and well known in the county, we make the following extract. He claims to have been, and was, an accidental eye witness to the attack on the jail. He says:

"The Governor indiscreetly had Joseph and his brother taken round and formally presented to the soldiery. The latter were incensed that so much respect should be shown a criminal, and suspected that he would be let off upon his submission, without any adequate punishment; whereas, they had answered the Governor's call in the expectation of sterner dealing. Their suspicions were strengthened by the fact that the prisoners, instead of being confined in the criminal's apartment of the jail, were allowed to occupy a parlor chamber with their friends, under a guard of six soldiers, detailed from the Carthage Greys, stationed at the front door at the foot of the stairway.

"On the morning of June 27th, Governor Ford discharged all his forces except a cavalry company and the Carthage Greys, and leaving the jail, with Smith and his friends in the parlor chamber, in charge of reliefs of guards from the Greys, he went with the cavalry to Nauvoo to inspect the city, to give good advice to the Mormons, and require a surrender of the State arms in their possession.

"The militia from other counties started home with alacrity. But two companies from the southwest portion of Hancock seemed to linger and depart reluctantly. Late in the afternoon, a large body of men was seen coming rapidly from the west on the road over which the two companies had departed, who, about a mile from town, turned off north to a line of woods coming down back of the

jail. Soon they emerged from the woods and came up to the jail upon the double-quick. As they came round to the front, the guard, standing on the steps, fired down from an elevation of three or four feet into the midst of them, when not twenty feet distant. The writer saw six flashes streaming toward the crowd, but nobody fell. The assailants, having their faces blackened with powder, rushed forward and seized the guards and threw them upon the ground. Most of them were easy to handle; but one, who did not know that ball cartridges had been replaced with blanks in their guns, at the last relief—who was not in the secret at all, but thought he had fired to kill, and was all in earnest throughout—a tall, athletic, stammering boy of nineteen years—made it rough for those who held him. He floundered and pounded, vociferating, 'Y-y-y-y-you!' 'Lie still, you fool, we're not going to hurt you!' 'D-d-d—' continued Frank, kicking and struggling to break loose, and trying frantically to break the third commandment, though his impediment of speech saved him from the actual sin.

"As many as could, now rushed up the stairway, at the head of which was the room where the prisoner and his friends were. They tried in vain to burst in the door, for the Smiths and two bishops—all heavy men—bore against it from the other side. Then, turning the muzzles of their guns against the thin-paneled door, several of them fired, killing Hyrum, and wounding Joseph and Bishop Taylor,—when all inside retreated, except Richards, who, shielded in a corner behind the now opened door, escaped unhurt. A window opposite the door was open, and Joseph sprang upon its broad sill as if to get out; but balls struck him from behind, and with a loud cry he pitched headlong to the ground. Balls from the outside met his falling body. It seemed to me—twenty rods distant, but

in full sight—that he for a moment partly raised himself to a sitting posture against a well-curb beside which he fell; but it is not true, as was sometimes reported, that his assailants leaned his body up against the curb, and made it a target. . . .

"A panic spread, and within two hours the town was deserted, with the exception of the Hamilton Hotel, where the killed and wounded were taken, and a few gathered for service, and a harbor for safety in the expected storm. Men, women, and children fled in wagons, on horseback and afoot, while *Delenda est Carthago* seemed sounding in their ears."—J. H. S., in *Ithaca* (*N. Y.*) *Journal*, April, 1886.

CHAPTER XXIX.

HOW THE DEED WAS DONE.

EFFECT OF THE PANIC—GOVERNOR FORD'S PLAN REVEALED—ATTACK ON THE JAIL BY THE MOB—THE PROPHET AND HIS BROTHER KILLED—HOW IT WAS DONE—PURPOSES OF THE MOB—WILLARD RICHARDS'S STATEMENT.

ON the morning of the 28th of June, 1844, the sun rose on as strange a scene as the broad Hancock prairies had ever witnessed. At the three corners of a triangle, eighteen miles asunder, two of them resting on the Mississippi, stood a smitten and mourning city and two almost deserted villages, with here and there a group of questioning men, anxious to obtain the news of the night. These were Nauvoo and the villages of Carthage and Warsaw. Toward the two villages, the more courageous ones who had fled the evening before, were now returning, tired and worn, to find their several homes unsacked and untouched, and their streets untrodden by a vengeful and infuriated foe. The wet and heavy roads leading to the county seat from the east and south were being again traversed by the refugees of the night, now returning where they had so lately fled in terror. The blue waves

of the Mississippi rolled peacefully past the stricken city, as when, a few days before, its shores resounded to the Legion's martial tread. All the people knew that a great crime had been committed, by whom they dared not guess; and they knew not how, upon whom, where, or in what manner, retribution might fall!

Governor Ford very justly concluded that for the time being his authority was at an end. He had by his vacillating course failed to satisfy either party, and both regarded him with distrust. He accordingly hurried from the county, and brought up at Quincy, forty miles from the scene of the troubles. It was strongly suspected by some of the citizens that he had contemplated an escape of the prisoners, after the manner of Missouri; and he was very angry with them for harboring such a suspicion. But in his book, written some years afterwards, he acknowledged that he had such a plan, and complained that it was "thwarted by the insane folly of the Anti-Mormons." [P. 339.] This fact was never fully known until made public by himself. The consummation of his plan could hardly have been effected without bloodshed. And here we have a repetition of the humiliating fact, that the executive head of a great State, whose duty it is to execute the laws, connived at the escape of great criminals, in order to avoid the

responsibilities devolving upon him, and as the easiest way of getting rid of troublesome men.

The charge has been made, and generally believed, that the Warsaw troops, disbanded in the morning on the prairie, furnished most of the mobbers. That is probable from the fact that when the attack was made in the afternoon, the jail was approached from that direction; though it is by no means conclusive—as there was ample time for others to have assembled in the woods to the northwest of the town, where the plot was probably concocted. Those troops were partly composed of citizens of Warsaw and partly from the surrounding country, with a few from Missouri and other places. Whoever they may have been, they came from the direction of those woods, and were observed to approach in single file and quickstep until they came to the fence surrounding the jail. From the best information now to be obtained, they numbered not more than forty or fifty—certainly less than a hundred. On reaching the fence, they scaled it at once and seized the guards. These were soon overpowered, and a rush made for the door of the jail, the prisoners being confined in the upper story. The door was assailed and burst open. The prisoners inside were behind it, well armed, and endeavoring to prevent ingress. As the door would yield to the outside pressure, the prophet fired several shots

around the edge with his revolver. The mob fired through the door, and in this way killed Hyrum Smith and wounded John Taylor severely. Finding that they were being overpowered, Richards, who was still unhurt, ran with Taylor, wounded, into the inner dungeon; while Joseph Smith hastened to a window on the east side, raised the sash, and leaned partly out, probably with a view of jumping, when he was shot by several balls from the outside, and fell to the ground near the well-curb. It has been stated—and is always so told by the Mormons—that after his fall he was set up against the curb and several times shot. This, from reliable information, we believe was not the case; that no shot was fired after he fell, and that he died from the two or three shots received in the window. The story originated with one Daniels, who afterwards issued a little pamphlet giving a most miraculous account of the transaction.

Governor Ford and others have stated that the plan had been devised and arranged between the mob and the Carthage Greys, and that the guard of ten men of that company around the jail made but a feint at resistance. It is certainly true that a portion of the Greys knew that something was to be done, but others, and the great body of them, knew nothing about it. These were wholly ignorant, until the firing was heard at the camp on the pub-



SIDE OF THE JAIL, AND WELL, WHERE SMITH WAS SHOT.

lic square; and then, in common with the rest of the citizens, they apprehended a Mormon rescue.

The Governor also charges that the mob had selected that time—while he was in Nauvoo and in the power of the Mormons—to do the bloody deed, in order to compass his own destruction at Mormon hands in revenge. His own too excitable and suspicious nature originated the thought. There was not the slightest foundation for the charge. So far from it being the fact that they designed and contemplated the murder of the Governor, we believe *they had not even planned for the killing of the prisoners!* This avowal will no doubt be read with surprise by many of our readers; for we well know that the Governor's unfounded statements, coupled with the Mormon accounts of the cruelty and bloodthirstiness of the mob, have long since and always been received as valid history. It is hard at all times to tell the plans and purposes of a mob; indeed, it is safe to say that in many cases its work is accomplished without any preconceived or defined plan. This mob we believe to have been one of these. Their work is not to be excused or palliated, nevertheless. They were there for a wrongful and unlawful purpose, though that purpose may not have been clearly defined.

A review of the circumstances will give the basis for the opinion above expressed. There had been in

the near past, as we have seen, several demands made by the authorities of Missouri for the delivery of the prophet, all of which had in some way been thwarted. Added to this, only a few days before, two or three public meetings had been held, at which resolutions had invited the Governor of that State to make another demand, and pledged aid to carry it into effect. So far the purpose of the mob may have been definite—and until the jail was reached. There, instead of finding two unarmed and defenceless men, as they had reason to believe—for Taylor and Richards were there of their own accord—they were met at the door by four men armed with revolvers, able to make, and who did make, a vigorous resistance—and the struggle ended in death.

It has been stated that two or three of the mobbers were wounded and carried away. We know not whether this is so. As soon as it became known that the Smiths were killed, the mobbers rapidly retreated from the scene, in the direction they had come. As soon as the noise of the attack was heard in the town, the Carthage Greys, from their camp on the square, with other citizens, hurried to the jail, only in time to witness the retreat of the mobbers. They found the prophet lying dead near or against the well-curb; his brother Hyrum was dead upstairs; and Willard

Richards unhurt and John Taylor badly wounded, were found in an inner room where they had taken refuge. They were all removed by kindly hands to Hamilton's Hotel, and properly cared for.

The "Book of Daniels," heretofore referred to, was such a curiosity in itself and contained so many wonderful statements, that it was worthy of preservation as a specimen of the literature and truthfulness of the times. It was put forth at Nauvoo by one Wm. M. Daniels, an unknown youth, who said that he was among the Warsaw troops and at the jail when the deed was done, and that he was subsequently warned in a dream that he must go and join the Saints and publish his knowledge of the affair to the world, in order to further the ends of justice. He accordingly went to Nauvoo, and with the assistance of a printer there his pamphlet was issued. With great particularity he described how the plan was arranged between the Warsaw people and the Carthage Greys—that he was present when the killing was done, and saw it done, etc., etc. He tells that after Joseph fell to the ground:

"A fellow six feet tall and upwards, holding a pewter flute in his hand, bare-headed and barefooted, having on nothing but his pants and shirt, with his sleeves rolled above his elbows and his pants rolled above his knees, picked him up instantly and set him upon the south side of the well-

curb, situated three or four feet from the building. As the ruffian sprang over the fence to General Smith, and while he was in the act of picking him up, he said: 'This is old Joe; I know him. I know you, old Joe, d—n you; you are the man that had my daddy shot.' The reason of his talking in this way, I suppose, was that he wished to pass himself to General Smith as being the son of Governor Boggs. . . . Four of the ruffians who stood in front of Colonel Williams, about eight feet east of the curb, were ordered by Williams to fire. They raised their muskets and the fire was simultaneous. . . . After the breath had left his body, the person I have previously described, who had passed as the son of Governor Boggs, caught up a bowie knife for the purpose of cutting off his head. The knife was raised ready to strike, when a light, so strange, so bright and sudden, flashed between him and the corpse, that he and the four men who had shot him, were struck with terror and consternation. Their muskets fell from their hands, and they stood like marble, not having power to move a single limb. They were about to be left, when Colonel Williams, who had also beheld and been terrified at the light, shouted out to the men: 'For God's sake, come and carry away these men!' They were obliged to carry them away, as they were as helpless as though they were dead. This light was something like the flash of lightning, and was so much brighter than the day, that after it had passed it left a slight darkness like a twilight!"

Daniels further states, that when it became known that he was going to be a witness against the accused, and the nature of his testimony became public, the sum of $2,500 was offered him to leave

the State; this failing, efforts were made to put him out of the way by violence!

And he was subsequently subpœnaed as a witness; but the nature of his testimony threw it out of court.

As part of the history of the transaction, we copy here Willard Richards's report, as communicated to the Nauvoo *Neighbor* a few days afterwards. Mr. Richards, it seems, saw nothing of the blinding light which so overpowered the mobbers, though standing at the window at the time:

TWO MINUTES IN JAIL.

"Possibly the following events occupied near three minutes, but I think only about two, and have penned them for the gratification of many friends:

"CARTHAGE, *June* 27, 1844.

"A shower of musket balls were thrown up the stairway against the door of the prison in the second story, followed by many rapid footsteps; while Generals Joseph and Hyrum Smith, Mr. Taylor and myself, who were in the front chamber, closed the door of our room, against the entry at the head of the stairs, and placed ourselves against it, there being no lock on the door, and no ketch that was useable. The door is a common panel, and as soon as we heard the feet at the stairs' head, a ball was sent through the door, which passed between us, and showed that our enemies were desperadoes, and we must change our position. General Joseph Smith, Mr. Taylor, and myself, sprang back to the front part of the room, and General Hyrum Smith retreated two-thirds across

the chamber directly in front of and facing the door. A ball was sent through the door which hit Hyrum on the side of his nose, when he fell backwards extended at length without moving his feet. From the holes in his vest (the day was warm, and no one had their coats on but myself), pantaloons, drawers and shirt, it appears evident that a ball must have been thrown from without through the window, which entered his back on the right side and passing through, lodged against his watch, which was in his right vest pocket, completely pulverizing the crystal and face, tearing off the hands and mashing the whole body of the watch, at the same instant the ball from the door entered his nose. As he struck the floor he exclaimed emphatically: '*I'm a dead man!*' Joseph looked towards him and responded; 'Oh dear! *Brother Hyrum!*' and opening the door two or three inches with his left hand, discharged one barrel of a six-shooter (pistol) at random in the entry, from whence a ball grazed Hyrum's breast, and entering his throat, passed into his head—while other muskets were aimed at him, and some balls hit him. Joseph continued snapping his revolver round the casing of the door into the space as before (three barrels of which missed fire), while Mr. Taylor, with a walking stick, stood by his side and knocked down the bayonets and muskets which were constantly discharging through the doorway, while I stood by, ready to lend my assistance, with another stick; but could not come within striking distance, without going directly before the muzzle of the guns. When the revolver failed, we had no more fire-arms, and expecting an immediate rush of the mob, and the doorway full of muskets—half-way in the room, and no hope but instant death from within—Mr. Taylor rushed into the window, which is some fifteen or twenty feet from the ground. When his

body was nearly on a balance, a ball from the door within entered his leg, and a ball from without struck his watch, a patent lever, in his vest pocket, near the left breast, and smashed it in 'pie,' leaving the hands standing 5 o'clock, 16 minutes and 26 seconds,—the force of which ball threw him back on the floor, and he rolled under the bed by his side, where he lay motionless, the mob from the door continuing to fire upon him, cutting away a piece of flesh from his left hip as large as a man's hand, and were hindered only by my knocking down their muzzles with a stick; while they continued to reach their guns into the room, probably left-handed, and aimed their discharge so far around as almost to reach us in the corner of the room to where we retreated and dodged, and then I re-commenced my attack with the stick again. Joseph attempted as the last resort, to leap the same window from whence Mr. Taylor fell, when two balls pierced him from the door, and one entered his right breast from without, and he fell outward, exclaiming, '*O Lord, my God!*' As his feet went out of the window my head went in, the balls whistling all around. He fell on his left side, a dead man. At this instant the cry was raised, '*He's leaped the window!*' and the mob on the stairs and in the entry ran out. I withdrew from the window, thinking it of no use to leap out on a hundred bayonets, then around General Smith's body. Not satisfied with this, I again reached my head out of the window and watched some seconds, to see if there were any signs of life, regardless of my own, determined to see the end of him I loved; being fully satisfied that he was dead, with a hundred men near the body and more coming around the corner of the jail, and expecting a return to our room, I rushed towards the prison door, at the head of the stairs, and through the entry from whence the firing

had proceeded, to learn if the doors into the prison were open. When near the entry, Mr. Taylor called out, '*Take me!*' I pressed my way till I found all doors unbarred, returning instantly caught Mr. Taylor under my arm, and rushed by the stairs into the dungeon, or inner prison, stretched him on the floor and covered him with a bed, in such a manner as not likely to be perceived, expecting an immediate return of the mob. I said to Mr. Taylor, This is a hard case, to lay you on the floor; but if your wounds are not fatal, I want you to live to tell the story. I expected to be shot the next moment, and stood before the door awaiting the onset.

"WILLARD RICHARDS."

—*Nauvoo Neighbor, July 24, 1844.*

CHAPTER XXX.

ARRESTS, INDICTMENTS, AND TRIALS.

MILITARY ENCAMPMENT CALLED—THE WOLF HUNT—GOVERNOR FORD INTERFERES—BRINGS ANOTHER FORCE—MARCH TO NAUVOO—TO WARSAW—JOSEPH H. JACKSON INDICTMENTS—TRIALS OF THE PRISONERS—FOUND NOT GUILTY.

DURING the summer and autumn of 1844, after the death of the prophet, great dissatisfaction and trouble existed at Nauvoo, growing mainly out of the struggle for the succession. Rigdon and his adherents were at work against Brigham Young, who was cunningly allying the rest of the Twelve to his interests. Many of the rank and file were becoming lukewarm, and were quietly leaving the city; at the same time, others were retiring from the Mormon settlements in other parts of the county, some locating in the city, and others scattering to other counties.

To add to the excitement, a grand military encampment was called, to be held at Warsaw in October. It was called by the officers of several independent companies, and had no other purpose in view, it is believed, than was expressed in the call; yet it gave great uneasiness to the Mormons

and their friends. They saw in it something more than a peaceful military display; and it soon became magnified into a great "Wolf Hunt," in which the wolves to be hunted were imagined to be the Mormons themselves. The excitement spread, and the Governor was appealed to to interpose. His excellency allowed himself to be misled, and without making proper inquiry, he decided to again send an expedition into the county. A proclamation was accordingly issued, calling for twenty-five hundred volunteers, and after several days a force of four hundred and fifty marched into the county under the command of Colonel John J. Hardin, accompanied by the Governor. Two independent companies were sent directly from Quincy to Nauvoo by the river.

Some days previous to the call for troops, Murray McConnell, Esq., a noted attorney of Jacksonville, had been sent into the county, at the instance of the Governor; and the result was that several persons were selected as examples for arrest, charged with the murder of the Smiths. These persons were, Colonel Levi Williams of Green Plains, Thomas C. Sharp, Esq., of the Warsaw *Signal*, Joseph H. Jackson, and William and Wilson Law, and Dr. Robert D. and Charles A. Foster (the last four seceding Mormons and part owners of the *Expositor*), who were now residing

at Rock Island. Writs for them were issued by Aaron Johnson, a Justice of the Peace at Nauvoo. These writs, except as to Colonel Williams, were duly served; but all refused to go to Nauvoo for a hearing, and no attempt was made to take them there.

After a stay of a day or two at Carthage, the Governor's army was marched to Nauvoo, on the 27th, and encamped below the city. On the 28th the Nauvoo Legion was paraded for review. From Nauvoo the troops were ordered to Warsaw, where they arrived on the 29th, and encamped in the suburbs. As they approached, the men apprehending arrest fled across the river to Alexandria. Learning this fact, Governor Ford chartered a keel-boat at Montebello, and had it secretly dropped down to the vicinity of Warsaw, intending to use it that night in kidnapping the accused from Missouri and bringing them to the Illinois side. But during the afternoon, Colonels Hardin and Baker visited the Missouri side and had a conference with the accused. An agreement was entered into by which Williams and Sharp (Jackson being sick) agreed to give themselves up, on condition that they should be taken before Judge Thomas of the circuit for examination. Thus the Governor's plan for kidnapping them fell through. The writ was accordingly read to them, and afterwards, with

Colonel Baker as counsel, and escorted by a detachment of Quincy troops, they were shipped to that city in quest of the Judge. Here, after waiting two days, and no prosecuting witnesses appearing, they entered into voluntary recognizances to appear at next term of court, and were set at liberty; thus leaving the whole matter just as it was previous to the Governor's expedition. All this occurred just previous to the October term of court, at which the indictments were found.

Mention has been made of Joseph H. Jackson. Mr. J. was an adventurer of fine appearance and gentlemanly manners, who appeared in the county during the troubles; went to Nauvoo and became quite intimate with Smith and the leaders; afterwards turned against them—went to Warsaw and issued a pamphlet claiming to be an *exposé* of Mormonism and the evil purposes and practices of the prophet. This book made many charges against Smith and his adherents—charges of murder and conspiracy, of counterfeiting, debauchery, "spiritual-wifery,"* etc.; and claimed that he went among them solely for the purpose of exposing them. If half of Jackson's statements were true, the prophet and some of his abettors should have been hung; if not true,

* This term, "Spiritual-wifery," had its origin, we believe, about 1842–3, while the prophet was alive, and was used to designate the system which he was supposed to be introducing into the Mormon theology.

Jackson himself should have been hung—in either case without benefit of clergy. His *exposé* was of much the same character as that of General Bennett; and, as in the case of the latter, much of his statement was corroborated by circumstances, and much lacked confirmation. He was an entire stranger to the county and its people; no one knew whence he came or what became of him afterwards, when the excitements were all over. Hence, it is just to say, that the equivocal position in which he stood, very justly tended to lessen the confidence of the public in his statements, and his little book made slight impression. The Mormons charged that he was an adventurer of the worst class—himself a counterfeiter, etc., and that he quarrelled with the prophet and the authorities because he was detected and exposed.

Among the other many charges made by Jackson against Smith, was one, that he had been employed by the latter to go to Independence and assassinate Governor Boggs of Missouri; that he was furnished with a horse and travelling outfit, and actually set out on the journey; but after being absent some time, returned with some plausible excuse for his failure.

Although embraced in the writs issued at the instance of McConnell, Jackson was not indicted by the grand jury, and no further effort was ever

made to arrest him. The same may be said of William and Wilson Law, and Dr. Robert D. and Charles A. Foster.

At the October term, 1844, of the Hancock circuit court, Hon. Jesse B. Thomas presiding, the grand jury, after a five days' session, brought into court two bills of indictment against nine individuals, one for the murder of Joseph Smith, and the other for the murder of Hyrum Smith, namely: Levi Williams, Jacob C. Davis, Mark Aldrich, Thomas C. Sharp, William Voras, John Wills, William N. Grover, —— Gallaher, and —— Allen. Of these, Colonel Williams had been in command of the Warsaw regiment that had been disbanded on the prairie; Captain Aldrich was an officer of the same; Davis and Grover were attorneys-at-law, and Sharp was also an attorney, and editor of the Warsaw *Signal*.

Immediately on announcement of the indictments, most of the defendants appeared and asked for an immediate trial. To this the prosecution objected, on the ground of not being ready. The witnesses before the grand jury had been allowed to go home without being recognized, and would have to be re-subpœnaed. It was finally agreed that the causes be postponed to next term, and that no *capias* should issue from the clerk in the interim, if the defendants would pledge them-

selves to appear at the time agreed on—a compromise which was afterwards violated by the prosecution. Subpœnas were asked for by the prosecution for thirty or forty witnesses—among whom were Governor Ford, Mrs. Emma Smith, and John Taylor—yet none of these were called, or appeared on the trial.

The trial of these important causes occurred on May 19, 1845, Hon. Richard M. Young, judge. Josiah Lamborn, a noted prosecutor of Jacksonville, Illinois, was retained by the Governor to assist in the prosecution. Hon. William A. Richardson of Rushville, Orville H. Browning, Calvin A. Warren, Archibald Williams, of Quincy, and Onias C. Skinner and Thomas Morrison, Esquires, of Hancock, appeared for the defendants. A motion of defendants was sustained by the court, to quash the array of jurors selected for the first week, on account of supposed prejudice of the County Commissioners who selected them, and of the Sheriff and his deputies*; also another motion for the appointment of two *elisors*, for the same cause and the absence of the Coroner from the county. The *elisors* had a thankless and arduous task to perform. Usually it is not hard to find men willing to sit on juries; in this case few were willing to

* Andrew H. Perkins and George Coulson, Commissioners—both Mormons—and General Minor R. Deming, Sheriff—elected by Mormon votes.

try the experiment of going to court with the almost certainty of being rejected by one or the other party; and the position was not an enviable one, if chosen. Ninety-six men were summoned and brought into court before the requisite panel of twelve was full. The trial lasted till the 30th, when the jury was instructed by the court; and after a deliberation of several hours, returned a verdict of NOT GUILTY.

Various instructions to the jury—as was the practice in those days—had been asked for by both parties. The following, from a list of nine, asked for by defendants' counsel, were given, and probably had most weight in producing the verdict of acquittal:

"That, when the evidence is circumstantial, admitting all to be proven which the evidence tends to prove, if then the jury can make any supposition consistent with the facts, by which the murder might have been committed without the agency of the defendants, it will be their duty to make that supposition, and find the defendants not guilty.

"That, in making up their verdict, they will exclude from their consideration all that was testified by Daniels, Brackenbury, and Miss Graham (witnesses).

"That, whenever the probability is of a definite and limited nature, whether in the proportion of one hundred to one, or of one thousand to one, or any ratio, is immaterial, it cannot be safely made the ground of conviction; for to act upon it in any case, would be to decide that for the sake of con-

victing many criminals the life of an innocent man might be sacrificed."—*Starkie*, 508.

This trial was for the murder of Joseph Smith only. The same defendants were required to enter into recognizance of $5,000 each (with fourteen sureties) to the June term. At said term the defendants appeared, the case was called, and no prosecutors answering, it was dismissed and the defendants discharged.

It has been the custom for sensational writers and others to treat this trial and verdict as farcical and an outrage. It has been charged that the jury, the court, and the people, all knew that the defendants were guilty. If all knew it, it ought certainly and might have been proven. All knew that a double murder had been committed. There were some facts not generally taken into account and not considered by these writers, which tend to show how extremely difficult it was to find out the guilty ones. The Mormons had arrested one Elliott, the two Laws, two Fosters, and two Higbees at Rock Island, charged with the offence; and when the grand jury was in session, the names of about sixty persons were presented to them for indictment. One of these sixty has since informed the writer that he afterward learned how he had narrowly escaped indictment, although at home when the crime was committed. It has since transpired

that the evidence before the grand jury was so inconclusive, that they voted first on the whole sixty, and failing to indict, struck off ten and voted again, and so on to the last nine, when the indictment carried. It has also transpired that the bills were found against these nine—some as principals and some as accessories—almost solely on the testimony of the three witnesses whose evidence on the trial the court instructed the petit jury to disregard.* It has further been said in disparagement of the jury, that ninety-six men had to be summoned and questioned before the proper number for a jury could be found sufficiently ignorant and indifferent to fill the place. The writer knew, from a personal acquaintance with at least six of that jury, that, instead of being ignorant and indifferent, they were men of intelligence, probity, and worth.

Far be it from us to excuse mobbers or murderers. But we remember that there is a vast difference between knowing that a murder has been committed, and knowing by whom it was done.

* The witnesses Daniels and Brackenbury dealt largely in the supernatural in their testimony; while that of Miss Graham, though well-meaning and honest, was contradictory.

CHAPTER XXXI.

STRUGGLE FOR THE SUCCESSION.

SIDNEY RIGDON—BRIGHAM YOUNG, PARLEY P. PRATT, ORSON PRATT, WILLIAM SMITH, ORSON HYDE, JAMES J. STRANG —AN ECCLESIASTICAL TRIAL—HYDE ON RIGDON.

IF anything could be needed to condemn Mormonism, and convince the world of its folly and wickedness, it is to be found in the many quarrels and contentions of its leading men, and the vituperation they heap upon each other when at variance. During the prophet's lifetime he was almost constantly in a quarrel with one or more of his followers and former trusted associates, denouncing and excommunicating them by turns, month after month, and then retaking them back to his embrace and confidence. Poor Martin Harris, who furnished the means to bring the *Book of Mormon* before the world, was placed under the malediction of the Lord even while the financial question was pending, and once or twice afterwards devoted to Satan's buffetings. Oliver Cowdery and David Whitmer, whilst in Missouri, were also sent on the same errand, and the same maledictions sent after them. The former never came back to seek reconciliation;

the latter, while he cannot forgive the blow, yet licked the hand that smote him. So Rigdon, Phelps, Williams, McLellin, and numbers of others, have had their "buffetings," then "repented," and returned (most of them) to their old places, or subordinate ones, in the camp.

After the prophet's death, as was to be expected, a great struggle began for the possession of the mantle that had fallen from his shoulders. The grief at his death was, no doubt, genuine on the part of the main body of his followers; but on the part of the few, was very much assuaged by the hope of assuming his place and honors. Rigdon, who all the world knows had the best right, if any right existed in the case, was soon sent back to Pittsburgh a shorn and discomfited man. He had been residing in that city—sent away from Nauvoo for a purpose—before the death of the Smiths; but after that event, had returned, hoping to secure the leadership. Though in times past he and Cowdery had furnished the chief brain supply in fixing up the creed, he had no talent for organizing and commanding. Brigham Young, who had also been absent, hastened home, and by his superior ability soon had the rest of the Twelve under his control, and working in his interest. Orson Hyde and the two Pratts were all abler men than he on the platform, but in the council and among the people he



Brigham Young

was not to be resisted. He was first elected to the position of Lieutenant-General of the Legion, the place occupied by the fallen chief; and step by step afterwards he attained the first position in the church.

Rigdon could only succeed in gathering a small knot of the faithful around him, and their scheme seems to have been to locate the Zion anew somewhere in the region of Pittsburgh. This was one of his fatal errors. The Mormon star had ever tended westward, and the idea of turning its course back toward the East was not to be entertained. So Rigdon was denounced as a disturber of the peace and an apostate, and a conference called to sit in inquisition over him. The charge against him was—a little of everything bad; but the offence for which he was tried and condemned, though not just so expressed, was that he wished to be President of the church. The trial is reported at great length in the *Times and Seasons*, and deserves a place in the history of ecclesiastical tribunals. The vote was finally put on the motion offered by W. W. Phelps:

"That Elder Rigdon be cut off from the church, and delivered over to the buffetings of Satan until he repents."

The vote, says the report, "was unanimous, excepting about ten." A motion was then made by some sanguinary member, to cut off the ten by one

sweep of the axe. This was deemed impolitic, and the motion failed. A better way was found: nine were taken separately and by name, and on separate charges, and thus cut off by unanimous votes. Elder Marks, one of the ten, made a speech in favor of Rigdon; but the conference had hopes of him and he was not expelled. The conference closed after Elder Young had delivered Rigdon over to the buffetings of Satan "in the name of the Lord," "and all the people said Amen!"

Mr. Marks showed his appreciation of the leniency of the conference toward him, by publishing in the next *Times and Seasons* a statement that after candid consideration he had become convinced that Sidney Rigdon's claims to the Presidency were not founded in truth. Rigdon went back to Pittsburgh a poor and abused man. Aged and infirm, deprived of his rights in the church he had been the chief instrument in forming, and able to carry but a small remnant of the people with him, he still adhered to the faith, and made feeble efforts to effect a reorganization. Since his death, which occurred some years since, it is believed his adherents have principally joined the reorganized branch under Joseph Smith, the younger.

It is remarkable to observe with what violence this aged counsellor was pursued by the Twelve, and the perhaps equal acrimony with which he re-

turned their assaults. In an issue of the *Neighbor* of December 18, 1844, is to be found an article under the signature of Orson Hyde, in which the following language occurs:

"Mr. Rigdon, do you not remember how you came into a certain council about the first of April or latter part of March last, that had been organized by Joseph Smith; and also how you danced and shouted, and threw your feet so high that you came well nigh falling backwards upon the stove? Certainly you must remember this; for you frothed at the mouth like a madman, and gave glory to God so long and loud that you became entirely hoarse and exhausted. Your song was, 'Glory to God and the Lamb, that I have lived in this time; Hallelujah to Jesus, that mine eyes have seen this day; and thanks to my brethren that I have been permitted to enter here, for of a surety God is with you in power and glory.' . . . Now you say that Joseph was a bad man, and has been for a long time. You say that all the authorities here are base and wicked. . . . And why are you now prating against him and the church, giving yourself the lie and rendering yourself a burlesque upon all honesty, integrity, consistency, and uprightness? . . . Your race, sir, is about run; and unless you speedily repent the hand of God will soon be heavily upon you. . . . But if you do repent, you are only damned for this world in the eyes of men, and may get salvation at last. . . . When thy memory only lives to be a stink in thy nostrils, and also in the nostrils of God and his people; when thou art as powerless as John C. Bennett, or Judas Iscariot, then know that you have fought against Jehovah and lied in his holy name."

In the *Neighbor* of December 4, 1844, we find

another letter addressed by Hyde to Rigdon from Cincinnati, through the medium of the New York *Prophet*. In this letter, the charge is made by innuendo that Rigdon was a murderer while in Missouri, and that he counselled murder for disobedience to the leaders. Hyde used this language:

"Elder Rigdon has been associated with Joseph and Hyrum Smith as a councillor to the church, and he told me in Far West that it was the imperative duty of the church to obey the word of Joseph Smith, or the Presidency, without questioning or inquiry; and that if there were any that would not, they should have their throats cut from ear to ear. . . . Such kind of language I never heard from Joseph or Hyrum Smith; [?] neither did they preach a 'Salt Sermon,' nor tell a 'Granny Parrish story,' nor *boast of throwing any one aside into the hazel bush*." (!)

And he adds:

"You have evidence that ever since then I have looked upon you as a base and wicked tyrant. And in that character do I now regard you."

And yet Orson Hyde was a co-worker with Rigdon for three years at Nauvoo, knowing, as he says, that he was a murderer, and an adviser and abettor of murder. And he is still to this day, in Utah, upholding and vindicating a Presidency whose first claim is the unquestioned obedience of its followers.

William Smith, whom everybody called "Patri-

arch Bill" (all the Smiths, including the father of the family, we believe, have enjoyed the partriarchal perquisites at one time or another), the only male member left of the family, also believed that he had rights to be the successor by virtue of his kinship, which should be respected, and he also hurried to Nauvoo to advance his claims. But he was vacillating and weak, and sadly lacking in the mental traits necessary for a leader. So he fell into the meshes of the Twelve and Brigham Young, and quietly settled down into the business of dispensing "Patriarchal Blessings" for pay, and the church organ advised the brethren and sisters to patronize him. But the blessings being of poor value, or for some other cause, the pay became unsatisfactory, and he again became troublesome—quarrelled with and denounced the Twelve—and at length went and joined the new prophet, Strang, in Wisconsin. After the leaders had left for the West, he came back to Nauvoo, thinking there might be a chance again, and tried to prevent the remnant from following Brigham Young into the wilderness. But failing in this, he, Rigdon, and Strang organized a trinity which succeeded in drawing together some of the scattered faithful ones. William is now, we believe, in his old age, an elder in the branch headed by his nephew.

About this time, Mr. Saulsbury also, a brother-in-law to the prophet, though never a prominent leader, came out against Young and the Twelve in a letter to the Warsaw *Signal*, denouncing and making charges against them, of much the same character as Rigdon and Law and Bennett had done.

But, through it all, Brigham Young maintained his supremacy over the Twelve and the people; a supremacy which he held as long as they remained in Illinois, all through their long and perilous journey in the wilderness, and for more than a quarter of a century afterwards in their sequestered mountain home. Joseph Smith, in the fourteen years that he had lived as a prophet, with the aid of Harris, Cowdery, Rigdon, Pratt, and others, had succeeded in building up a crude system and bringing together a few thousands of discontented and marvel-seeking spirits. It was Young who, through the ordeal of suffering and sorrow and death—an ordeal which fed the coyotes of the plains and wilderness with human flesh, and whitened a long trail with human bones—established a power in the heart of the continent, strong enough to defy the government and laugh at all efforts to control it. Since his death, it has fallen under the guidance of far weaker hands. Had it not been for his influence at the death of the prophet, there is rea-

son to believe that Mormonism, instead of being now a monster in Utah, would be divided into as many *isms* in the States as there were ambitious leaders to fulminate a prophecy or originate a creed.

CHAPTER XXXII.

A NEW PROPHET—JAMES J. STRANG.

STRANG'S CLAIM TO THE SUCCESSION—HIS REVELATION—SETS UP AT VOREE—HE, TOO, FINDS PLATES—HIS ARROGANCE AND PRETENSIONS—ARRESTED FOR TREASON—TRIED AND ACQUITTED—A POLYGAMIST—HIS VIOLENT DEATH—FATE OF MORMON PROPHETS.

MR. STRANG was also a New Yorker, the son of a farmer, but had taught school, lectured, and studied law. He drifted to the West, and was engaged in practice in Burlington, Wisconsin. Smith's seeming success at Nauvoo attracted his attention, and he came to that city early in 1844, joined the church and was baptized, and was at once ordained an elder. He chose Wisconsin for his field of operations. Although he had been a convert but a few months, he was at the prophet's death ambitious of prophetic honors and emoluments, and claimed the right of succession on ground different from that of any of the other aspirants—that of appointment from the Lord, through Smith himself, communicated to him by letter from Nauvoo only a few

days before Smith was killed. That revelation read in part as follows:

"And now, behold, my servant James J. Strang hath come to thee from far, for truth, when he knew it not, and hath not rejected it, but had faith in thee, the Shepherd and Stone of Israel, and to him shall the gathering of the people be; for he shall plant a stake of Zion in Wisconsin, and I will establish it, and there shall my people have peace and rest, and shall not be moved, for it shall be established on White River, in the lands of Racine and Walworth. . . . And I will have a house built unto me of stone, and there will I show myself to my people by many mighty works; and the name of the city shall be called VOREE, which is, being interpreted, Garden of Peace—for there shall my people have peace and rest, and wax fat and pleasant in presence of their enemies."

Strang was able to exhibit a letter envelope with the proper Nauvoo post-mark and date, in proof of his claim; yet the time, the occasion, the circumstance, and even the style, strongly tend to the conclusion that it was all a forgery, and never emanated from Smith at all. Whether a forgery or not, he proceeded to carry out the purpose therein foreshadowed. Through his whole after career he servilely followed in Smith's footsteps, imitated his methods, and ended his inglorious career in much the same manner. At Voree he planted the "Stake of Zion," began prophesying, obtaining revelations, and secured a band of followers. He also issued a small monthly organ,

called the *Voree Herald*. Not to be outdone by his predecessor, he had some plates revealed to him—the proof of which is to be found in the following:

TESTIMONY OF FOUR WITNESSES.

"On the 13th day of September, 1845, we, Aaron Smith, Jirah B. Wheelan, James M. Van Nostrand, and Edward Whitcomb,—assembled at the call of James J. Strang, who is by us and many others approved as a prophet and seer of God. He proceeded to inform us that it had been revealed to him in a vision that an account of an ancient people was buried in a hill south of White River bridge, near the east line of Walworth County; and leading us to an oak tree about one foot in diameter, told us that we could find it enclosed in a case of rude earthenware under that tree, at a depth of about three feet; requested us to dig it up, and charged us to examine the ground, that we should know we were not imposed upon, and that it had not been buried since the tree grew. The tree was surrounded by a sward of deeply-rooted grass, such as is usually found in the openings, and upon the most critical examination we could not discover any indication that it had ever been cut through or disturbed.

"We then dug up the tree, and continued to dig to the depth of about three feet, where we found a case of slightly baked clay containing three plates of brass. On one side of one is a landscape view of the south end of Gardner's prairie, and the range of hills where they were dug. On another is a man with a crown on his head, and a sceptre in his hand; above, is an eye before an upright line; below, the sun and moon surrounded by twelve stars; at the

bottom are twelve large stars, from three of which pillars arise, and closely interspersed with them are seven very small stars. The other four sides are very closely covered with what appear to be alphabetic characters, but in a language of which we have no knowledge.

"The case was found imbedded in indurated clay so closely fitting that it broke in taking out, and the earth below the soil was so hard as to be dug with difficulty, even with a pick-axe. Over the case was found a flat stone about one foot wide each way and three inches thick, which appeared to have undergone the action of fire, and fell to pieces after a few minutes' exposure to the air. The digging extended in the clay about eighteen inches, there being two kinds of earth of different color and appearance above it.

"We examined as we dug, all the way with the utmost care, and we say, with utmost confidence, that no part of the earth through which we dug exhibited any sign or indication that it had been moved or disturbed at any previous time. The roots of the tree struck down very closely on every side, extending below the case, and closely interwoven with roots from other trees. None of them had been broken or cut away. No clay is found in the country like that of which this case is made.

"In fine, we found an alphabetic and pictorial record, carefully cased up, buried deep in the earth, covered with a flat stone, with an oak tree one foot in diameter growing over it, with every evidence that the sense can give that it has lain as long as that tree has been growing. Strang took no part in the digging, but kept entirely away from before the first blow was struck till after the plates were taken out of the case; and the sole inducement to our digging was our faith in his statement as a

prophet of the Lord, that a record would thus and there be found.

AARON SMITH, J. M. VAN NOSTRAND,
JIRAH B. WHEELAN, EDWARD WHITCOMB."

These three plates our Wisconsin prophet did not at once proceed to translate, as the box contained no "Urim and Thummim" to aid him—a negligence on the part of the later Nephi or Moroni, for which it is hard to account. At a subsequent day, however, eighteen more plates were vouchsafed him, which he called the plates of *Laban*—strangely forgetful of the fact, that the plates of Laban, stolen and carried off by the sons of Lehi, had been deposited, together with his sword, in Cumorah Hill in the State of New York. An angel brought him a "Urim and Thummim" at length, and in due course of time all were translated, from what language we do not learn. The three are thus rendered:

"My people are no more. The mighty are fallen, and the young men are slain in battle. Their bones are bleached on the plains, by the noonday shadow. The houses are level with the dust, and in the moat are the walls: They shall be inhabited. I have in the burial served them; and their bones in the death-shade toward the sun's rising are covered. They sleep with the mighty dead, and they rest with their fathers. They have fallen in transgression, and are not; but the elect and faithful there shall dwell.

"The Word hath revealed it. God hath sworn

to give an inheritance to his people where transgressors perished. The Word of God came to me while I mourned in the death-shade, saying I will avenge me on the destroyed. They shall be driven out. Other strangers shall inhabit thy land. I an ensign will then set up. The escaped of my people there shall dwell, when the flock disowns the Shepherd and build not on the rock.

"The forerunner men shall kill, but a mighty prophet there shall dwell. I will be his strength, and he shall bring forth the record. Record my Word, and bury it in the Hill of Promise.

"(Signed),

"RAJAH MANCHORE."

The remaining plates were translated from time to time, and published under the title of:

"THE BOOK OF THE LAW OF THE LORD,

"*Consisting of an Inspired Translation of Some of the Most Important Parts of the Law given to Moses, and a Very Few Additional Commandments, with Brief Notes and References.*"

All this, it will be seen, was a feeble imitation of Smith's methods, which had been so successful fifteen years before; the testimony, however, to the discovery of the plates lacked the angelic and the impossible element, and hence was less successful. But it was not without its results. Quite a colony of believers was formed at Voree, and after a time transferred to Beaver Island in Lake Michigan. Here it greatly increased in numbers; and assuming the same arrogant pretensions adopted

by the elder prophet, Strang also became inimical to his neighbors and to the government. Strifes and discord ensued; he was arrested for treason by order of the United States authorities, taken to Detroit, tried, and acquitted. Returning to Beaver Island, his aggressive career was resumed. He was finally murdered by some of his apostate followers in 1856—after which the colony dispersed; and at this day little is heard of the Prophet Strang, his plates, his translations, his prophecies, his dishonored life, or tragical death.

Following openly the example set him clandestinely at Nauvoo, he, too, was a polygamist, and is said to have had five or six wives at his death. As in the case of his more successful prototype, the assumption of infallible kingly and priestly power, the gathering to one holy Zion, and the disobedience to law, were the rocks on which he was wrecked.

The office of "Prophet, Seer, and Revelator," in the Mormon system, has been a dangerous one. All but one who have occupied it have met tragical fates. First, Joseph Smith, its inventor—murdered by a mob in an Illinois jail in 1844; second, Strang—shot on an island in Lake Michigan; and, third, Morris—butchered as an apostate among

the mountain fastnesses of Utah in 1862;—terrible, but not unnatural, results from lives of wickedness and blasphemy. Who would be a Mormon Prophet!

CHAPTER XXXIII.

MORE VIOLENCE AND BLOODSHED.

THREE OBNOXIOUS OFFICIALS—ARREST OF SENATOR DAVIS—NAUVOO CHARTER REPEALED — INCREASE OF THEFT—MURDER OF MILLER AND LEIZA—OF IRVINE HODGE—OF COL. DAVENPORT—OF DR. MARSHALL—DEATH OF SHERIFF DEMING—BURNING OF MORLEY-TOWN—KILLING OF LIEUT. WORRELL—OF MCBRATNEY—INCIDENT OF THE BURNING—KILLING OF WILCOX AND DAUBENHEYER—ARRIVAL OF COL. HARDIN WITH STATE TROOPS.

THE year 1844 was one of disorder and blood in Hancock County: but that of 1845 was more bloody still. At the August election of 1844, three very obnoxious men had been elected to office: Almon W. Babbitt, a Mormon attorney, and Jacob B. Backenstos, one of those much-hated men known as Jack-Mormons, to the Legislature; and General Minor R. Deming to the office of Sheriff.

As before stated, the agreement entered into that no arrests should be made of the parties under indictment for the murder of the Smiths, was violated by the prosecution, and frequent attempts were made to arrest some of them during the winter by the Sheriff and his deputies. Jacob C. Davis,

one of them, was a Senator in the State Legislature, and at the opening of the session he took his seat in that body. During the winter he was arrested at the Capital by an officer from Hancock County; but was ordered released by a resolution of the Senate.

During the session a move was made to repeal the charter of the city of Nauvoo, and on January 21, 1845, the measure passed the House of Representatives by a vote of 76 yeas to 36 nays. It subsequently passed the Senate by a large majority. The repeal was strenuously opposed by both Babbitt and Backenstos—by the latter in a violent speech, which greatly incensed the Anti-Mormon community against him.

During the winter and spring—as a result of the unsettled condition of affairs at Nauvoo, and the consequent hard times—there was an unusual amount of stealing done, not only in the city but in other parts of the county. It extended also to Adams, Henderson, and other adjoining counties. In Adams, where arrests could be made, there were as many as eight Mormons in jail at one time for these petty offences. In the city the two parties, "Twelveites" and "Rigdonites," charged the offences to each other. The nuisance became so insupportable, that public meetings were held at various points to devise means of protection and re-

dress. Township committees were appointed to collect statistics of these thefts for publication, which was done, footing up hundreds of dollars in some townships. Some of these reports, there is reason to believe, were exaggerated; but as many must have been omitted, it is safe to say the totals did not exceed the truth. Of course, it was not proven, or even known, that these depredations were all committed by Mormons, and they probably were not. The suggestion has been often made that much of this thieving may have been done on Mormon credit; which, in itself, is an admission against them; but that a large per cent. of it was perpetrated by members of that fraternity, all circumstances go to show. And events that transpired this year, show that they harbored among them men who did not hesitate at robbery and assassination.

On Saturday night, May 10, 1845, a horrible robbery and murder was committed near the town of Franklin, Lee County, Iowa, on the persons of John Miller, a Mennonite German minister from Pennsylvania, and Mr. Leiza, his son-in-law. The latter was not killed, but died of his wounds soon afterwards. The locality is about ten or twelve miles from Nauvoo, across the Mississippi, and the murderers, three in number, were traced to that city. Their names were William Hodge, Stephen

Hodge (brothers), and Thomas Brown. The Hodges were arrested on the 13th, and conveyed to the Iowa penitentiary at Fort Madison for safe-keeping. On the 15th, they were indicted by the grand jury in the Lee district court, then in session at West Point, and on the 21st were arraigned for trial. They asked for a change of venue, and the cause was certified to Des Moines County. On the 21st of June they were put upon their trial at Burlington. They were defended by J. C. Hall and F. D. Mills, two eminent attorneys of the Burlington bar, and by Geo. Edmunds, Esq., of Nauvoo. The trial lasted about a week and ended in a verdict of *Guilty*. Judge Mason sentenced them to the gallows, and on the 15th of July they were duly executed.

On the night of the 23d of June, Irvine Hodge, brother to the accused, was assassinated in Nauvoo, while on his way home from a visit to his doomed brothers in the Burlington jail. He had, it was said, endeavored to induce Brigham Young to send and have his brothers rescued from jail; and failing, had been free in denouncing his chief for refusing to authorize the raid. But little notice was taken in Nauvoo of this murder; no arrests were made, and no one was ever brought to trial for the crime. The perpetrator or the purpose of this murder may never be known. The "Patriarch" William

Smith's letter to the *Sangamo Journal*, dated September 24, 1846, may throw some light on the subject:

"Irvine Hodge was murdered within twelve feet of Brigham Young's door. Amos Hodge, it is said, was murdered between Montrose and Nashville, Iowa [two towns across the river from Nauvoo], by Brigham Young's guard, who pretended to escort him out of Nauvoo for his safety, under cover of women's clothes — who then pretended that he had run away. . . . If Mr. Amos Hodge, the father of these young Hodges, will call and see me, *I can tell him the names of persons that will put him on the track of the men who murdered his sons.*"

But why did not Mr. Smith communicate those names to the grand jury, in order that the perpetrators of those secret crimes might be brought to justice? And why has he these long years since withheld from the public and the authorities his knowledge of the matter? Whatever he may have been then, he claims to be now a law-abiding man and good citizen, yet we never heard that he has ever given any other information concerning it, than is contained by innuendo in that letter.*

On the trial of the Hodge brothers at Burlington, the accused made an affidavit for witnesses to prove an *alibi*, claiming to rely upon the testimony of five

* At the present writing, we believe Mr. Smith is still living, and occupying a position of distinction in the Reorganized Church.

or six named residents of Nauvoo, and upon that of John Long, Aaron Long, and Judge Fox, who, they said, resided in St. Louis. These names will be remembered in the annals of Mormon crime as the parties who, a few days later, perpetrated the murder of Colonel Davenport at Rock Island.

Colonel Davenport had many years before been connected with the United States army, and on leaving the service, had acquired and made a home contiguous to Fort Armstrong, on that beautiful island in the Mississippi. The murder was committed on the 4th of July, 1845, whilst all the family except himself were attending a celebration on the mainland in Illinois. He was an aged and quite infirm man, and was quietly sitting in his house reading, when he was attacked by the robbers. Rising to approach the door, at which he heard a noise, it was pushed open, and three men entered, one of whom discharged a pistol at him, the ball entering his thigh. He was then dragged through the hall and up-stairs to a closet containing his safe, which they compelled him to open. After obtaining its contents and money from his bureau drawers, they left him, still tied upon his bed, and bleeding from his wounded thigh and beatings he had received. In this condition he was some time afterwards found. Surgical aid was procured as soon as possible from the town of Rock Island, and

he was revived sufficiently to describe the assassins and the circumstances; but he died about ten o'clock the same evening.

A reward of $1,500 was offered for the arrest and conviction of the murderers by his son, George L. Davenport; and John Long, Aaron Long, and Granville Young, were finally arrested, tried, and hung for the offence. Judge Fox was also arrested, but made his escape; while a fifth one, named Birch, —a daring desperado, said to have been connected with the Danite Band, and probably the worst of the five—escaped punishment by turning State's evidence.

During this year, also, numerous minor acts of robbery and theft were committed in Lee County, Iowa, and along the river, traceable in almost all cases to a gang of desperadoes having their head-quarters in Nauvoo.

While these acts of violence were being perpetrated out of the county, a most lamentable tragedy was enacted at home. On June 24th, an altercation occurred in the court-house in Carthage, between Dr. Samuel Marshall, the County Clerk, and the Sheriff of the county, General Minor R. Deming, which resulted in the death of the former at the hand of the latter. The difficulty arose about some trivial official business. Dr. Marshall was a man of very exact and punctual habits in all his affairs,

and he desired others to be equally so; and the Sheriff's seeming neglect of certain duties irritated him. A scuffle ensued, in which the General drew a pistol and shot his antagonist. The affair was an unfortunate one, as it caused the deaths of two reputable men and good officers, who, in ordinary times, might have been friends, and added greatly to the excitement already existing. Dr. Marshall was a strong Anti-Mormon in his feelings and principles, and had the full confidence of the party; yet he resolutely refused to sanction any of their unlawful proceedings. He was one of a number in the county—far too few—who believed it better to suffer all the ills resulting from Mormonism, rather than resort to illegal and violent measures for redress.

General Deming was taken into custody, and the circuit court being in session, was indicted for manslaughter by the grand jury. A continuance was had and he was released on bail. But he was never brought to trial. He retired to his home in the country, where he was soon afterwards stricken with a congestive fever, no doubt brought on or aggravated by excitement, and he died September 10, 1845. He was succeeded in the office of Sheriff by the aforesaid J. B. Backenstos at a special election, by the following vote—Backenstos, 2,334; John Scott (Anti-Mormon Democrat), 750.

In the autumn of this year (1845), a series of events occurred which had no warrant in law or order, and which must be condemned by every good citizen and friend of good government. They had for their object the forcible expulsion of the whole Mormon community from the county and State. The disorders at Nauvoo, the vast amount of thieving and other depredations upon property, the many murders in the vicinity, and the consequent feeling of fear and insecurity everywhere, were offered in vindication by those who approved the measures. And while not accepting the reasoning as good, the writer dismisses the point by asking those who condemn: What would have been YOUR remedy under the circumstances?

On the night of September 9th, a meeting of Anti-Mormons was being held for some purpose at a school-house in Green Plains, when it was fired upon by some party in the bush. A village of Mormons, known as Morley-Town, was located in the near neighborhood. It was at once resolved to begin the expulsion of the people from said village and vicinity. This resolve was put in execution the next night, when two cabins were burned and the inmates notified to leave the settlement. For a week the burning continued, until the whole of the little village was in ashes, together with many other residences in the Bear Creek and Green

Plains region. In all, it is stated that as many as one hundred or one hundred and twenty-five houses were burned, and their occupants driven off.

For humanity's sake, we are glad to be able to record the fact that this great destruction of property was accompanied by very little violence or personal ill-treatment. Indeed, much of it was done in an orderly and peaceable manner, as though its perpetrators had warrant of law for their conduct. From a *History of Hancock County—1880*, we quote the following:

"From a very respectable old gentleman (now deceased), who was a witness of some of the house-burning operations in the fall of 1845, we have the following statement received from him verbally, during the last year. He says that for such lawless and outrageous acts, they were done in such a quiet and orderly manner as to be astonishing. He resided not far from some of the houses that were burned; and hearing what was going on, he mounted his horse and rode to where the work was in progress. . . .

"The manner was to go to a house and warn the inmates out—that they were going to burn it. Usually there would be no show of resistance; but all hands, burners and all, would proceed to take out the goods and place them out of danger. When the goods were all securely removed, the torch would be applied and the house consumed. Then on to another. . . . As an evidence of the coolness and good temper in which this work was done, our informant relates the following, to which he says he was an eye-witness. While the burners were engaged in burning a certain house, a young

woman belonging to the family, standing and looking on, felt an inclination to smoke, and asked one of the burners for some tobacco. Having none himself, he pointed to one of his comrades, and said he would give her some. She approached the other; he unconcernedly put his hand in his pocket, handed her the tobacco, from which she took what she wanted, and handed it back; when he went on with the work in hand, and she proceeded to smoke!"

These burnings produced intense excitement all over the county. Numbers collected from different quarters to join the rioters. Sheriff Backenstos endeavored to raise a *posse* among the old citizens to suppress the disturbances, but such was the hatred in which he was held outside of Nauvoo, that his efforts entirely failed. He thereupon issued a proclamation dated at Green Plains, on the 13th, calling on the rioters to desist, and upon the *posse comitatus* of the county to assist him. He also stated that it was his policy to have the Mormons remain quiet; but that two thousand armed men held themselves in readiness in Nauvoo to come to his assistance when necessary. Failing to obtain a force outside of the city, he resorted to these, and soon succeeded in dispersing the rioters. On the 16th, Lieutenant Franklin A. Worrell, of the Carthage Greys, was killed by a small squad of his *posse* while crossing the prairie, in no way connected with the burners; and on the 17th, Samuel McBratney, one of the burners, was killed.

Sheriff Backenstos, at the head of his large force, now had the county under his control. On the 19th, at sun-down, at the head of several hundred men, he rode into Carthage, surrounded the place, and ordered all the citizens to be arrested and brought to headquarters in the court-house. He said he was in quest of criminals. After roughly handling those most obnoxious to him, and searching their houses for arms, most of them were set at liberty. In the morning the main force was withdrawn, fifty men being left to guard the place. These remained in possession of the court-house some days, until the arrival of General Hardin with a force of State troops sent by the Governor, when they were summarily dismissed.

Backenstos and the notorious O. P. Rockwell of Danite memory, were both subsequently indicted for the murder of Worrell, and both acquitted—the former under trial by change of venue at Peoria, and the latter at Galena. Who was the actual guilty party may never be known. We have recently been informed from Salt Lake, by a party in a position to know, that Rockwell did the deed under the Sheriff's order, which is probably true.

Two other murders were committed about this time by Mormons—one in Nauvoo and the other in Camp Creek settlement. On the 16th, Phineas

Wilcox, a young man from St. Mary's township, went into the city on business; was there charged with being a spy, and was never afterwards seen by his friends. Circumstances strongly showed that he had been murdered and thrown into the river. The other case—that of Andrew Daubenheyer—was equally mysterious for a time. He resided in the Camp Creek neighborhood, and was known as an active Anti-Mormon. On the 18th of September, he started to Carthage with a two-horse wagon-load of provisions, which, it is said, were intended for the rioters. On the evening of the 20th, he left Carthage on horse-back for his home, which he never reached; but on the morning of the 21st, his horse came home without him. On his road home was an encampment of the Sheriff's *posse*, and the belief was that he had been waylaid and killed by them. Search being afterwards made, his body was found buried near the place of encampment.

Going back to the origin of the burning: It has been charged by the Mormons and their friends, that the firing on the school-house at Green Plains was a sham—a scheme previously arranged by the mobbers to create a sympathy in their behalf, and furnish an excuse for the contemplated raid. Whether this be true or not, circumstances existing at the time render it extremely probable. It

is hardly to be supposed that the Mormons in that remote settlement from the city, and at a time of so much excitement against them, could be so aggressive as to commit such an act.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

NINE COUNTIES INTERFERE—THE END APPROACHING.

COLONEL HARDIN AND HIS ADVISERS—MAJOR WARREN LEFT IN COMMAND—CONVENTION OF NINE COUNTIES—BROWNING'S RESOLUTIONS—ACTION OF THE CONVENTION—CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE MORMON LEADERS—THE INEVITABLE ACCEPTED.

As on former occasions, these excesses called for executive interference. Accordingly, Governor Ford again sent a force of volunteers into the county, and again under command of that brave and sagacious officer and statesman, Colonel John J. Hardin. He was accompanied by Attorney-General John A. McDougal, Judge Stephen A. Douglas, and Major Wm. B. Warren, as advisers. On the arrival of these with a strong body of troops, everything became quiet. On the 27th of September, General Hardin issued a proclamation to the people of the county, enjoining them to keep the peace and obey the laws and constituted authorities. In conjunction with his advisers, he visited Nauvoo and entered into a correspondence with the authorities of the Mormon people, which resulted in their agreeing to leave the county and State in the following spring; after

which he withdrew the main body of his forces, leaving Major Warren in the county to maintain the peace, with a detachment of about one hundred men, to remain until withdrawn by the Governor. To the discreet action and gentlemanly behavior of Major Warren and his officers and men, during the winter, the county was much indebted for the good order that reigned.*

Previous to General Hardin's arrival, the people of the surrounding counties, in view of the disturbed condition of the county of Hancock, and becoming alarmed for their own safety, determined to hold a convention to take the subject into consideration. That convention may be regarded as a turning point in the affairs of the county. It was held at Carthage on the first and second days of October, and was composed of representative and earnest men of high standing in the nine counties of Adams, Brown, Pike, Schuyler, Marquette, McDonough, Warren, Knox, and Henderson—Hancock being purposely excluded. Fifty delegates were reported. Hon. Orville H. Browning, of Adams, moved for a committee of three from each county to prepare and report resolutions;

* These troops belonged principally to the Quincy Riflemen, an independent company composed of young men of the highest character in that city—two of whose officers, Captain James D. Morgan and Lieutenant Benjamin M. Prentiss, did conspicuous service later as Generals in the war for the Union.

and afterwards, as chairman, presented a series, of which we introduce only two, as embracing the sense of the convention on the points mentioned:

"*Resolved*, That it is the settled and deliberate conviction of this convention, that it is now too late to attempt the settlement of the difficulties in Hancock County *upon any other basis than that of the removal of the Mormons from the State;* and we therefore accept, and respectfully recommend to the people of the surrounding counties to accept, the proposition made by the Mormons to remove from the State next spring, and to wait with patience the time for removal.

"*Resolved*, That we *utterly repudiate* the impudent assertion, so often and so constantly put forth by the Mormons, that they are *persecuted for righteousness' sake. We do not believe them to be a persecuted people. We* KNOW *that they are not;* but that whatever grievances they may suffer are the necessary and legitimate consequences of their illegal, wicked, and dishonest acts."

At the distance of more than forty years from the date when the sentiment, as contained in the first of these resolutions, was uttered, it reads strangely that such a body of men could be induced to sanction the entire expulsion of ten or twelve thousand people from a State where they were making their homes. And yet that resolution passed unanimously, and was applauded and accepted by nine-tenths of the fifty or sixty thousand people of

the nine counties that convention represented. Every reader of these pages must agree that there is something radically wrong in the laws or their administration or in the state of society that renders such a thing possible. The writer of this was a spectator at that convention, and he testifies to the high character of its members, and knows with what prudence and earnestness its deliberations were conducted; but whether the circumstances at the time existing were sufficient to justify such action, or whether THEY CAN EXIST, is a problem he prefers to leave with the reader. The other resolution, however, met with his entire assent. And here attention is called to the fact, that when the Mormons first made their appearance in Illinois, six years before, all these people sympathized with them, and believed their story of persecution. Mr. Browning* was especially eloquent in denouncing the "Border Ruffians" of Missouri, for their treatment of these so-called persecuted and inoffensive people. And what could have produced the change? It is preposterous to say that a whole community would—or could—in the short space of six years, from being warm sympathizers with, and aiders and helpers of, an innocent people, turn around and

* Hon. O. H. Browning was a resident of Quincy, a leading and able member of the Bar—and afterwards held the position of United States Senator and Secretary of the Interior.

become themselves their persecutors. The fact exists, as clear as sunlight, that every word of this second resolution is true. It has been true ever since the feeble cry of "persecution" was uttered by the embryo-prophet at Palmyra down to this convention; and since, through the dreadful scenes in the wilderness, till it was stifled in the shrieks and cries of defenceless women and children at Mountain Meadows and Springville. Yet the cry of "Persecution!" and "Let us alone!" is still heard on every hand, and echoed through the press of the country.

The action of this convention had a quieting effect on the public, and no doubt satisfied many wavering minds that the conclusion to which it arrived, was the only one that would give peace. And the Mormons also accepted it as inevitable, and earnestly prepared to act accordingly. As a basis for the subsequent action of both parties, the correspondence heretofore mentioned is here reproduced:

"NAUVOO, *Oct. 1, 1845.*

"*To the First President and Council of the Church at Nauvoo:*

"Having had a free and full conversation with you this day, in reference to your proposed removal from this county, together with the members of your Church, we have to request you to submit the facts and intentions stated to us in said conversa-

tion to writing, in order that we may lay them before the Governor and People of the State. We hope that by so doing it will have a tendency to allay the excitement at present existing in the public mind. We have the honor to subscribe ourselves,

"Respectfully yours, etc.,

JOHN J. HARDIN,
S. A. DOUGLAS,
W. B. WARREN,
J. A. MCDOUGAL."

To which the following reply was received:

"NAUVOO, *Oct. 1, 1845.*

"*To Gen. John J. Hardin, S. A. Douglas, W. B. Warren and J. A. McDougal:*

"MESSRS: In reply to your letter of this date requesting us to 'submit the facts and intentions stated by us to writing, in order that you may lay them before the Governor and People of the State,' we would refer you to a communication of the 24th ultimo, to the 'Quincy Committee,' a copy of which is herewith enclosed.

"In addition to this we would say, that we had commenced making arrangements to remove from this county previous to the recent disturbances; that we now have four companies organized of one hundred families each, and six more companies now organizing of the same number each, preparatory to removal. That one thousand families, including the Twelve, the High Council, the Trustees and general authorities of the Church, are fully determined to remove in the spring, independent of the contingency of selling our property,—and that this company will comprise from five to six thousand souls.

"That the Church, as a body, desires to remove

with us, and will, if sales can be effected, so as to raise the necessary means.

"That the organization of the Church we represent is such, that there never can exist but one head or Presidency at any one time, and all good members wish to be with the organization; and all are determined to remove to some distant point where we shall neither infringe or be infringed upon, so soon as time and means will permit.

"That we have some hundreds of farms and some two thousand or more houses for sale in this city and county, and we request all good citizens to assist in the disposal of our property.

"That we do not expect to find purchasers for our Temple and other public buildings; but we are willing to rent them to a respectable community who may inhabit the city.

"That we wish it distinctly understood, that, although we may not find purchasers for our property, we will not sacrifice or give it away, or suffer it illegally to be wrested from us.

"That we do not intend to sow any wheat this fall, and should we all sell we shall not put in any more crops of any description.

"That as soon as practicable we will appoint committees for this city, La Harpe, Macedonia, Bear Creek, and all necessary places in the county, to give information to purchasers.

"That if these testimonies are not sufficient to satisfy any people that we are in earnest, we will soon give them a sign that cannot be mistaken—*we will leave them!*

"In behalf of the Council,

"Respectfully yours, etc.,

"BRIGHAM YOUNG,
"*President.*

"WILLARD RICHARDS, *Clerk.*"

The communication to the Quincy Committee was of similar import, but referred particularly and in eloquent terms to their sufferings and grievances, here and elsewhere, and begged to be let alone.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE EXODUS BEGUN.

ACTIVE PREPARATIONS FOR LEAVING—CROSSING INTO IOWA—MAJOR WARREN AND HIS FORCE—DISBANDED AND REMUSTERED—O. P. ROCKWELL—ARREST, TRIAL, AND ACQUITTAL—DR. PICKET—POSSE UNDER CARLIN—MAJOR PARKER'S FORCE—WAR OF PROCLAMATIONS—SINGLETON'S PEACE—RESIGNS THE COMMAND—MAJOR BROCKMAN SUCCEEDS—ADVANCE TOWARD THE CITY.

IN accordance with the pledge given to General Hardin and his associates by Brigham Young on behalf of the church, active preparations were made in Nauvoo during the winter to remove in the spring. Those residing in the country made sales of property as fast as they could, and retired to the city in order to join the expeditions. Large numbers of wagons and teams were obtained by exchange for other property; many vehicles were manufactured in the city, and horses and oxen were in great demand. Although it had been announced through their correspondence that property would not be sacrificed, there can be no doubt but many distressing sacrifices were made—especially of such property as could not be rendered available for the purposes of the expedition.

During all this period, it does not appear that any "Land of Promise" had been decided on to which they were to wend their way; the main purpose being to get to some uninhabited region, where they could "neither infringe or be infringed upon." The nearest, the easiest, the quickest way to do that, in the judgment of Young and the leaders, was to cross the Mississippi into the territory of Iowa, and follow the setting sun. This seemed to be the plan that would most certainly keep their followers together, and hold them in complete subjection to their leader's will. And the rank and file set out on the journey with the heroism of martyrs—not knowing whither, or the trials they were to undergo; believing only that in so doing they were obeying the commands of the Most High.

As early as February 10th, the weather having been favorable, it was stated that as many as one thousand persons, including most of the Twelve, and many of the other dignitaries of the church, had crossed into Iowa, and were on their way westward. As spring advanced, they were still leaving in large numbers; though the advance had not reached beyond Keosauqua, on the Des Moines river, some sixty miles away; from which point they kept up a constant intercourse with the city. The adherents of Rigdon, Strang, and Patriarch

William Smith remained behind, agreeing in their denunciations of the Twelve, and in censure of the western movement.

In April, 1846, Major Warren had orders from Governor Ford to disband, and withdraw his force on the first of May. He and his faithful volunteers had their headquarters at Carthage all winter, and had performed many arduous and delicate duties in preservation of the peace, arresting offenders, and executing writs. Their aid had been invoked on all sides, in all parts of the county; and they had been employed on numerous occasions in Nauvoo in the execution of process. They had been braved and threatened and insulted, even to violent resistance in that city; but they on all occasions exhibited a prudence, firmness, and judgment which entitled them to the regard of all good citizens.

The contemplated withdrawal of the guard, together with indications at Nauvoo, gave general uneasiness to the people. It began to be feared that many of the Mormons were not intending to leave; but to quietly remain, in the hope and expectation that in time all danger would be over. Public meetings began to be held in Hancock and other counties, at which these apprehensions were expressed and reference made to the action of the nine counties in October. These demonstrations brought a letter of inquiry from Mr. Babbitt, the

Mormon agent, to Governor Ford. In his reply the Governor denied that either he or the State had been a party to the compact that the Mormons should leave in the spring. Yet he also plainly intimated that they were bound to go, and that he would be powerless to prevent their expulsion. "I tell you plainly," said his excellency, "that the people of Illinois will not fight for the Mormons."

On the day following Major Warren's disbandment of his force at Carthage, he received an order from the Governor to retain them in service until further orders. They were again mustered in and remained on duty, making their headquarters chiefly at the Mansion House in Nauvoo. On May 14th, the Major sent a dispatch to the Warsaw *Signal*, stating that the Mormons were leaving with all possible speed; that the ferry was crossing as fast as possible; that on an estimate, four hundred and fifty teams and thirteen hundred and fifty souls had gone within the week; that new settlers were taking their places, etc. Information was also received, he said, from La Harpe, Macedonia, and other points, that they were fast leaving those points. On the 22d he reported:

"The Mormons still continue to leave the city in large numbers. The ferry at this place averages about fifty-two teams per day, and at Fort Madison

forty-five. Thus it will be seen that five hundred and thirty-nine teams have left during the week, which average about three persons to each, making in all one thousand six hundred and seventeen souls."

A week later the reported estimate was about eight hundred teams.

After the Twelve and principal leaders had left, and were encamped in the vicinity of Keosauqua, O. P. Rockwell was employed by them as messenger between the camp and the city, in which capacity he became very violent and abusive in his conduct; so much so, that they began to fear he would bring trouble upon them. On May 1st, a writ was issued for his arrest, on the affidavit of a Dr. Watson, charging him with the murder of Lieutenant Worrell, the preceding autumn. The writ was placed in the hands of some of Major Warren's men, who arrested him, surrounded by fifteen shooters and other implements of defence. He waived examination, and was sent to Quincy to jail. At the May term of court, a true bill was found against him by the grand jury and he was sent to Galena for trial, having obtained a change of venue from this circuit. He was acquitted.

Warlike demonstrations still continuing, on May 11th Major Warren issued a proclamation, in which he warned the Anti-Mormons to desist; assuring

them, that in his opinion, the Mormons were making all reasonable efforts to leave the county. Notwithstanding this assurance, a public meeting was held at Carthage, at which the opinion was expressed that large numbers of them designed to remain; and recommending that the citizens of the surrounding counties should forthwith prepare to put in force the resolutions of October last. Accordingly, a considerable force was assembled at Carthage and thence marched to Golden's Point, where they held a conference with a deputation of the new citizens of Nauvoo, who had been invited to meet them there. The latter objecting to their entrance into the city, and the force being weak and poorly officered and drilled, it was decided to retire again to Carthage, where it was soon afterwards disbanded.

The peace was of short duration. About the 10th of July, some difficulties occurred in the north part of the county, east of the city; arrests were made on one side and then on the other, until some ten or fifteen of the old citizens were held in custody in the city, and a number of Mormons (among whom was Brigham Young) held in durance outside as hostages. Such was the condition for over a week. For fear of an attack and rescue, the hostages were kept closely hidden, and were several times removed from place to place under cover of

night, but subjected to no personal violence. At length a writ of *habeas corpus* was obtained in Adams County, served on the officers at Nauvoo, and they and their prisoners taken to Quincy, where the prisoners were released on bail. The Mormon hostages were then set at liberty.

The new citizens at Nauvoo were generally an orderly and well-disposed people, but they had among them a few ruffianly and turbulent spirits, who, by their prominence and intemperate conduct, contributed to the disorder. Of these were three men, Dr. Pickett and Messrs. Clifford and Furness, who had arrested and detained the prisoners above mentioned. During the first week in August, these three were charged with false imprisonment and robbery, and writs issued for their arrest by John Banks, Esq., of Rocky Run township. The writs were placed in the hands of John Carlin, of Carthage, a deputy sheriff. On the 7th, he went to Nauvoo, and arrested Clifford and Furness, but was resisted and defied by Pickett. On the 17th, he issued a proclamation calling on the *posse comitatus* to assemble at the county seat on Monday, the 24th, to aid in Pickett's arrest. A meeting had been held in Nauvoo on the 12th, at which it had been resolved that Carlin's writ should not be executed; it also took measures to organize for military resistance.

On the 21st, Governor Ford, at Springfield, sent an order to Major James R. Parker, of the 32d regiment of Illinois militia, saying:

"SIR: I have received information that another effort is to be made on Monday next, to drive out the inhabitants of Nauvoo, new and old, and *to destroy the city.*"

And Major Parker was authorized to call out and take command of such persons as would volunteer, "free of cost to the State," to repel any attack and defend the city. He was also authorized to assist any peace officer in making arrests. This order of the Governor placed Parker and Carlin in direct antagonism. Carlin's proclamation was dated on the 17th; on the 25th, Parker, having appeared in the county with a small force, issued a counter-proclamation, calling on all bodies of armed men in the county to disperse, and stating that he held himself in readiness "to aid any officer in any part of the county in executing any lawful writs in his hands." Carlin replied by letter, that he was a legally constituted officer with writs in his hands to execute—that he had been resisted, and had called out the *posse* to aid him—that he did not acknowledge the authority of the military to interfere—that a large force was collecting, and he should proceed. To this Parker rejoined that he was sent by the Governor of the State—that the force under Carlin was a mob, whose aim was to

set the Mormons over the river, and he must so treat them. This brought still another from Carlin, who simply reiterated his former statements. Thereupon the gallant Major fell back on proclamations. On the 28th he issued a third, and on the 3d of September a fourth, warning "the mob" to desist.

During this war of proclamations, a force in aid of Carlin was concentrating at Carthage, of men from Hancock and several adjoining counties. This force, numbering from six hundred to eight hundred men, was placed under command of Colonel James W. Singleton, of Brown County, and consisted of two regiments—Colonel Thomas Brockman, of Brown, in command of the first, and the second commanded by Colonel Thomas Geddes, of Hancock. It was encamped five miles northwest of Carthage, on the Nauvoo road. Here secret negotiations began for a compromise, between the commander and the Mormons, and were concluded; but, on being submitted to his command, were unanimously rejected by his officers and men, amid much excitement. The conditions of this agreement were, in short—That the Mormon population of Nauvoo shall all leave within sixty days; that a force of twenty-five men shall be left as a guard, the expense to be equally borne by both parties; that an attorney be selected to take charge of all

writs; that the Mormons shall deliver up the State arms yet in their possession; and that all hostilities shall at once cease.

At this remote period, it would seem that these conditions were hard enough on the Mormons, and that their antagonists were unnecessarily severe in rejecting them. The reasons given for their rejection were mainly that no confidence could be placed in the Mormon professions of sincerity about removal, and that no provision was made for the execution of the writs in Carlin's hands. On the rejection of his treaty, Colonel Singleton withdrew from the command. Carlin thereupon appointed Colonel Brockman to the command, who immediately gave orders to advance toward the city, and on the 10th the whole force, numbering about seven hundred men, marched toward Nauvoo, and encamped about three miles from the Temple. Here a committee of Quincy gentlemen, consisting of Hon. John Wood, Major Flood, and Joel Rice, Esq., appeared and proposed a compromise. Terms were named to them, and by them taken to the city; but no answer was received. The *posse* was then put in motion toward the city, and for two days considerable skirmishing was carried on between the respective picket guards, and some firing of artillery—of which both forces had a few small pieces. On the 12th, a flag of truce was sent in by

Colonels Brockman and Carlin, demanding a surrender. It was replied to by Major Benjamin Clifford (Major Parker having left), refusing to comply.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

A BATTLE, A TREATY, AND THE END.

WARSAW SIGNAL'S REPORT OF THE BATTLE—QUINCY COMMITTEE OF ONE HUNDRED—A TRUCE—THE CITY SURRENDERS—THE TREATY—THE KILLED AND WOUNDED—MORE TROUBLE AND MORE TROOPS—REFLECTIONS.

PREPARATIONS to give battle were, therefore, immediately made. As this was the only real military engagement of the war, we deem a report of it in full, as given in the Warsaw *Signal* of October 13th, worthy of a place in these pages:

THE BATTLE.

"After the reception of this letter (Clifford's), the army was drawn up in column on a piece of high ground lying between the camp and the city. While in this position, a few shots were fired from a breastwork the Mormons had erected during the night, and the fire was returned from our artillery. So soon as all was ready, the Warsaw Riflemen were divided into two sections, and deployed on the right and left as flankers. Captain Newton's Lima Guards, with Captain Walker's gun, was ordered to take position a quarter of a mile in front of the camp, and employ the attention of the Mormons at their breastwork,—and from which they kept a constant fire, while the main body of the army wheeled to the left, passed down across the

La Harpe road through a cornfield, thence across Mulholland street, thence bore to the right through an orchard, and on to the city. So soon as the army was fairly under way, Captain Newton's company, and the piece of artillery with it, were brought up in the rear. This march was made directly across and in face of the enemy's fire, and within good cannon range, yet not a man was injured.

"Arriving on the verge of the city, the army, all except the artillery and flankers, was halted, while the latter advanced and commenced an attack on the Mormon works, from which they had been firing during the whole time of the march. A hot fire was kept up by the artillery from both sides for fifteen or twenty minutes. During this time, the Mormons did no execution on our ranks, while the balls from our cannon rattled most terrifically through the houses in the city.*

"At length a fire of small arms was heard from some Mormons who had taken position on the extreme left in a cornfield. Immediately, Colonel Smith's regiment was ordered up and drove the assailants before them. The second regiment was in the mean time ordered up to the support of the artillery. By this time the action became general.

"The Mormons were in squads in their houses, and poured in their shots with the greatest rapidity. Our men were also divided off into squads, took shelter where they could best find it, and returned the fire with great energy. The greater part of the first regiment had no better shelter than a cornfield and a worm fence; the second regiment was open ground, having but two or three small houses to

* This picture must have been considerably overdrawn; as it was subsequently ascertained that comparatively few houses had been injured.

cover the whole body; while our artillery was entirely exposed.

The firing of small arms was continued for half an hour, during which time our men steadily advanced, driving the enemy, in many instances, from their shelter. For a short time their fire was almost entirely silenced; but, unfortunately, at this juncture our cannon balls were exhausted; and our commander, deeming it imprudent to risk a further advance without these necessary instruments, ordered the men to be drawn off. This was done in good order, and in slow time the whole force returned to the camp.

In this action we had about five hundred men engaged, and four pieces of artillery; two hundred men and one piece of artillery having been left at the camp for its protection. Our loss in this engagement, as well as the subsequent skirmishes, will be found in the report of the surgeons hereto appended. Most of our men throughout the action displayed remarkable coolness and determination, and, we have no doubt, did great execution. We believe if our cannon balls had held out ten minutes longer, we should have taken the city; but when the action commenced, we had but sixty-one balls. The battle lasted from the time the first feint was made until our men were drawn off—an hour and a quarter. Probably there is not on record an instance of a longer-continued militia fight. (!)

The Mormons stood their ground manfully; but from the little execution done by them, we infer that they were not very cool or deliberate. Their loss is uncertain, as they have taken especial pains to conceal the number of their dead and wounded. They acknowledged but three dead and ten wounded. Among the killed is their master spirit, Captain Anderson, of the fifteen-shooter rifle company. Their force in the fight was from three to four hundred.

They had all the advantages, having selected their own positions; and we were obliged to take such as we could get. Sometimes our men could get no cover, and the artillery was all the time exposed, while theirs was under cover.

"On Saturday, after the battle, the Anties commenced intrenching their camp, and on Sunday made it secure against the shots of the enemy's cannon, which frequently reached or passed over it. On Sunday, the Anties cut part of the corn from the field, on the left of the La Harpe road, to prevent the Mormons from taking cover in it. While thus engaged, the Mormons fired on the guard which was protecting the corn-cutters. The fire was returned by the guard, and kept up at long distance for two or three hours. In this skirmish one of our men was badly wounded. The loss of the enemy is not known. On Monday, a party of Mormons crept up through the weeds to a piece of high ground, and fired at our camp, wounding three men, none seriously. Their balls were nearly spent when they struck. On Sunday morning, after the battle, a powder plot was dug up on the La Harpe road, which the army was expected to pass. On Wednesday, another was dug up on the same road nearer the city. Several of these plots were discovered near the Temple, and in other parts of the city."

The surgeons of Colonel Brockman's force reported twelve men wounded, as the result of the conflict, among whom was Captain Smith, of the Carthage Greys, in command of the First Regiment. One of the wounded died ten hours after the fight. It is believed that all the rest recovered. Of the

loss on the other side, no certain account was ever obtained.*

The fighting was over and the war was at an end. On Tuesday morning, the 15th, while Colonel Brockman and his force were still in camp, a deputation from one hundred citizens of Quincy arrived with proposals for mediation. A similar deputation from the same source was sent into Nauvoo to confer with Major Clifford, the commander there. A truce was agreed on, and after a long and voluminous correspondence, a treaty—a final one—was concluded, which we can state best in its own words:

"1. THE CITY OF NAUVOO WILL SURRENDER. The force of Colonel Brockman to enter and take possession of the city to-morrow, the 17th of September, at 3 o'clock P. M.

"2. The arms to be delivered to the Quincy Committee, to be returned on the crossing of the river.

"3. The Quincy Committee pledge themselves to use their influence for the protection of persons and property from all violence; and the officers of

* The following are the names of the wounded on the part of the Anti-Mormons, in the battle on Saturday:

Humphreys, of Fountain Green, died twelve hours after the battle.

Thompson, of same place, wounded in arm.

Colonel Smith, of Carthage, in the throat.

Mr. Welch, of McDonough County, in the leg.

George Weir, of Warsaw, in the neck.

Mr. Kennedy, of Augusta, shoulder.

Mr. Rogers, of Ursa, Adams County.

In the skirmish on Sunday, Mr. Winsor (an attorney of Nauvoo) was wounded badly. In the camp, on Monday, Dr. Geiger, of Nauvoo, Mr. Crooks, of Chili, and Mr. Stimson, of Brown County. Three of the above were merely scratched.

the camp and the men pledge themselves to protect all persons and property from violence.

"4. The sick and helpless to be protected and treated with humanity.

"5. The Mormon population of the city to leave the State, or disperse, as soon as they can cross the river.

"6. Five men, including the Trustees of the Church, and five Clerks, with their families (William Pickett not one of the number) to be permitted to remain in the city for the disposition of property, free from all molestation and personal violence.

"7. Hostilities to cease immediately, and ten men of the Quincy Committee to enter the city in the execution of their duty, as soon as they think proper.

"We, the undersigned, subscribe to, ratify and confirm, the foregoing Articles of Accommodation, Treaty, and Agreement, the day and year first above written.

"Signed by,

"ALMON W. BABBITT,
JOSEPH L. HEYWOOD,
JOHN S. FULLMER,
Trustees in Trust for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints.
ANDREW JOHNSON,
Chairman of Committee of Quincy.
THOMAS S. BROCKMAN,
Commander Posse.
JOHN CARLIN,
Special Constable."

At this remote period, it is hard to discover the necessity for this expedition and consequent loss of life and property, even on the ground for which it was professedly undertaken. Major Warren had

repeatedly reported from Nauvoo that the Mormons were leaving in great numbers, and apparently as fast as they were able, and that most of the leaders had gone. That it was for arresting Pickett was probably its original purpose only; but that this purpose was lost sight of before the close, is proven by the fact that no provision was made for his arrest in the treaty, and no mention made of him except to exclude him from remaining in the city. That this should have been so is a curious fact, in view of the sharp correspondence between Major Parker and the officer holding the writ. The best excuse for the raid that can be given, perhaps, is, that it was known that the followers of Rigdon and William Smith were opposing the westward movement, and were suspected of an intention to remain. Some of the adherents of the Twelve may have had a similar purpose, but of this we have no proof.

Soon after the agreement was signed and exchanged, Major Clifford gave orders for the withdrawal of the force under his command. By three o'clock P. M. the next day, the 17th, nearly the whole of the Mormon population had crossed the Mississippi into Iowa. This unexpected haste was, doubtless, due to the fear entertained that if found in the city on the arrival of the foe, they would be subjected to insult and violence.

At three o'clock, Brockman's force was put in

motion, marched through the city, and encamped near the south end. On Friday the whole force, with the exception of one hundred men, was disbanded and sent home. The new citizens organized a company of one hundred, and the two combined acted as guard to the city.

But the troubles were not yet over. The force left as guard, not satisfied with the withdrawal of the Mormons, dealt pretty roughly with some of the most obnoxious new citizens, even to driving them from the city. These made appeal to the Governor for protection. That functionary sent Major Brayman from Springfield to investigate and report. His representations were such that the Governor again decided to send a force into the county. He recruited about one hundred men, with which he entered the county on the 28th of October and remained till the 14th of November, when he returned to Springfield, leaving part of his *posse* under command of Major Weber. These forces remained in the county inactive until Governor French, elected to succeed Governor Ford, withdrew them on the 12th of December and addressed a short note to the people of the county, exhorting to peace and quietness.

And now, in looking back upon the eight years during which that infatuated people resided in the State of Illinois, and after more than forty years

since they took their departure into the wilderness, and men's angry passions have had time to subside, it is easy to see that they were not the only evil-doers; that much wrong was done, not alone by them, but by those who opposed them.

Mormonism has been progressive from the days of its inception. Originating in evil, it has, through the lifetime of its prophet and more daring successor, continued to add evil dogmas to its creed, until it has become a monster in Utah. It has long since ceased to be a mere county or State question. Ever since the death of the prophet, and that later day when his followers set their bleeding feet on the arid plains of Utah, it has become one of national importance, no longer to be dealt with by a "mob" or by "border ruffians," but by the national judgment. Let us pray heaven that the NATION may be successful in bringing it to a just and proper solution!

How rapid and remarkable is the growth of evil! Fifty years ago, among the fertile vales of Western New York, the absurd and ridiculous pretence of a Divine Mission, was made by an ignorant and obscure young man—made at the outset, with no other view than to gull the credulous. From this silly claim, as a root, has grown this Upas-like tree, spreading its branches far and wide and sending its malarial influence through-

out the world. Ignorance, Superstition, Fanaticism—men's evil passions and propensities—have been the food which has fed it to its present dangerous proportions. What will check or destroy it?

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE EXODUS, THE DESERT, AND WILDERNESS.

BRIGHAM'S EVIL CHOICE—EN ROUTE WESTWARD—KANESVILLE—"WINTER QUARTERS"—COLONEL KANE'S DESCRIPTION — MISSOURI REPUBLICAN CORRESPONDENT — THE MORMON BATTALION — BRIGHAM ASSUMES SUPREME POWER—PUSHES ON TO SALT LAKE AND RETURNS—MAIN BODY REACHES THE VALLEY — STAKE PLANTED — THE "STATE OF DESERET."

THEN was Brigham Young's grand opportunity for good. Had he, when forced to leave Nauvoo with his followers, been honest and magnanimous enough to have said to them: "Go your ways, brethren; disperse among the people, wherever you can find homes for your families; lead honest lives; obey the laws. Carry with you all your veneration for the new Gospel and preach it to the world—God wills it!"—he would have shown himself worthy to lead. Such was their faith in him that he would have been obeyed. Instead, he chose to have them follow him into an unknown wilderness; poor, sick, and distressed; famished and hungry; through rain and storm and trackless snows; over mountains and sandy desert plains—all for what? That he and a few chosen associates might lead pampered lives. No higher motive

governed him. On the part of the many it was a sublime heroism; for the few there is no apology; it was infamy.

In a previous chapter, the beginnings of this unprecedented journey have been recorded. In January, 1846, a council of the chiefs was held in the city, at which it was decided to start out toward the setting sun, but with no objective point fully determined on. Oregon and California were known to exist on the peaceful shores of the broad Pacific; but all that intermediate region included now in the States of Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, and Nevada, and the half-dozen territories beyond, was one vast *terra incognita*. SOMEWHERE, in this unknown region they would find resting-places—or graves. Alas! many of them found the latter, scattered far thicker than milestones along the dreary route.

A pioneer band was early sent forward. It was provided with means for opening roads, preparing shelter, and planting crops for those who were to follow. During the summer and fall (1846) the main body, numbering several thousand souls, had reached the Missouri river, across the then territory of Iowa, and almost due west from Nauvoo. A portion of them located on the east side of the river, and the colony there planted was called Kanesville —now the little city of Council Bluffs. A still larger

body crossed the Missouri and established "winter quarters," and other settlements in the vicinity of what is now the city of Omaha, in the State of Nebraska. Kanesville was named in honor of Colonel Thomas L. Kane, of Philadelphia, a brother to the renowned Arctic explorer; a gentleman who took great interest in behalf of these suffering people. He afterwards delivered lectures in the East on this Mormon exodus, and before the Historical Society of Philadelphia, which—although some of his facts are much distorted and exaggerated—in glowing and eloquent terms depicted the sufferings of the fugitives. Portions of it are reproduced here. That lecture ought to be read and studied by every body of people who contemplate the banishment of whole communities, as a punishment for the crimes of their leaders. His visit to Nauvoo just after the surrender, is thus described in part:

"... It was a natural impulse to visit this inviting region. I procured a skiff [at Montrose opposite] and rowing across the river, landed at the chief wharf of the city. No one met me there. I looked, and saw no one. I could hear no one move; though the quiet everywhere was such that I heard the flies buzz, and the water-ripples break against the shallow of the beach. I walked through the solitary streets. The town lay as in a dream, under some deadening spell of loneliness, from which I almost feared to wake it; for plainly it had not slept long. There was no grass growing up in the paved ways; the rains had not entirely washed away the prints of dusty footsteps.

"Yet I went about unchecked. I went into empty workshops, rope-walks and smithies. The spinner's wheel was idle; the carpenter had gone from his work-bench and shavings, his unfinished sash and casings. Fresh bark was in the tanner's vat, and the fresh-chopped light-wood stood piled against the baker's oven. The blacksmith's shop was cold; but his coal-heap and ladling pool, and crooked water-horn, were all there, as if he had just gone off for a holiday. No work-people anywhere looked to know my errand. If I went into the gardens, clinking the wicket-latch loudly after me, to pull the marigolds, heart's-ease and lady-slippers, and draw a drink from the water-sodden well-bucket and its noisy chain; or, knocking off with my stick the tall, heavy-headed dahlias and sunflowers; hunted over the beds for cucumbers or love-apples,—no one called out to me from an open window, or dog sprang forward to bark an alarm. I could have supposed the people hid in their houses, but the doors were unfastened, and I had to tread tip-toe, as if walking down the aisle of a country church, to avoid rousing irreverent echoes from the naked floors. . . .

"Only two portions of the city seemed to suggest the import of this mysterious solitude. On the southern suburb, the houses looking out upon the country showed by their splintered wood-work and walls battered to the foundation, that they had lately been the mark of a destructive cannonade. And in and around the splendid Temple, which had been the chief object of my admiration, armed men were barracked, surrounded by their stacks of musketry and pieces of heavy ordnance. They chalienged me to render an account of myself, and why I had the temerity to cross the water without a written permit from a leader of their band.

"Though these men were generally more or less

under the influence of ardent spirits, after I had explained myself as a passing stranger, they seemed anxious to gain my good opinion. They told the story of the Dead City; that it had been a notable manufacturing and commercial mart, sheltering over 20,000 persons;* that they had waged war with its inhabitants for several years, and had been finally successful only a few days before my visit, in an action fought in front of the ruined suburb; after which they had driven them forth at the point of the sword, etc. . . .

"They permitted me also to ascend into the steeple [of the Temple] to see where it had been lightning-struck on the Sabbath before,† and to look out east and south on wasted farms, like those I had seen near the city, extending till they were lost in the distance. Here, in the face of the pure day, close to the scar of the Divine wrath left by the thunderbolt, were fragments of food, cruses of liquor, and broken drinking vessels, with a brass drum and a steamboat signal bell, of which I afterwards learned the use with pain.

"It was after night-fall when I was ready to cross the river on my return. The wind had freshened since the sunset, and the water beating roughly into my little boat, I hedged higher up the stream than the point I had left in the morning, and landed where a faint glimmering light invited me to steer.

"Here among the dock and rushes, sheltered only by the darkness, without roof between them and the sky, I came upon a crowd of several hun-

* If they told him this they greatly exaggerated. The city of Nauvoo never contained a resident population of much over half that number.

† A fact; the Temple was struck by lightning in a storm on a Sunday while in possession of the rioters; but little damage done.

dred human creatures, whom my movements moved from uneasy slumber upon the ground.

"Passing these on my way to the light, I found it came from a tallow candle in a paper funnel shade, such as is used by street venders of apples and pea-nuts, and which, flaming and guttering away in the bleak air off the water, shone flickeringly on the emaciated features of a man in the last stages of a bilious remittent fever. They had done their best for him. Over his head was something like a tent, made of a sheet or two, and he rested on a but partially ripped open old straw mattress, with a hair sofa-cushion for a pillow. His gaping jaw and glazing eye told how short a time he would monopolize these luxuries; though a seemingly bewildered and excited person, who might have been his wife, seemed to find hope in occasionally forcing him to swallow awkwardly sips of the tepid river water, from a burned and battered bitter-smelling tin coffee-pot. Those who knew better, had furnished the apothecary he needed—a toothless old bald head, whose manner had the repulsive dulness of a man familiar with death scenes. He, so long as I remained, mumbled in his patient's ear a monotonous and melancholy prayer, between the pauses of which I heard the hiccup, and the sobbing of two little girls who were sitting upon a piece of drift-wood outside.

"Dreadful, indeed, was the suffering of these forsaken beings; bowed and cramped by cold and sunburn, as each dreary day and night dragged on, they were, almost all of them, the crippled victims of disease. They were there because they had no homes, nor hospital, nor poor-house to offer them any. They could not satisfy the cravings of their sick; they had not bread to quiet the fractious hunger-cries of their children. Mothers and babes, daughters and grand-parents alike, were bivouacked

in tatters, wanting even covering to comfort those whom the sick shiver of fever was searching to the marrow.

"These were Mormons in Lee County, Iowa, in the fourth week of the month of September, in the year of Our Lord, 1846. The city—it was Nauvoo, Illinois. The Mormons were the owners of that city, and the smiling country around. And those who had stopped their plows; who had silenced their hammers, their axes, their shuttles, and their work-shop wheels; those who had put out their fires, who had eaten their food, spoiled their orchards, and trampled under foot their thousands of acres of unharvested bread,—these were the keepers of their dwellings, the carousers in their Temple, and whose drunken riot insulted the ears of their dying.

" . . . They were, all told, not more than six hundred and forty persons who were thus lying on the river flats. But the Mormons in Nauvoo and its dependencies had been numbered the year before at over twenty thousand. Where were they? They had last been seen, carrying in mournful train, their sick and wounded, halt and blind, to disappear behind the western horizon, pursuing the phantom of another home."

Another account of the appearance of the city, is thus given by a correspondent of the *Missouri Republican:*

A Week in Nauvoo—View from the Temple—Desolate Appearance of the City—Progress of Events, Etc., Etc.

Warsaw, Illinois, *Sept. 29th, 1846.*

"Since my last letter I have spent a week in Nauvoo, and can attest the truth of the remarks of

another of your correspondents, in regard to the desolate appearance of the city.

"I arrived there on Monday evening of last week. On Tuesday morning I took a stroll through a portion of the now deserted streets, and for miles, I may safely say, I passed nothing but tenantless houses; some of them closed and barred, and others with doors wide open, as if left in haste. All along the city, for miles, wherever I went, might be seen on the doors, or on the walls, some notice that the tenement was for sale, or for rent. Every thing indicates that Mormonism is for ever extinct in Illinois. As a people they are completely subdued. Not one, in my opinion, will ever try to regain a foothold in Hancock. They are selling their little property at very low rates, indeed, almost giving it away—for the sake of raising means to take them away. Horses, cows, oxen, and wagons, are in great demand. Many design to join the expedition, which has gone in advance, to the wilderness of the Far West, while many others have already left for points up and down the river.

"There are many instances of individual distress and suffering, and how could it be otherwise in a case like this? Many, doubtless, have left the city with nothing to live upon a day in advance. Many have crossed the river, who were entirely destitute of the means of sustaining their families before, and who now have added to their former miseries the want of a house to live in, or a roof to shelter them from the 'peltings of the pitiless storm.' Many have nothing left them in the wide world but the little hut which they tenanted in the city, and the small patch of ground upon which it stands, and for which, probably, they will not be able to realize the sum of twenty dollars. I was present myself at the sale of two lots of ground, with a log house and a few fruit trees on each, for one of which the

purchaser paid a horse, and for the other a cow, and the holders seemed glad to get away with so much. Low as this, doubtless, seemed to them, who had probably paid $200 or $300 each; yet the purchaser had better kept his horse and cow. If all the lots in Nauvoo could be bought at the same rate, I would consider them dearly paid for.

"During my stay I took several ocasions to look at the city and surrounding country from the top of the Temple. It is, indeed, a grand and imposing scene, and presents the most magnificent view to be found any where on the banks of the Mississippi. There is but one point on the river that exceeds it in beauty, in my opinion, and that is Rock Island. Ten years ago, when all that part of the city which lies east of the Temple was covered with forest trees, and little patches of oak and other timber dotted the flat part of the city nearest the river bank, and the little town of Commerce, with its five or six houses huddled together on the bank, it presented a very different aspect from what it does at present. Then it presented nature in all her loveliness: the placid and broad current of the Mississippi, its islands and sand bars—the far-reaching prairies of Iowa—the bold bluff which runs in semi-circular form around the town of Montrose (then Fort Des Moines), with here and there a wreath of ascending smoke, to tell the habitation of some settler—that is the picture it presented ten or twelve years ago. But now how changed is the scene! What a mutation it has undergone! And yet, it is now a thousand times more desolate. The only thing I noticed which had undergone no change since I was familiar with it in 1836 and '7, was Cutler's Grave. It was enclosed with a stone wall, and stood about half a mile from the river near the road which descended the hill from where the Temple now stands—and there it is yet, standing in the

midst of all this desolation, looking the same as it did ere the hand of man had wrought all this change around it. GEORGE Y. CUTLER was one of the earliest settlers in Hancock County, and one of its first county commissioners—dying, he was buried at this spot.

"I took occasion to ascertain as near as possible the number of houses in the city. From my position on the Temple, I could count a large portion of the city; and from actual count, and estimate based upon count, I think there are at least two thousand houses in the city proper, and in the suburbs five hundred more—making in all two thousand five hundred houses. About one-half of these are mere shanties, built some of logs, some of poles plastered over, and some framed. Of the remaining portion—say twelve hundred houses—all are tolerably fit residences, and one-half are good brick or frame houses. There are probably five hundred brick houses in the city, most of which are good buildings, and some are elegant and handsomely finished residences, such as would adorn any city.

"Of these two thousand five hundred houses, I think about one-twelfth are tenanted—some by Mormons who have not yet got away, the remainder by Anti-Mormons, new or old settlers, who have been permitted to stay.

"Col. GEDDES, of Fountain Green, in this county, was left in command of a small force, when the army was disbanded, and has been in command during the past week. He has now returned to his home, leaving twenty or thirty men at the Temple, under command of Major MCAULEY and Mr. BRATTLE. A small force will probably remain in the city as long as the Mormons remain on the other side of the river.

"No event of importance has transpired during

the week. A certain Dr. OLIVER DRESSER, who hails from Maine, and who was somewhat conspicuous in the late difficulties, as a friend and companion of PICKETT'S, ventured over on Wednesday from the other side. He was taken into custody and kept in the Temple till morning, and then marched to the river in double quick time, between two files of men, where he took passage for Iowa. A few other scenes of similar character, to some of which the ceremony of *dipping* was added, is all that occurred during the week, of an exciting character.

"Several cases of deep distress, mostly lone widows and orphans, came to my knowledge during my stay. In all of these aid was freely given. One of these cases is a peculiar one. During the preparations previous to the fight, one of the horsemen of the city, while riding through the street, was thrown from his horse, and his gun discharged, the ball from which entered the body of a Mrs. HAYWOOD, who was in the door at the time. The lady was badly wounded, but not killed; and was unable to be removed from the city, at the time the *posse* entered.

"Her husband being a rabid Mormon, ran over the river, leaving her and a young child on this side, where she fell under the notice of the Anti-Mormons. Provision was immediately made for her support—medical aid procured, and every care and attention bestowed which was in the power of the commander or his men. She is now doing well, and will, in a few days, be removed to some place in the interior until she will be able to go to her friends in Vermont—as she has decided not to follow her husband into the wilderness. What renders her case more pitiable is, that he has possession of her three children, all under ten years old, and is making use of them to induce her to

alter her determination. She never was a Mormons but in that confidence which woman only repose, in the object of her regard, she followed him to Nauvoo. Since that time, her confidence has been shaken, and she has now determined never to cross the Mississippi, to swell the tide of war which Mormonism is destined to carry in its train. This accident, which she doubtless regarded as a most unfortunate one, I regard as one of the most fortunate circumstances of her life. It has been the means of separating an interesting woman from a brutal and fanatical husband who would else have dragged her into the far wilderness to suffer unutterable woes.

"Yours, etc.,

"T. G."

The enormity and folly of that last raid upon Nauvoo, and the unnecessary severity employed in the treatment of the fugitives, has never been fully estimated by those engaged in or who sanctioned it. Heaven grant that henceforth and forever, no county, or nine counties, or State, may adopt this method of dealing with its offenders!

The war against Mexico was about to begin. Our government proposed to make the conquest of California, then a Mexican province. While encamped near the Missouri river, an agent of the government appeared at headquarters, with orders to enlist, if possible, a battalion of Mormon volunteers for one year, to be employed in the service against California. They were accordingly enlisted,

armed, and equipped, and performed valuable service in that memorable campaign; and at the end of their enlisted time, were honorably discharged on the Pacific Coast. Large instalments of pay were made in advance, which materially aided not only the battalion, but their families on the journey. This enlistment of so many of their able-bodied men, of course increased the hardships and dangers to be encountered by those left behind. Although the purpose was one of pure sympathy on the part of the administration, intended to aid the refugees in reaching the other side of the continent—and was so understood and accepted by the Mormons themselves—yet, in later years, Brigham Young has made it the occasion of great complaint, and by his misrepresentations created much of the disloyal feeling existing in Utah against the government of the United States.

In January, 1847, Brigham Young, in the wilderness, issued a command to his followers, which he claimed to be a revelation from the Lord. It had reference mainly to the "ways and means" to be employed in organizing companies, providing teams and supplies, and preparing the way for the perilous expedition across the plains.

The 6th of April, the day for the annual conference, found most of the leaders at "Winter Quar-

ters." Soon after the conference, Brigham started west at the head of a picked company; and after a journey of three months and a half, on July 24th, came in sight of the Great Basin in which Salt Lake is situated. Its beauty, its grandeur, and its apparent fertility and advantages, and more than all, its isolation from the rest of the world, decided him at once to make this the resting-place of his Saints; to build in this valley, so invitingly spread out before them, a new Zion, a thousand miles away from civilization, where the heavy hand of oppression could not reach them.

They descended into the valley; encampments were made, the city located, the soil upturned, and seed sown, and active preparation made for planting a colony early the next season. This done, the most of them returned to the Missouri river, where their families and other large numbers had been left, which they reached about the 1st of November.

In the spring of 1848, a vital change was effected in the organization of the church. It will be remembered that after the death of the prophet, and during the struggle for the succession at Nauvoo, in order to circumvent Rigdon and Patriarch William Smith, it was decided that the office of President of the Church should be abolished, and that henceforward the Twelve should be the supreme authority.

Young now aimed to usurp the whole power. He had, by his superior ability and energy, led them thus far into the desert in safety; he had also led a pioneer band over the mountains, and shown them the beautiful Land of Promise they were about to occupy; and he aspired to undivided authority. He cautiously felt his way among his associates of the quorum, and one by one gained them over. A majority of the Twelve gained, the people voted freely for the change; and there in the wilderness of Nebraska, the order of government so solemnly established in the Temple at Nauvoo three years before, was reversed, and Brigham invested with the supreme power, in name as in fact. Here, too, the work of proselyting was renewed; missionaries ordered to Europe, and instructions given them to collect as much of "tithing" and other material aid as possible, for the erection of a new Temple in the Great Salt Lake valley. And, as on former occasions, such was the enthusiasm among his poor, suffering, and shelterless followers, that all wanted to go to the New Jerusalem that was being prepared for them. All were willing to undertake the journey to that Promised Land, which so many of them were doomed to never reach; to pursue a phantom which was leading them down into the Valley of

the Shadow of Death, instead of the Zion of their hopes.

By the end of the season, four or five thousand souls had entered the valley, and had industriously set at work to make themselves homes.

When first occupied, the Salt Lake valley, as well as all the contiguous territory, belonged still to Mexico nominally; but at the treaty of peace which soon followed, was ceded to the United States. Brigham Young aimed at independent empire; and as the United States' authority was now to be extended over it, his next and best step toward independence he conceived to be the organization of a STATE. So a convention was held on March 5, 1849, and the Constitution of the *State of Deseret* formed. It declared that "We, the people, grateful to the Supreme Being for the blessings hitherto enjoyed, and feeling our dependence on him for a continuation of those blessings, do ordain and establish a free and independent Government by the name of the STATE OF DESERET," etc., etc. Subsequently, Brigham Young was elected Governor of the State. Though this constitution was rejected by Congress, and the Territorial Government of Utah established, with Young for its Governor,—this "State of Deseret" is to this day the great *desideratum* with the leaders in Salt Lake valley. They anxiously await the day

when it can be re-established. That day should never be permitted to come to them, until it can bring another "Wilmot Proviso" against the "twin relic of barbarism" harbored there.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE MORMON TEMPLES.

THE KIRTLAND TEMPLE—IN MISSOURI—AT NAUVOO—THE BAPTISMAL FONT—ITS DESTRUCTION BY FIRE—IMPORTANT DECISION IN OHIO.

THE Latter-Day Saints have ever been most industrious temple-builders. Early in his career, the prophet imbibed the notion that a glorious Zion and a magnificent temple were necessary adjuncts to the system he was planning; necessary as aids in making proselytes, and as means for extracting money from his followers. In this his judgment was good. It is very doubtful, whether without these aids, he could have succeeded in gathering around him half the fanaticism, or half the zeal and enthusiasm that he did, in the fourteen years of his imposture.

With only a handful of followers, numbering a few hundreds, the first temple at Kirtland was begun. It was the work of several years; but was pushed forward as fast as the tenthly tithings of members would permit. It was said to have cost fifty thousand dollars, but was never entirely finished. In March, 1836, it was sufficiently advanced

to admit of dedication, which was performed under imposing ceremonies, and with many extravagant demonstrations of fanaticism. It was eighty feet in length and sixty wide, and about fifty in height to the eaves—giving two stories of twenty-two feet each, and an attic story under the roof, for school purposes—with a steeple and dome one hundred and ten feet high.

But before its completion, the idea of a new Zion and a grander temple on the rich plains of Missouri was entertained. Just how many were severally planned there, is not now remembered. The corner-stones of one or two were laid; but no one, it is believed, ever grew beyond its foundations on the border land.

The Nauvoo plan was on a greater and more magnificent scale than that of Kirtland. The "Kings of the earth" were commanded to contribute of their gold and silver and precious jewels to its aid; and though no king is known to have contributed to its treasury, it is certain that many of the subjects of a young *Queen* (Victoria), did castin their pounds, shillings, and pence, and bestow the labor of their lusty right arms, toward its erection.

The corner-stones of this temple were laid on April 6, 1841, five years after the dedication at Kirtland. Although designed for a religious cere-

monial, the military took precedence in the work. Lieutenant-General Smith, Major-General Bennett, Brigadier-Generals Law and Hyrum Smith, and all the other generals and aides-de-camp and commanders, in their gorgeous uniforms, were out in full style. Sidney Rigdon delivered the oration; after which President Smith laid the chief corner-stone, the south-east; President Don C. Smith laid the south-west; the High Council laid the north-west, and the Bishops laid the north-east, with due solemnities.

At the date of the prophet's death, the Temple was well under way, but it was never finished.* At the departure of the Saints in 1846, it stood an imposing sight from the river and the opposite shore. All around its base were spread and piled the debris of stone and rubbish, left of materials used in its construction.

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* Joseph Smith, the younger, says that the Temple was never finished, notwithstanding Young's declaration that "through the blessing of God, it was completed and accepted by Him." He says: "This statement is not true." And after enumerating numerous instances of incompleteness, he adds: "If the statements of various persons can be relied on, there can be but little doubt that, in one respect, there was a *completion;* and that respect is the *desecration* and *defilement* of the Temple, by the holding of such revels and orgies therein, as were not even thought of by the 'money-changers,' who made the House of God at Jerusalem a 'den of thieves,' and against which the righteous indignation of Jesus was so signally directed."

Similar charges of "revels" and "orgies" and "desecrations," he should remember, were made at the time of the "consecration" of the Temple at Kirtland, where the prophet himself was a chief actor.



BAPTISMAL FONT.

Inside, in the basement, stood the twelve demure looking Stone Oxen, supporting the ponderous baptismal font; while from the belfry, one hundred and fifty feet above, was to be observed a magnificent panorama of miles in extent, embracing the sweeping crescent of the river, the islands, the bluffs, and the stretch of prairie beyond. Thus it stood for two years in its utter desolation.

The Nauvoo Temple was large, but not so immense as has been represented. It was one hundred and twenty feet long by eighty in width, and about sixty feet high, surmounted by an imposing cupola and dome one hundred and fifty feet from the ground. It was built of a beautiful gray limestone, quarried from the river bluff just below the city. It was said to have cost a million and a quarter of dollars—doubtless an exaggeration. At the least, it was an alarming amount for a poor community to invest in one house of worship. And to that purpose it was ill-adapted. So, on leaving the city, its owners found it to be a very heavy weight on their hands. It was not suited for a church for any other denomination; it was not convenient for a manufactory; and it was not well adapted to educational purposes. It was offered for sale; and the low price put upon it of two hundred thousand dollars. Negotiations on the part of several parties were talked of; and, it is believed, that had it not been

destroyed by a vandal hand, it would in a short time have passed into possession of some educational enterprise.

On the morning of October 10, 1848, at about two o'clock, a fire was discovered in the highest section of the cupola. The alarm was given, and a large concourse of citizens gathered; but all effort to save the building was unavailing. "In an incredibly short period the lofty spire was enveloped in flames, shooting upward to a most astonishing height, and illuminating a wide expanse of country," says an eye-witness. In two hours, only the blackened and smoking walls remained of the building on which so much toil and effort had been expended, and so many hopes and aspirations centered. A monument of folly and fanaticism and wickedness while it stood, its destruction was no less a work of infamous vandalism.

The perpetrator of the deed is unknown. By the Mormons, and perhaps by the public generally, the deed has been attributed to the Anti-Mormon party of the county. Without being able to say that some individual among them may not have been the guilty one, the writer knows that the act was generally condemned by them, in common with all other citizens. There was another theory advanced to account for its destruction, which is not without some reason. There was at that time



RUINS OF THE TEMPLE AT NAUVOO.

much dissension among the brotherhood; two or three parties existed, all claiming to be the true church and the others as heretics, and they hated each other. Besides, they had all contributed of their toil and means for its erection; and it was natural that those remaining in the States should object that the proceeds of its sale should go to the benefit of Brigham in the wilderness. Hence, it has been surmised that some reckless and over-zealous member of one of these branches, may have committed the act. But whoever it may have been, the Gentiles of the county have had to bear the blame.

The largest part of the walls stood for a year or two, when the Icarian community, under M. Etienne Cabet, located in the city, purchased it, and with the materials built a school house and several other buildings for their purposes. After that community was dissolved a few years later, some of these structures were pulled down and scattered; and now relic hunters can show fragments of the Nauvoo Temple in many States, and a thousand miles away.

The grand Temple, under process of erection at Salt Lake, has been so often described of late, as to require only mere mention in this connection.

The Reconstructed Branch of the sect, under the leadership of the younger Smith, does not seem to be

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THE RECONSTRUCTED MORMON CHURCH.

A HISTORY of Mormonism would be incomplete without some reference to that branch of the sect known as the "Reconstructed," over which Joseph Smith, son of the prophet, now presides.

When Brigham Young withdrew with the main portion of the broken sect, on their perilous journey into the wilderness, he left behind, scattered in various directions, a number of once principal leaders with a considerable following. The Laws, the Fosters, the Higbees, owners and managers of the destroyed press, had gone off never to return; General Bennett had been beaten in his quarrel with the prophet, but still had a hankering after the flesh-pots; Rigdon had been ignominiously cut off from the church; "Brother William," the Patriarch, with Marks, Robinson, and many others, had chosen to go the way not taken by Brigham and the Twelve. James J. Strang had already set up a "stake" at Voree, in Wisconsin, and there a number of these after a time joined him. Even Bennett, Rigdon, the Patriarch William, and strong-lunged John E. Page, after various wanderings,

essayed to gather the remnants around the Zion at Voree. But Strang's revelations proved unprofitable, and his venture failed. Bennett left for greener pastures, and Rigdon repaired to Pennsylvania, his boyhood home, and died.

What was the true origin of the "Reconstructed Branch," it is hard now to tell; but it seems to have grown out of this Strang movement.

At the time of the exodus to Salt Lake, there were left behind and still residents of Nauvoo, the widow and family of the dead Prophet. These resisted all the importunities of Brigham and his followers to go with them. The son Joseph (the third of the name), was then a boy; and we have the best authority for the statement that neither he nor his mother believed in the Divine Mission of the father and husband, or that his death was a martyrdom to religious faith; and at that time considered themselves as standing entirely aloof from the sect. Great efforts were made by the chiefs, on their departure, to obtain the co-operation of the widow and son, hoping thereby, to secure a larger following of the people. The mother is stated to have kept a watchful eye upon the boy, fearing that he might yield to the seductive offers that were made him. But he, too, hated and despised them; and after they had become settled in the Salt Lake

valley, and he was again approached, he absolutely refused to yield to their tempting offers.

But influences were at work on the other side. Strang was issuing a little organ at Voree, called *Zion's Reveille*, edited by John Greenhow, who had figured at Nauvoo. In this organ, as early as 1847, we find the following:

"THE FIRST PRESIDENCY. — Young Joseph Smith (eldest son of the martyred prophet) has been appointed one of the first presidents of the church, by revelation, in the place of his uncle Hyrum, and William Marks has been appointed his coadjutor in like manner. The first presidency now consists of James J. Strang, (in place of Joseph Smith martyred,) George J. Adams, (in place of Sidney Rigdon, apostatized,) and Joseph Smith, (in place of Hyrum Smith, martyred). William Smith, the only surviving brother of Joseph and Hyrum, is the chief Patriarch, and as the Patriarch of the whole church has always held a seat in the councils of the first Presidency as coadjutor, that high prerogative will be freely accorded to him, by virtue of his patriarchate."

Just what his age was at the time of this appointment we are not advised, nor whether he duly accepted. But it seems that so late as 1866, at an annual conference, the work was completed, and the "Reorganized Church of Latter-Day Saints" put in running order, with Joseph Smith, the third, at its head.

In a newspaper of that date, we find an address made by the new prophet and president, the read-

ing of which will show that, like his father, he claimed to be "Prophet, Seer, and Revelator,' stating, however, that he had his "own peculiar notion in regard to revelation," but did not state what that notion was. He seemed to be impressed with the belief that his claim to the position would not be rejected, and that the "great name" of Joseph Smith carried with it some moral force.

The headquarters of the "Reconstructed" Church were established at Plano, Illinois, the printing press set at work, and the business of proselyting vigorously prosecuted. Since, churches have been established in many places, and converts made—among them people of character and worth; and the sect may be regarded as one of the well-ordered and established sects of the country. Its origin, as preceding chapters have amply shown, was a most absurd and wicked fraud and delusion.

That these people, under our free system of government, have a right to organize a sect, and build a system of religious faith upon the *Book of Mormon*, or the equally veritable story of Baron Munchausen, or any other, nobody will deny, whatever one may think of the character of the enterprise. Perhaps some of the previously existing sects have had equally absurd foundations; hence, as long as they conduct themselves in an orderly and decent manner and obey the laws, they will be equally

entitled with all other citizens, to the law's protection.

While building upon the same foundation with their brethren in Utah, and accepting the silly story that brought them both into existence as organizations, they very properly reject the monstrous doctrines inculcated there—doctrines which have made that territory a foul blot upon the nation's fame. Yet, strange to say— and it is a conspicuous example of human weakness and inconsistency — while denouncing the doctrines, they revere and hold as a martyr him who first declared and inculcated them. From this position there is no escape; a position they must forever face.

To say that a large portion of these people, now and in the past, in the States, and in Utah, are not sincere believers in what they profess, would, doubtless, be untrue and extremely uncharitable; yet how any of the leaders— from the first "Prophet, Seer, and Revelator," down to the latest in Utah, and the more modest "President" of the Reconstructed—can be honest, is past comprehension; a conundrum which all inquirers will be compelled to "give up."

The difference in creed and practice, between these two branches of the sect, is mainly in the matter of polygamy, and the Blood Atonement.

Here in the States, among the members of the new church, we hear little of polygamy, except in denunciation; nor do we hear any more of Danite Bands to keep apostasy in check.

CHAPTER XL.

POLYGAMY AND THE BLOOD ATONEMENT.

THE TWIN EVILS OF MORMONISM—POLYGAMY IN UTAH—DENOUNCED BY THE "RECONSTRUCTED"—ORIGINATED BY THE PROPHET—PROOFS ADDUCED—BLOOD ATONEMENT DEFINED BY YOUNG—KNOWN IN MISSOURI AND ILLINOIS—SMITH AND RIGDON ITS AUTHORS.

THESE two most foul and dangerous doctrines of the Mormon scheme are, at the present, eliciting much thought and inquiry, and attracting attention among our legislators. Were they introduced by the Prophet Smith, and inculcated by him and his followers, or have they been engrafted into the creed since these people became denizens of the wilderness? are inquiries herein to be considered. The members of the Reconstructed Latter-Day Church are very active in their efforts to show that polygamy is not a true Mormon doctrine; and they denounce its practice on the part of their brethren in Utah, in like severe terms with all Christian sects and decent civilized people. In this, their sincerity and honesty need not be questioned. They quote, and quite truly, from the *Book of Mormon*, and from the *Book of Doctrine and Covenants*, as well as from all the *public* teachings of the

prophet, numerous passages pointedly and distinctly against the system. And they challenge the Utah people to point to one sentence, authorizing or sanctioning it, prior to Brigham Young's pretended revelation of August 29, 1852. So far, they have the argument on their side. There is nothing that we have been able to discover, in all of Joseph Smith's *acknowledged* writings or *public* utterances, to justify this claim set up in Utah.

The Utah brethren—some of them—admit this; but claim that at the prophet's death the period had not arrived for its promulgation; and they parade the new revelation above mentioned, as having been given to him and laid away until that proper time should arrive. When Brigham announced it in 1852, in Salt Lake, he stated that it had been given to Joseph Smith in Nauvoo, on the 12th day of July, 1843, nearly a year before his death; and that he (Young) had it in possession ever since. But the document was in his own handwriting, a circumstance he accounted for by the assertion that Mrs. Emma Smith, the widow, had purloined and destroyed the original. But why had he previously copied it?—had he done so in anticipation of her act? The story looks very much like a fabrication.

The revelation thus promulgated is entitled: "A REVELATION *on the Patriarchal Order of Matrimony, or Plurality of Wives, Given to* JOSEPH

SMITH, *the Seer, in Nauvoo, July 12, 1843.*" It is very lengthy, containing twenty-five sections, and is miserably disgusting and blasphemous. Emanating either from Smith or Young, it furnishes the basis for the introduction of polygamy into the Mormon creed, and as such we give it a place in these pages. It permits, yea, commands, in all its outrageous details, under the threatened penalty of "damnation," for disobedience, the system of polygamy as now practiced by the leaders in Utah. And it must be confessed that it is little, if any, more disgusting than many of Smith's acknowledged utterances. And it contains some things, too, that would seem to have been the work of his own mind; though these may have been introduced by Young to more readily serve his purpose of deception. One of these is the pains taken to conciliate Emma and prepare her for the new dispensation. In it she is directly addressed by name, and commanded to "obey," or she will be destroyed.

Although this utterance of Brigham Young, nine years after its professed delivery from on high, looks much like a forgery on his part, yet still there were many circumstances leading to show that it may have been truly what he claimed for it. There is unquestionable evidence that in 1843 and 1844—both before and after Smith's death—the subject of

polygamy (or what was then termed "Spiritual Wifery"), was much discussed at Nauvoo. It had not, of course, been openly incorporated into the creed, by revelation or otherwise. Indeed, such was the force of outside and inside pressure, that it was necessary to meet the charge with the loudest denials. The two organs teemed with those denials, down to 1846 or '47, when they ceased to exist. John Taylor, lately at the head of the church in Utah, and counting several wives, was the editor of both those organs in Nauvoo. If Brigham had this sweet-scented document locked up in his drawer for three or four years in Illinois, and as many more in Salt Lake, would not John Taylor have been likely to know it? The publication of the document as emanating from Smith, whether truly or not, places the whole of them in an awkward dilemma, let them adopt which horn of it they choose.

Although the members of the Reconstructed Branch may successfully show that none of their text-books teach or authorize polygamy, they will not be able to show that Joseph Smith, whom they reverence as a prophet, a man of God, and a martyr, was not the originator of the thought. The facts are too well known to all who were conversant with Mormon history in Nauvoo in the days of his power. We have it from good authority that this

question is what, with others, caused Oliver Cowdery to separate from him. Public opinion and the laws of the land prevented the doctrine from being openly avowed and practiced in the States. But in the Rocky Mountains, where they erected an independent empire, and wrought out their own system, unrestrained by law, or public opinion, or the decent usages of civilization, the doctrine was soon proclaimed. Had the main body remained in the States, it would have been "Spiritual Wifery" still, with a "we-would-if-we-dare" effort to adopt it as a creed, denied to the world, and practiced in the harems of the leaders. There is said to be one prominent leader high in authority now in Utah, whose legal wife refused to leave Nauvoo with him, because he would not agree to forego the pleasures of the system in the wilderness; and an estimable woman, wife of another leader there, who went with her husband, but who, because of the abominations she witnessed before leaving, still lives in the midst of its corruptions, hating Mormonism as she hates the Prince of Darkness.

It is also well understood that when the great rebellion against the prophet occurred in 1844, and a new church was organized, and a paper started to oppose him, this was one of the chief charges brought against him. That paper, the Nauvoo *Expositor*,

under date of June 7, 1844 (a year after the date named by Young as that of the supposed revelation), contained a long protest from the members of the new church, charging the prophet with teaching the doctrine of "Celestial Marriage." One of the affidavits, made by Mr. Austin Cowles, a member of the high council, certifies that *a document purporting to be a revelation from heaven authorizing and commanding them to have more wives than one, was read to him as early as* THE LATTER PART OF THE SUMMER OF 1843! Other testimonies of similar purport were made at the same time. These affidavits, made in 1844, before the prophet's death, strongly support Brigham Young's statement in Utah, nine years later.

It is remembered, also, that the main body of the prophet's adherents stoutly denied these charges, and denounced those making them as liars and perjurers. Yet, of late years, in Utah, they have thrown off all disguises, and, contradicting their own declarations of former days, now claim that "Joseph" was not only the revelator of the doctrine, but with disgusting particularity, declare that they knew of his practicing it long before it was revealed to him from heaven. The *Deseret News*, the official daily organ of the church, is said to have lately published affidavits stating this fact, and citing the names of certain women now living in

Utah, who were in Nauvoo among the prophet's plural wives. One of these, Miss Eliza R. Snow, was well-known in Illinois as a poetess of no mean powers, whose pen often contributed through the Mormon papers to the glory of Zion and the greatness of the prophet. We now learn where she obtained her inspiration.

So that, whether the revelation promulgated by Brigham Young in 1852, was really the work of Smith or not, makes but little difference. It was, at any rate, if nothing more, an off-shoot of that poisonous Upas tree planted by him long before his death, and which Young and Hyde, and Kimball and Taylor, and the Pratts, have all these years so assiduously watered and nurtured. The Reconstructed brethren will hardly succeed in shifting the responsibility. Yet they do well in rejecting the creed. But—and to this question we desire to call their serious attention—should the genuineness of that latest revelation ever be fully established (as it may be), what then? Will they disown its doctrines still, and denounce its real author, as they now denounce its reputed forger? Or will they make a virtue of necessity, and engraft the whole of their prophet's teachings into their creed, as they now do a part? They should consider well the position they occupy.

And so with the doctrine of "BLOOD ATONE-

MENT." The annals of religious fanaticism can scarcely present a parallel to its atrocity, and yet it claimed to be in obedience to the Divine Injunction, "Love one another!" And, strange to say, this doctrine is so little understood, that it has lately been referred to in a Chicago pulpit, as "one of those tenets of the Christian creed, accepted by Mormons in common with all other denominations!"*

To show what blood atonement really means, let us refer to some of the utterances of Brigham Young and others in Utah. In a sermon delivered in the Tabernacle in Salt Lake, on February 8, 1857, Brigham used the following language:

"When will we love our neighbors as ourselves? In the first place, Jesus said that no man hateth his own flesh. It is admitted by all that every person loves himself. Now, if we do rightly love ourselves, we want to be saved and continue to exist; we want to go into the Kingdom where we can enjoy eternity, and see no more sorrow or death. This is the desire of every person who believes in God. Now, take a person in this congregation, who has knowledge with regard to being saved in the Kingdom of our God and our Father, and being exalted; one who knows and understands the principles of eternal life, and sees the beauties and excellencies of the eternities before him, compared with the vain and foolish things of the world; and suppose that he is overtaken in a gross fault, that he has committed a sin that he knows will deprive him of that exaltation which he desires,

* Rev. Dr. Thomas, sermon, February, 1882.

and that he cannot attain to it without the shedding of his blood; and also knows that by having his blood shed he will atone for that sin, and be saved and exalted with the Gods—is there a man or woman in this house, but would say, 'Shed my blood, that I might be saved and exalted with the Gods'?

"All mankind love themselves; and let those principles be known by an individual, and he would be glad to have his blood shed. This would be loving ourselves even unto an eternal exaltation. Will you love your brothers or sisters likewise, when they have a sin that cannot be atoned for without the shedding of blood? Will you love that man or woman well enough to shed their blood? *That is what Jesus Christ meant!* He never told a man or woman to love their enemies in their wickedness, never! He never meant any such thing. . . .

"I could refer you to plenty of instances where men have been righteously slain in order to atone for their sins. I have seen scores and hundreds of people for whom there would have been a chance (in the last resurrection there will be), if their lives had been taken and their blood spilled on the ground as a smoking incense to the Almighty, but who are now angels to the devil, until our elder brother, Jesus Christ, raises them up, conquers death, hell and the grave.

"I have known a great many men who have left this Church, for whom there is no chance whatever for exaltation; *but if their blood had been spilled it would have been better for them.*

"THE WICKEDNESS AND IGNORANCE OF THE NATIONS FORBID THIS PRINCIPLE BEING IN FULL FORCE; BUT THE TIME WILL COME WHEN THE LAW OF GOD WILL BE IN FULL FORCE. (!) THIS IS LOVING OUR NEIGHBORS AS OURSELVES; IF HE NEEDS HELP,

HELP HIM. IF HE WANTS SALVATION, AND IT IS NECESSARY TO SPILL HIS BLOOD ON THE EARTH, IN ORDER THAT HE MAY BE SAVED, SPILL IT. (!!)

"Now, brethren and sisters, WILL YOU LIVE YOUR RELIGION? How many hundreds of times have I asked that question? Will the Latter-Day Saints live their religion?"

On another occasion he said:

"I know, when you hear my brethren telling about cutting people off from the earth, that you consider it a strong doctrine; but it is to save them, not to destroy them. . . .

"There are sins that can be atoned for by an offering upon an altar, as in ancient days; and there are sins that the blood of a lamb, of a calf, or of turtle doves, cannot remit, but they must be atoned for by the blood of the man. . . ."

On an occasion, when preaching against apostasy—and apostasy from the Mormon Church has ever been one of the unpardonable sins, for the punishment of which the blood atonement has always been invoked—he used the following language:

"Now, you Gladdenites [followers of Gladden Bishop, an apostate], keep your tongues still, lest sudden destruction come upon you. I say, *rather than that the apostates should flourish here*, I WILL UNSHEATH MY BOWIE-KNIFE, *and conquer or die.* Now, you nasty apostates, clear out, or judgment will be laid to the line and righteousness to the plummet. If you say it is all right [to the audience], raise your hands. Let us call upon the Lord to assist us in this and every other good work."

During the delivery of the above there was a great outburst of approbation, and when the con-

gregation was called to raise hands, all hands were raised, except those under condemnation. The Gladdenites sought other fields of labor. Brigham Young was not the only one who thus preached Blood Atonement. He was echoed by several others. Thus, Jedediah M. Grant, one of the three presidents:

"I say there are men and women here, that I would advise to go to the President immediately, and ask him to appoint a committee to attend to their case, and then let a place be selected, and let that committee shed their blood. . . .

"We have been trying long enough with this people, and I go in for letting the sword of the Almighty to be unsheathed, not only in word, but in deed."

The foregoing, and numerous other quotations that might be made if necessary, are not the idle and unproven statements of Gentile enemies; but are faithful transcripts from their own authorized publications. They show clearly what the doctrine of Blood Atonement means in Utah. That doctrine has become a firmly established law in that territory, under the terrible despotism of the Priesthood. Its spirit—under the guise of love to man—is as vindictive, and its modes and methods as secret, and silent, and sure, as those of the Spanish Inquisition. It means simply that apostasy, and all other sins against the church—or whatever the First Presidency choose to define as such—are to

be punished with death. It means that all power, temporal and spiritual, is made to reside in the church, and that the one man, whom they call its President, is that church's supreme infallible exponent, whose voice is to be obeyed as the voice of God!

We do not observe that the Reconstructed Mormon branch in the States, have much to say in denunciation of this Blood Atonement doctrine. Is it possible they do not see that it is as great and a more dangerous evil than polygamy? Nor does it appear that the people of the United States, or our legislators, are as fully alive to its enormity as its nature demands. Destroy that priestly power which is supreme and overrides everything in Utah, and the evils of Mormonism and polygamy even, can soon be eradicated from American soil.

It is interesting, too, to inquire into the origin of this Atonement doctrine. Who, among the band, first inculcated it? Who first made it a tenet of the church creed? Brigham Young's broad shoulders—much of blood and rapine, and blasphemy, and crime against government and law as they are justly doomed to bear—must not be laden with more than is just. As we have shown that polygamy had its origin in the States, so we shall show that this Blood Atonement creed was *taught*

and practiced there also, years before Brigham's reign in Utah.

David Whitmer, always a good witness with them, when recently interviewed by the Kansas City *Journal*, says the Danite Band of Destroying Angels, was originated by Smith and Rigdon to be used against apostates, and that he and Oliver Cowdery had to flee for their lives. Orson Hyde, in his quarrel with Rigdon in Nauvoo, in 1845, twits him with hiding slain apostates in the Missouri bush a few years before. Rigdon's celebrated "Salt Sermon," delivered one fourth of July in Missouri, contains the essence of the doctrine; and that sermon was at the time extolled and echoed by the leaders, though afterwards condemned as ill-timed and impolitic. How many of the seceders, in the days of Smith and Rigdon in Missouri and Illinois, were made to atone with their blood for their transgressions—"fall backward at their horse's heels"—Mr. Whitmer does not say, and it will never be known.

Like polygamy, Blood Atonement was *practiced* in the days of the prophet—not TAUGHT; *used* as an instrument of power—not PROCLAIMED as an emanation from the Divine Will. In short, it is safe to say, that the Mormonism, as it existed in Ohio, in Missouri, in Illinois, during the years 1830 to 1847, bore a strong resemblance to that

of 1856 in Utah, and to-day; differing in degree, and by reason of changed circumstances only; and that the gigantic evils that have been growing up with it in all these years, were planted and nurtured in its soil from the beginning.

CHAPTER XLI.

THE SPALDING ROMANCE.

REVIEW OF THE SITUATION—DR. HURLBUT AND E. D. HOWE —THEIR BOOK, "MORMONISM UNVEILED"—SOLOMON SPALDING'S "MANUSCRIPT FOUND"—EFFORT TO OBTAIN IT—RECENT STATEMENTS CONCERNING IT.

IT has been charged that the *Book of Mormon*, instead of being a translation from golden plates, bearing a valuable message from heaven, as claimed by Joseph Smith, was really based on a romance known as *Manuscript Found*, written by a certain Presbyterian clergyman, as long ago as 1814. This charge is, and always has been, stoutly denied by Mormon writers, and the proof demanded. They, some of them at least, doubtless know why it is the document cannot be produced to substantiate the charge. But it so happens that there are other ways of establishing the fact. There are not, probably, now living, any persons outside of the Mormon connection, who are in possession of the secret, as to where, and when, and how it was effected, and by whom; but that the Spalding work did get into the hands of Smith and his co-laborers in deception, and was made the basis of the miserable structure known as the *Book of Mormon*, is

now as clear as human testimony can make it. The history of that romance is a curious one; and the proofs of its being the ground work on which the Mormon fraud was built, are so many and so various, that we shall be pardoned for devoting so much space to their consideration.

The reader will remember that the Smith family resided, from 1825 to 1830, during the incubation period of the fraud, at the village of Palmyra, New York, and at Manchester, near by. The *Book of Mormon* was printed in 1829–30, at Palmyra, and published to the world in the last named year. About the time of its publication a church was formed, and soon afterwards it was decided to emigrate to, and settle and build a Zion in, North-eastern Ohio. At this place, Kirtland, a large settlement was made, a temple begun, and many converts made. Among these converts, was a certain Dr. Philastus Hurlbut. This doctor soon quarrelled with the leaders, and was expelled or withdrew from the church; and going to Painesville, induced Mr. E. D. Howe, of the Painesville *Telegraph*, to get up an *exposé* of Mormonism. This was in 1833 or '34, and the book was published in 1834, only four years after the *Book of Mormon* had been printed.

When the *Book of Mormon* appeared in Ohio, during the year of its publication or year after, some

of the old residents in the region recognized in it an old acquaintance. This old acquaintance was a manuscript work written by Rev. Solomon Spalding, who, sixteen years before, had resided at Conneaut Creek, in the vicinity—a book which he had denominated *The Manuscript Found*. Mr. Spalding was a retired clergyman, poor and in debt, and in bad health. He had become interested in some mounds in the vicinity, and his thoughts dwelt much upon the pre-historic inhabitants of this country; so much so, that he resolved to write a pretended history of such a people, and in "Scripture style." It cannot be denied that the reverend gentleman, though honest and well-meaning, was something of a "crank," and possessed of an ill-balanced mind. While his romance was in progress, he took frequent occasion to read portions of it to his neighbors and friends; and by reason of its peculiarity of style, and the names he introduced, as well as the incidents narrated, it made an impression on their memories. This manuscript, with some others, was written in 1812 to 1814. In the latter year he removed to Pittsburgh, and thence to Amity, Washington County, Pennsylvania, where he died in 1816.

Such was the reception of the *Book of Mormon* in the vicinity of Spalding's old home, when it first made its appearance among them.

Aware of this charge of plagiarism, Mr. Howe dispatched Dr. Hurlbut to Massachusetts, where the widow Spalding (then Mrs. Davison, having remarried), resided, for the purpose of procuring the *Manuscript Found*, with which to confront Mormonism. He also went among Spalding's old neighbors at Conneaut, and brought to Mr. Howe a large number of testimonials from them; and he likewise visited the region around Palmyra, Smith's former residence, and procured much testimony showing the character of the Smith family, and the folly and falsity of the prophet's pretensions.

In due time, Howe's *Mormonism Unveiled*—(Hurlbut's name not appearing on its title page), was issued; but it contained no citations from the *Manuscript Found*. A copy of thiswork—a later edition, printed in 1840, with its title changed to *History of Mormonism*—now lies before us. We copy below what its author says about Spalding's romance, which will explain why no extracts were made from it:

"But our inquiries did not terminate here. Our next object was to ascertain, if possible, the disposition Spalding made of his manuscripts. For this purpose a messenger was dispatched to look up the widow of Spalding, who was found residing in Massachusetts. From her we learned that Spalding resided in Pittsburgh about two years, when he removed to Amity, Washington County, Pa., where he lived about two years, and died in 1816.

His widow then removed to Onondaga County, N. Y., married again, and lived in Otsego County, and subsequently removed to Massachusetts. She states that Spalding had a *great variety of manuscripts*, and recollects that one was entitled the *Manuscript Found*, but of its contents she has now no distinct knowledge. While they lived in Pittsburgh, she thinks it was once taken to the printing office of *Patterson & Lambdin;* but whether it was ever brought back to the house again, she is quite uncertain; if it was, however, it was then with his other writings, in a trunk which she had left in Otsego County, N. Y. This is all the information that could be obtained from her, except that Mr. Spalding while living, entertained a strong antipathy to the Masonic Institution, which may account for its being so frequently mentioned in the *Book of Mormon*. The fact also, that Spalding, in the latter part of his life, inclined to infidelity, is established by a letter in his hand-writing, now in our possession.*

"The trunk referred to by the widow, was subsequently examined, and found to contain only a single MS. book, in Spalding's hand-writing, *containing about one quire of paper. This is a romance, purporting to have been translated from the Latin, found on 24 rolls of parchment, in a cave on the banks of Conneaut Creek, but written in modern style, and giving a fabulous account of a ship's being driven upon the American coast, while proceeding from Rome to Britain, a short time previous to the Christian Era,*† this country being then inhabited by the Indians. This old MS. has been

* The reader will have occasion to remember this letter hereafter, as establishing an important point in this history.

† The reader will have occasion to refer to this description, given by Howe in 1834, when perusing what follows in a chapter further on.

shown to several of the foregoing witnesses, who recognize it as Spalding's, he having told them that he had altered his first plan of writing, by going further back with dates, and writing in the old scripture style, in order that it might appear more ancient. They say that it bears no resemblance to the *Manuscript Found*."—*Howe's History of Mormonism*, p. 287.

The reader will have need to remember the foregoing description of the MS. brought to Mr. Howe by Hurlbut. It was evidently not the work sought for, and, of course, could not be used, and, as Spalding's friends stated, bore no resemblance to the *Manuscript Found*.

Hurlbut has frequently stated that the MS. was obtained from the Spalding family under a promise to return it. The reason this was not done, has never been satisfactorily explained by him or Howe. That it was not so returned is to be regretted; as its return to the family might have been the means of turning their attention to the other, which had disappeared, and led to its recovery, or some more positive knowledge concerning it, than is now attainable.

The surviving members of the Spalding family have always blamed Hurlbut (not knowing anything of Howe until latterly) for refusing or neglecting to return the MS., or to respond when addressed. Both of these gentlemen have frequently been addressed on the subject, and their explana-

tion sought, by writers on Mormonism; and it cannot be denied that their explanations are somewhat contradictory and unsatisfactory. Some of these later replies we quote. In one instance, Dr. Hurlbut says, under date of May 7, 1881: "I never had it (*Manuscript Found*) in my possession. I had some of his writings, but nothing pertaining to Mormonism." To Mrs. Ellen E. Dickinson, a friend and relative of the Spaldings, he made a sworn statement of similar purport. (See *Scribner's Magazine*, October, 1881.) But she states that he subsequently admitted to her, that he just peeped into the MS. and saw the names of "Moroni," "Mormon," "Nephi," and "Lamanite." Here is some error, certainly, of fact or memory; for the MS. he brought to Howe contained no one of those names, as will be shown hereafter; and of all Spalding's writings, they are to be found only in the *Manuscript Found*, and this the doctor says he never had. Another statement of his we give in his own words, in a letter to an inquirer:

"GIBSONBURG, O., *Aug. 19, 1879.*

"I visited Mrs. Matilda (Spalding) Davison at Monson, Mass., in 1834, and never saw her afterwards. I then received from her a manuscript of her husband's, which I did not read, but brought home with me, and immediately gave it to Mr. E. D. Howe of Painesville, O., who was then engaged in preparing his book, *Mormonism Unveiled*. I do not know whether or not the document I received

from Mrs. Davison, was Spalding's *Manuscript Found*, as I never read it; but, whatever it was, Mr. Howe received it under the condition on which I took it from Mrs. Davison—to compare it with the *Book of Mormon*, and then return it to her. I have never received any other MS. of Spalding's from Mrs. Davison or any one else. Of that manuscript I made no other use, than to give it, with all my other documents connected with Mormonism, to Mr. Howe. I did not destroy the MS. or dispose of it to Joe Smith, or any other person. No promise was made by me to Mrs. Davison that she should receive any portion of profits arising from the publication of the manuscript, if it should be published. All the affidavits procured by me for Mr. Howe's book, including all those from Palmyra, N. Y., were certainly genuine.

"D. P. HURLBUT."

The latter portion of the foregoing has reference to suspicions that had been hinted at, that Hurlbut had really obtained the *Manuscript Found*, and instead of delivering it to Howe, had sold it to the Mormon prophet. There did seem to be ground for suspicion against one or both of these men. They failed to return the work as promised, or to give satisfaction concerning it; and their disagreeing statements as to how and of whom it was obtained, led the Spaldings and the public to doubt their integrity. It is extremely remarkable, too, that Dr. Hurlbut should go all the way to Massachusetts, in order to obtain a certain manuscript, that was expected to be the most important thing of all, in the proposed publication, and return without knowing

whether the thing obtained was what was wanted. A slight reading of half-a-dozen pages, or even of its title page, would have shown him whether it was the "confounding of language" contained in the *Book of Mormon*.

In a late letter to the writer of these pages, Mr. Howe says:

"I know the descendants of Spalding are making a great blow about that old MS.; but I am as well satisfied now as I was then, that Hurlbut never had any thing at all similar to what was called the *Manuscript Found*. All he got of Spalding's was fully described in my book, and was in my possession for several years, and I suppose was destroyed by fire."

What the Spaldings say of the matter is reserved for another chapter.

CHAPTER XLII.

STATEMENTS OF THE SPALDING FAMILY.

MRS. DAVISON'S STATEMENT—DENIED BY THE MORMONS—MRS. DICKINSON'S PUBLICATION IN "SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE"—J. E. JOHNSON IN "DESERET NEWS"—DISAGREEING STATEMENTS.

THE first publication in reference to the Spalding Romance, made by any of the family, was in 1839. It was written for the *Boston Recorder*, and published in that paper—purporting to emanate from Mrs. Matilda Davison, the widow of Rev. Solomon Spalding. As an important link in the chain of evidence, we give it entire:

MRS. (SPALDING) DAVISON'S STATEMENT.

"Learning recently that Mormonism has found its way into a Church in Massachusetts, and has impregnated some of its members with its gross delusions, so that excommunication has become necessary, I am determined to delay no longer doing what I can to strip the mask from this monster of sin, and to lay open this pit of abominations. Rev. Solomon Spalding, to whom I was united in marriage in early life, was a graduate of Dartmouth College, and was distinguished for a lively imagination and great fondness for history. At the time of our marriage he resided in Cherry Valley, N. Y. From this place we removed to New Salem, Ashtabula County, Ohio—sometimes called Conneaut, as it is situated upon Conneaut Creek. Shortly

after our removal to this place, his health sunk, and he was laid aside from active labors. In the town of New Salem there were numerous mounds and forts, supposed by many to be the dilapidated dwellings and fortifications of a race now extinct. These ancient relics arrest the attention of the new settlers, and become objects of research for the curious. Numerous implements were found, and other articles, evincing great skill in the arts. Mr. Spalding, being an educated man, passionately fond of history, took a lively interest in these developments of antiquity; and in order to beguile the hours of retirement and furnish employment for his lively imagination, conceived the idea of giving an historical sketch of this long lost race. Their extreme antiquity would of course lead him to write in the most ancient style, and as the Old Testament is the most ancient book in the world, he imitated its style as nearly as possible.

"His sole object in writing this historical romance was to amuse himself and neighbors. This was about the year 1812. Hull's surrender at Detroit occurred near the same time, and I recollect the date well from that circumstance. As he progressed in his narrative, the neighbors would come in from time to time to hear portions read, and a great interest in the work was excited among them. It claimed to have been written by one of the lost nation, and to have been recovered from the earth, and assumed the title of *Manuscript Found*. The neighbors would often inquire how Mr. S. progressed in deciphering the manuscript; and when he had a sufficient portion prepared, he would inform them and they would assemble to hear it read. He was enabled from his acquaintance with the classics and ancient history, to introduce many singular names, which were particularly noticed by the people and could be easily recognized by them. Mr. Solomon

Spalding had a brother, Mr. John Spalding, residing in the place at the time, who was perfectly familiar with this work, and repeatedly heard the whole of it read. From New Salem we removed to Pittsburgh, Pa. Here Mr. Spalding found an acquaintance and friend, in the person of Mr. Patterson, an editor of a newspaper. He exhibited his manuscript to Mr. Patterson, who was very much pleased with it, and borrowed it for perusal. He retained it a long time, and informed Mr. S. that if he would make out a title page and preface, he would publish it, and it might be a source of profit. This Mr. S. refused to do, for reasons I cannot now state.

"Sidney Rigdon, who has figured so largely in the history of the Mormons, was at this time connected with the printing office of Mr. Patterson, as is well-known in that region, and as Rigdon himself has frequently stated. Here he had ample opportunity to become acquainted with Mr. Spalding's manuscript, and to copy it if he chose. It was a matter of notoriety and interest to all who were connected with the printing establishment. At length the manuscript was returned to the author, and soon after we removed to Amity, Washington County, Pa., where Mr. Spalding deceased in 1816. The manuscript fell into my hands and was carefully preserved. It has frequently been examined by my daughter, Mrs. McKinstry of Monson, Mass., with whom I now reside, and by other friends. After the *Book of Mormon* came out, a copy of it was taken to New Salem, the place of Mr. Spalding's former residence, and the very place where the *Manuscript Found* was written.

"A woman preacher appointed a meeting there (New Salem), and in the meeting read and repeated copious extracts from the *Book of Mormon*. The historical part was immediately recognized by all the older inhabitants as the identical work of Mr.

Spalding, in which they had been so deeply interested years before. Mr. John Spalding was present, who is an eminently pious man, and recognized perfectly the work of his brother. He was amazed and afflicted, that it should have been perverted to so wicked a purpose. His grief found vent in a flood of tears, and he expressed in the meeting his deep sorrow and regret that the writings of his sainted brother should be used for a purpose so vile and shocking. The excitement in New Salem became so great, that the inhabitants had a meeting and deputed Dr. Philastus Hurlbut, one of their number, to repair to this place, and to obtain from me the original manuscript of Mr. Spalding, for the purpose of comparing it with the Mormon Bible, to satisfy their own minds, and to prevent their friends and others from embracing an error so delusive. This was in the year 1834. Dr. Hurlbut brought with him an introduction and request for the manuscript, signed by Messrs. Henry Lake, Aaron Wright, and others, with all of whom I was acquainted, as they were my neighbors when I resided at New Salem. I am sure that nothing could have given my husband more pain, were he living, than the use which has been made of his work.

"The air of antiquity which was thrown about the composition, doubtless suggested the idea of converting it to purposes of delusion. Thus an historical romance, with the addition of a few pious expressions, and extracts from the Sacred Scriptures, has been construed into a New Bible, and palmed off upon a company of poor deluded fanatics, as divine. I have given the previous brief narration, that this work of deception and wickedness may be searched to the foundation, and its author exposed to the contempt and execration he so justly deserves.

"MATILDA DAVISON."

The foregoing was accompanied by a certificate of good character, etc., from Rev. A. Ely, D.D., Pastor of the Congregational Church, and D. R. Austin, Principal of Monson Academy, Monson, Mass., under date of April 1, 1839. The Mormons met this by a statement, that, on being interviewed two or three years later, Mrs. Davison denied having written such a letter; stating that it was the work of Professor Austin himself, after a conversation with her on the subject; though she affirmed that what was written "*was in the main true.*"—*Times and Seasons*, vol. i. p. 47.

This statement of Mrs. Davison's was made five years after the interview with Dr. Hurlbut, and but nine years after the events she mentions as occurring at New Salem. While portions of her story are based upon her own knowledge, other portions depend, of course, upon the statements of others. It is just such a narrative as a wife might be expected to make, who retained a reverence and affection for a deceased husband and a partiality for his writings. Some of her statements may have been, however, founded in error, as they are not all borne out by subsequent developments. The Mormons contradict her statement, concerning the "woman preacher" reading from the *Book of Mormon* in a public meeting, by the declaration that they never had a woman preacher among them. True; but

she does not say it was a Mormon preacher. New Salem is in the midst of Quaker settlements, and they have women preachers among them; and it may have been one of these, who, in the meeting, was exposing the wickedness of the fraud.

In corroboration of Mrs. Davison's statements, Mrs. Ellen E. Dickinson, a relative of the Spalding family, published in *Scribner's Magazine* for August, 1880, a paper on the *Book of Mormon*, which is reproduced below:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 3, 1880.*

"So much has been published that is erroneous concerning the *Manuscript Found*, written by my father, the Rev. Solomon Spaulding, and its supposed connection with the book called the Mormon Bible, I have willingly consented to make the following statement regarding it, repeating all that I remember personally of this manuscript, and all that is of importance which my mother related to me in connection with it, at the same time affirming that I am in tolerable health, and vigor, and that my memory, in common with elderly people, is clearer in regard to the events of my earlier years, rather than those of my maturer life.

"During the war of 1812, I was residing with my parents in a little town in Ohio called Conneaut. I was then in my sixth year. My father was in business there, and I remember his iron foundry and the men he had at work, but that he remained at home most of the time, and was reading and writing a great deal. He frequently wrote little stories, which he read to me. There were some round mounds of earth near our house which greatly interested him, and he said a tree on the top of one

of them was a thousand years old. He set some of his men to work digging into one of these mounds, and I vividly remember how excited he became when he heard that they had exhumed some human bones, portions of gigantic skeletons, and various relics. He talked with my mother of these discoveries in the mound, and was writing every day as the work progressed. Afterward he read the manuscript which I had seen him writing, to the neighbors, and to a clergyman, a friend of his who came to see him. Some of the names that he mentioned while reading to these people I have never forgotten. They are as fresh to me to-day as though I heard them yesterday. They were '*Mormon*,' '*Maroni*,' '*Lamenite*,' '*Nephi*.'

"We removed from Conneaut to Pittsburg while I was still very young, but every circumstance of this removal is distinct in my memory. In that city my father had an intimate friend named Patterson, and I frequently visited Mr. Patterson's library with him, and heard my father talk about books with him. In 1816 my father died at Amity, Pennsylvania, and directly after his death my mother and myself went to visit at the residence of my mother's brother, William H. Sabine, at Onondaga Valley, Onondaga County, New York. Mr. Sabine was a lawyer of distinction and wealth, and greatly respected. We carried all our personal effects with us, and one of these was an old trunk, in which my mother had placed all my father's writings which had been preserved. I perfectly remember the appearance of this trunk, and of looking at its contents. There were sermons and other papers, and I saw a manuscript about an inch thick, closely written, tied with some of the stories my father had written for me, one of which he called 'The Frogs of Wyndham.' On the outside of this manuscript was written the words, 'Manuscript Found.' I did not

read it, but looked through it and had it in my hands many times, and saw the names I had heard at Conneaut, when my father read it to his friends. I was about eleven years of age at this time.

"After we had been at my uncle's for some time, my mother left me there and went to her father's house at Pomfret, Connecticut, but did not take her furniture nor the old trunk of manuscripts with her. In 1820 she married Mr. Davison, of Hartwicks, a village near Cooperstown, New York, and sent for the things she had left at Onondaga Valley, and I remember that the old trunk, with its contents, reached her in safety. In 1828, I was married to Dr. A. McKinstry, of Hampden County, Massachusetts, and went there to reside. Very soon after my mother joined me there, and was with me most of the time until her death in 1844. We heard, not long after she came to live with me—I do not remember just how long—something of Mormonism, and the report that it had been taken from my father's *Manuscript Found;* and then came to us direct an account of the Mormon meeting at Conneaut, Ohio, and that, on one occasion, when the Mormon Bible was read there in public, my father's brother, John Spaulding, Mr. Lake and many other persons who were present, at once recognized its similarity to the *Manuscript Foud*, which they had heard read years before by my father in the same town. There was a great deal of talk and a great deal published at this time about Mormonism all over the country. I believe it was in 1834 that a man named Hurlburt came to my house at Monson to see my mother, who told us that he had been sent by a committee to procure the *Manuscript Found*, written by the Rev. Solomon Spaulding, so as to compare it with the Mormon Bible. He presented a letter to my mother from my uncle, William H. Sabine, of Onondaga Valley, in which he

requested her to loan this manuscript to Hurlburt, as he (my uncle) was desirous to 'uproot' (as he expressed it) 'this Mormon fraud.' Hurlburt represented that he had been a convert to Mormonism, but had given it up, and through the *Manuscript Found* wished to expose its wickedness. My mother was careful to have me with her in all the conversations she had with Hurlburt, who spent a day at my house. She did not like his appearance, and mistrusted his motives, but having great respect for her brother's wishes and opinions, she reluctantly consented to his request. The old trunk, containing the desired *Manuscript Found* she had placed in the care of Mr. Jerome Clark, of Hartwicks, when she came to Monson, intending to send for it. On the repeated promise of Hurlburt to return the manuscript to us, she gave him a letter to Mr. Clark to open the trunk and deliver it to him. We afterward heard that he did receive it from Mr. Clark, at Hartwicks, but from that time we have never had it in our possession, and I have no present knowledge of its existence, Hurlburt never returning it or answering letters requesting him to do so. Two years ago I heard he was still living in Ohio, and with my consent he was asked for the *Manuscript Found*. He made no response, although we have evidence that he received the letter containing the request. So far I have stated facts within my knowledge. My mother mentioned many other circumstances to me in connection with this subject which are interesting, of my father's literary tastes, his fine education and peculiar temperament. She stated to me that she had heard the manuscript alluded to read by my father, was familiar with its contents, and she deeply regretted that her husband, as she believed, had innocently been the means of furnishing matter for a religious delusion. She said that my father loaned this *Manuscript Found*

to Mr. Patterson, of Pittsburg, and that when he returned it to my father, he said: 'Polish it up, finish it, and you will make money out of it.' My mother confirmed my remembrances of my father's fondness for history, and told me of his frequent conversations regarding a theory which he had of a prehistoric race which had inhabited this continent, etc., all showing that his mind dwelt on this subject. The *Manuscript Found*, she said, was a romance written in Biblical style, and that while she heard it read she had no especial admiration for it more than other romances he wrote and read to her. We never, either of us, ever saw, or in any way communicated with the Mormons, save Hurlburt, as above described; and while we have no personal knowledge that the Mormon Bible was taken from the *Manuscript Found*, there were many evidences to us that it was, and that Hurlburt and others at the time thought so. A convincing proof to us of this belief was that my uncle, William H. Sabine, had undoubtedly read the manuscript while it was in his house, and his faith that its production would show to the world that the Mormon Bible had been taken from it, or was the same with slight alterations. I have frequently answered questions that have been asked by different persons regarding the *Manuscript Found*, but until now have never made a statement at length for publication.

"(Signed),

"M. S. McKinstry.

"Sworn and subscribed to before me this 3d day of April, A.D. 1880, at the city of Washington, D. C.

"Charles Walter,
"*Notary Public.*"

This statement by Mrs. McKinstry was communicated to the Salt Lake *Deseret News*, in De-

cember, 1880, in a letter of which the following is a copy:

"ST. GEORGE, UTAH,
"*December 28, 1880.*

"*Editor Deseret News:*

"We enclose affidavit of Mrs. McKinstry, from *Scribner's* August number, bringing to light an important fact in regard to the relation of Solomon Spaulding's *Manuscript Found* and the *Book of Mormon*. At an early day it was asserted by the enemies of the Church, that the *Book of Mormon* was copied from, or founded on, the manuscript of Spaulding, and year after year new recruits have appeared and made unproved assertions to this same statement, and here is the last, with an appearance of being substantiated—but really acting just the reverse of what was intended.

"It would be ridiculous to suppose that man, woman or child, could thoughtlessly listen to the reading of a book or manuscript in 1812 and then in 1834 or 1880, be able to say with the least prospect of fact, on reading the *Book of Mormon*, that names and incidents were the same. But the facts are clear and startling, that in 1834 Dr. Hurlburt did write a book claiming to expose Mormonism—that he went east to obtain the *Manuscript Found*—that he absolutely obtained the work—that when he returned he declared he could not find it—and that his book was published without a sentence copied from *Manuscript Found*.

"These facts, when coupled, should prove to any reasonable mind that the publishers of the first book *exposing* Mormonism well knew that their pretenses were false, and that *Manuscript Found* would never do as a foundation even for the *Book of Mormon*, and so fearing their falsehood might be brought to light, probably destroyed it. Dr.

Hurlburt's book is still extant in many libraries, and doubtless a copy may be found in Salt Lake City. In A.D. 1834, I was 17 years old, and well remember Dr. Hurlburt from the time he first came to Kirtland and was fully acquainted with him till after his book was published.

"In the year A.D. 1833, then living in Kirtland, Ohio, I became acquainted with a man subsequently known as Dr. Hurlburt, who came to investigate the truth of Mormonism. Claiming to be satisfied, he was baptized and became a member in full fellowship. He was a man of fine physique, very pompous, good looking and very ambitious, with some energy, though of poor education. Soon after his arrival he came to my mother's house to board, where he remained for nearly a year, while he made an effort to get into a good practice of medicine, sought position in the Church, and was ever stirring to make marital connection with any of the 'first families.'

"Finally in 1834 he was charged with illicit intercourse with the sex, was tried and cut off from the Church. He denied, expostulated, threatened, but to no use, the facts were too apparent, and he at once vowed himself the enemy of the Church—threatened to write a book that would annihilate Mormonism, and went to Painesville, ten miles, and allied himself to a publisher there who agreed to print his book if he would furnish the matter. A fund was raised by the 'Anti-Mormons' in the village around, and enough means raised to send Hurlburt east to hunt up and obtain the writings of Solomon Spaulding, called *Manuscript Found*, which had already become famous as the alleged matter from which the *Book of Mormon* was written.

"Hurlburt went east and was absent some two or three months—and on his return publicly declared that *he could not obtain it*, but instead brought sev-

eral affidavits from persons who claimed to have heard Solomon Spaulding read his *Manuscript Found* in 1812, and believed as well as they could remember that the matter and story was the same as printed in the *Book of Mormon*. And these were published in his book of *Mormonism Exposed*, in that or the subsequent year, but not a sentence from the *Manuscript Found*, which it appears by the above that *he did really obtain*, but finding no similarity between the two, suppressed the Spaulding manuscript, while he publicly announced in his book that he had entirely failed to obtain it. Hurlburt proved himself to be a man of gross immorality, untruthful and unreliable.

"According to the sworn statement of M. S. McKinstry, Dr. Hurlburt *did* obtain the *Manuscript Found*, and the only conclusion that can be reasonable is, that finding it would spoil his case and ruin his purposes, that manuscript was destroyed or suppressed, and may never come to the light, as it seems he still refuses to return it to the owners, no doubt fearing it would bring to light his falsehood and villainy.

"J. E. JOHNSON."

And to Mr. Johnson's communication the Salt Lake editor adds the following comment:

"The affidavit of Mrs. McKinstry is valuable because it establishes several points. First, that Spaulding's manuscript was but a small affair compared with the book that is said to have been written from it—it was but an inch thick of written, not printed, matter. Second, that it was only out of the author's hands a short time, and that as far back as 1812. Third, that afterwards it was in Mrs. Spaulding's possession until Hurlburt obtained it, and therefore could not have been used by Joseph Smith. Fourth, that Hurlburt never produced

it, which he would have done if there had been any similarity between it and the *Book of Mormon*. Fifth, that the supposed identity of a few names in the two works depends on the memory of an old lady of 74, of what took place when she was six years old.

"Against a mere supposition, unsupported by the slightest evidence, of some mysterious connection between this manuscript and Joseph Smith—who never saw Spaulding or his people—is the testimony of thousands to whom God has given a witness of the truth of the *Book of Mormon*, as well as the testimony of the eleven who saw and handled the plates and of the three who were shown them by Divine Power and angelic hands, and to whom the voice of God bore record. Need anything more be said on the subject?"

It will be observed that there is a disagreement between the statements made by the Spaldings, and those made by Howe and Hurlbut. We are inclined to the opinion that the former were mistaken, and that the facts, as related by the latter, are substantially correct. Recent developments go to show this. Though whether Hurlbut did or did not obtain the *Manuscript Found*, and bring it to Ohio, has but little bearing on the main question—which the next chapter will show.

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE SPALDING WITNESSES.

STATEMENT OF JOHN SPALDING—OF MARTHA SPALDING—OF HENRY LAKE—JOHN N. MILLER—AARON WRIGHT—OLIVE SMITH—NAHUM HOWARD—ARTEMUS CUNNINGHAM.

HOWE's book, *Mormonism Unveiled*, is the work referred to by Johnson. Hurlbut had, in addition to his labor of procuring Spalding's manuscript, also gone among his old friends and neighbors about Conneaut, and procured a number of testimonials from them. These were published in Howe's book. As they relate to the main features of the controversy, and as that valuable work is long since out of print, there can be no apology needed for their introduction here. It will be remembered that they were obtained in 1833, about seventeen years after Solomon Spalding's death, three years only after the publication of the *Book of Mormon*, and about twenty years after *Manuscript Found* had been written.

JOHN SPALDING,

The brother of Solomon Spalding, says, after detailing incidents of his brother's youth, etc.:

" . . . In a few years he failed in business, and in the year 1809 removed to Conneaut, in

Ohio. The year following I removed to Ohio, and found him engaged in building a forge. I made him a visit in about three years after; and found that he had failed, and was considerably involved in debt. He then told me he had been writing a book, which he intended to have printed, the avails of which he thought would enable him to pay all his debts. The book was entitled the *Manuscript Found*, of which he read to me many passages. It was an historical romance of the first settlers of America, endeavoring to show that the American Indians are the descendants of the Jews, or lost tribes. It gave a detailed account of their journey from Jerusalem, by land and sea, till they arrived in America, under the command of NEPHI and LEHI. They afterwards had quarrels and contentions, and separated into two distinct nations, one of which he denominated Nephites and the other Lamanites. Cruel and bloody wars ensued, in which great multitudes were slain. They buried their dead in large heaps, which caused the mounds so common in this country. Their arts, sciences and civilization were brought into view, in order to account for all the curious antiquities, found in various parts of North and South America. I have recently read the *Book of Mormon*, and to my great surprise I find nearly the same historical matter, names, etc., as they were in my brother's writings. I well remember that he wrote in the old style, and commenced about every sentence with 'and it came to pass,' or 'now it came to pass,' the same as in the *Book of Mormon*; and according to my best recollection and belief, it is the same as my brother Solomon wrote, with the exception of the religious matter. By what means it has fallen into the hands of Joseph Smith, Jr., I am unable to determine.

"JOHN SPALDING."

MARTHA SPALDING,

The wife of John Spalding, says:

"I was personally acquainted with Solomon Spalding about twenty years ago. I was at his house a short time before he left Conneaut; he was then writing a historical novel founded upon the first settlers of America. He represented them as an enlightened and war-like people. He had for many years contended that the aborigines of America were the descendants of some of the lost tribes of Israel, and this idea he carried out in the book in question. The lapse of time which has intervened, prevents my recollecting but few of the leading incidents of his writings; but the names of Nephi and Lehi are yet fresh in my memory, as being the principal heroes of his tale. They were officers of the company which first came off from Jerusalem. He gave a particular account of their journey by land and sea, till they arrived in America, after which disputes arose between the chiefs, which caused them to separate into different bands, one of which was called Lamanites and the other Nephites. Between these were recorded tremendous battles, which frequently covered the ground with the slain; and their being buried in large heaps was the cause of the numerous mounds in the country. Some of these people he represented as being very large. I have read the *Book of Mormon*, which has brought fresh to my recollection the writings of Solomon Spalding; and I have no manner of doubt that the historical part of it is the same that I read and heard, more than twenty years ago. The old, obsolete style, and the phrases of 'and it came to pass,' etc., are the same.

"MARTHA SPALDING."

HENRY LAKE'S STATEMENT.

"*Conneaut, Ashtabula Co., O.,*
"*September, 1833.*

"I left the State of New York late in the year 1810, and arrived at this place about the first of January following. Soon after my arrival I formed a copartnership with Solomon Spalding, for the purpose of rebuilding a forge which he had commenced a year or two before. He very frequently read to me from a manuscript which he was writing, which he entitled the *Manuscript Found*, and which he represented as being found in this town. I spent many hours in hearing him read said writings, and became well acquainted with its contents. He wished me to assist him in getting his production printed, alleging that a book of that kind would meet with a rapid sale. I designed doing so, but the forge not meeting our anticipations, we failed in business, when I declined having any thing to do with the publication of the book. This book represented the American Indians as the descendants of the lost tribes, gave an account of their leaving Jerusalem, their contentions and wars, which were many and great. One time, when he was reading to me the tragic account of Laban, I pointed out to him what I considered an inconsistency, which he promised to correct; but by referring to the *Book of Mormon*, I find to my surprise that it stands there just as he read it to me then. Some months ago I borrowed the Golden Bible, put it into my pocket, carried it home, and thought no more of it. About a week after, my wife found the book in my coat pocket as it hung up, and commenced reading it aloud as I lay upon the bed. She had not read twenty minutes till I was astonished to find the same passages in it that Spalding had read to me more than twenty years before, from his *Man-*

uscriptFound. Since that I have more fully examined the said Golden Bible, and have no hesitation in saying that the historical part of it is principally, if not wholly, taken from the *Manuscript Found.* I well recollect telling Mr. Spaulding, that the so frequent use of the words 'And it came to pass,' 'Now it came to pass,' etc., rendered it ridiculous. Spalding left here in 1812, and I furnished him the means to carry him to Pittsburgh, where he said he would get the book printed, and pay me. But I never heard any more from him or his writings, till I saw them in the *Book of Mormon.*

"HENRY LAKE."

JOHN N. MILLER.

Springfield, Pa., September, 1833.

"In the year 1811 I was in the employ of Henry Lake and Solomon Spalding at Conneaut, engaged in rebuilding a forge. While there I boarded and lodged in the family of said Spalding, for several months. I was soon introduced to the manuscripts of Spalding, and perused them as often as I had leisure. He had written two or three books or pamphlets on different subjects; but that which more particularly drew my attention, was one which he called the *Manuscript Found.* From this he would frequently read some humorous passage to the company present. It purported to be the history of the first settlement of America before discovered by Columbus. He brought them off from Jerusalem under their leaders; detailing their travels by land and water, their manners, customs, laws, wars, etc. He said that he designed it as a historical novel, and that in after years it would be believed by many people as much as the history of England. He soon after failed in business, and told me he should retire from the

din of his creditors, finish his book, and have it published, which would enable him to pay his debts and support his family. He soon after removed to Pittsburgh, as I understood.

I have recently examined the *Book of Mormon*, and find in it the writings of Solomon Spalding, from beginning to end, but mixed up with Scripture and other religious matter, which I did not meet with in the *Manuscript Found*. Many of the passages in the Mormon book are verbatim from Spalding, and others in part. The names of Nephi, Lehi, Moroni, and, in fact, all the principal names, are brought fresh to my recollection by the Gold Bible. When Spalding divested his history of its fabulous names, by a verbal explanation, he landed his people near the straits of Darien, which I am very confident he called *Zarahemla;* they were marched about that country for a length of time, in which wars and great bloodshed ensued,—he brought them across North America in a north-east direction.

"JOHN N. MILLER."

AARON WRIGHT'S STATEMENT.

Conneaut, August, 1833.

"I first became acquainted with Solomon Spalding in 1808 or '9, when he commenced building a forge on Conneaut Creek. When at his house one day, he showed and read to me a history he was writing, of the lost tribes of Israel, purporting that they were the first settlers of America, and that the Indians were their descendants. Upon this subject we had frequent conversations. He traced their journey from Jerusalem to America, as it is given in the *Book of Mormon*, excepting the religious matter. The historical part of the *Book of Mormon* I know to be the same as I read and heard

read from the writings of Spalding, more than twenty years ago; the names more especially are the same without any alteration. He told me his object was to account for all the fortifications, etc., to be found in this country, and said that in time it would be fully believed by all, except learned men and historians. I once anticipated reading his writings in print, but little expected to see them in a new Bible. Spalding had *many other manuscripts*, which I expect to see when Smith translates his other plates. In conclusion, I will observe, that the names of, and most of the historical part of the *Book of Mormon*, were as familiar to me before I read it, as most modern history. If it is not Spalding's writing, it is the same as he wrote; and if Smith was inspired, I think it was by the same spirit that Spalding was, which he confessed to be the love of money.

"AARON WRIGHT."

OLIVER SMITH.

Conneaut, August, 1833.

"When Solomon Spalding first came to this place, he purchased a tract of land, surveyed it out, and commenced selling it. While engaged in this business, he boarded at my house, in all nearly six months. All his leisure hours were occupied in writing a historical novel, founded upon the first settlers of this country. He said he intended to trace their journey from Jerusalem, by land and sea, till their arrival in America, give an account of their arts, sciences, civilization, wars and contentions. In this way, he would give a satisfactory account of all the old mounds, so common in this country. During the time he was at my house, I read and heard read one hundred pages or more. Nephi and Lehi were by him represented as lead-

ing characters, when they first started for America. Their main object was to escape the judgments which they supposed were coming upon the old world. But no religious matter was introduced, as I now recollect. Just before he left this place, Spalding sent for me to call on him, which I did. He then said, that although he was in my debt, he intended to leave the country, and he hoped I would not prevent him; for, says he, you know I have been writing the history of the first settlement of America, and I intend to go to Pittsburgh, and there live a retired life, till I have completed the work, and when it is printed, it will bring me a fine sum of money, which will enable me to return and pay off all my debts—the book, you know, will sell, as every one is anxious to learn something upon that subject. This was the last I heard from Spalding or his book, until the *Book of Mormon* came into the neighborhood. When I heard the historical part of it related, I at once said it was the writings of old Solomon Spalding. Soon after, I obtained the book, and on reading it, found much of it the same as Spalding had written, more than twenty years before.

"OLIVER SMITH."

NAHUM HOWARD.

Conneaut, August, 1833.

"I first became acquainted with Solomon Spalding in December, 1810. After that time I frequently saw him at his house, and also at my house. I once in conversation with him expressed a surprise at not having any account of the inhabitants once in this country, who erected the old forts, mounds, etc. He then told me that he was writing a history of that race of people; and afterwards frequently showed me his writings, which I

read. I have lately read the *Book of Mormon*, and believe it to be the same as Spalding wrote, except the religious part. He told me that he intended to get his writings published in Pittsburgh, and he thought in one century from that time, it would be believed as much as any other history."

"NAHUM HOWARD."

ARTEMUS CUNNINGHAM,

Of Perry, Geauga County, also made a statement, as follows:

"In the month of October, 1811, I went from the township of Madison to Conneaut, for the purpose of securing a debt due me from Solomon Spalding. I tarried with him nearly two days, for the purpose of accomplishing my object, which I was finally unable to do. I found him destitute of the means of paying his debts. His only hope of ever paying his debts, appeared to be upon the sale of a book, which he had been writing. He endeavored to convince me from the nature and character of the work, that it would meet with a ready sale. Before showing me his manuscripts, he went into a verbal relation of its outlines, saying that it was a fabulous or romantic history of the first settlement of this country, and as it purported to have been a record found buried in the earth, or in a cave, he had adopted the ancient or Scripture style of writing. He then presented his manuscripts, when we sat down and spent a good share of the night in reading them, and conversing upon them. I well remember the name of Nephi, which appeared to be the principal hero of the story. The frequent repetition of the phrase 'I, Nephi,' I recollect as distinctly as though it was but yesterday, although the general features of the story have

passed from my memory, through the lapse of twenty-two years. He attempted to account for the numerous antiquities which are found upon this continent, and remarked that after this generation had passed away, his account of the first inhabitants of America would be considered as authentic as any other history. The Mormon Bible I have partially examined, and am fully of the opinion that Solomon Spalding had written its outlines before he left Conneaut."

CHAPTER XLIV.

LATER TESTIMONY.

JOSEPH MILLER'S LETTER—ABNER JACKSON'S NARRATIVE—"MERE SUPPOSITIONS" *vs.* "GOD-GIVEN TESTIMONY"—THE BOOK'S PROPER TITLE—MR. PATTERSON—REV. WINTER—RIGDON'S HAND MANIFEST.

THE Cincinnati *Gazette* recently contained a letter from Mr. M. A. Cooper, of Steubenville, Ohio, under date of December 9, 1881, which that journal prints under the heading of, "The Book of Mormon—One Man in the United States Who Can Give its Origin!" This letter refers to Mr. Joseph Miller, of Pennsylvania, as this "one man," and gives report of an interview with him.

Deeming Mr. Miller's statement concerning Mr. Spalding and his romance to be important, the writer dispatched to him a note of inquiry, and promptly received the following in reply:

TEN MILE, *Washington Co., Pa.*,
Jan. 20, 1882.

"DEAR SIR: In answer to yours, I would state that I was familiar with Solomon Spalding. I worked in Amity, where he lived, and as the fashion was at that day, we all assembled at his house in the evenings (as he kept tavern), and he frequently would read from his manuscript. The work was

very odd. The words 'Moreover,' 'And it came to pass,' occurred so often that the boys about the village called him 'Old Came to Pass.' He told me he lived in Ohio when he wrote his manuscript. He said he lost his health, and he commenced writing a history of the mounds near where he lived, or of the people who built them. He afterwards removed to Pittsburgh, and kept a little store to support his family, and while there he took his manuscript to Mr. Patterson, then engaged in a publishing house. Mr. Patterson told him if he would write a title page he would publish it. He left the copy and moved to Amity. He afterwards went back to have his MS. published, but it could not be found. He said there was a man named Sidney Rigdon about the office, and they thought he had stolen it. The passage you refer to, on page 148, as Cooper has it, is in reference to being marked with red in their foreheads.

"'Nephites,' I recollect distinctly, as occuring very often; as to 'Lamanites' it is not so distinct,—and a great many other names that were very odd.

"The MS. that I saw, would not, I think, make as large a book as the *Book of Mormon*.

"Spalding was a very poor man; during his stay at Amity, I was very familiar with him, bailed him for money at least twice; and by request of Spalding, assisted his wife some in settling up his little business—made his coffin and helped lay him in his grave.

"JOSEPH MILLER."

Mr. Miller's statement is mainly corroborated by the following paper, communicated to the Washington County (Pa.) Historical Society, by Mr. Abner Jackson, of Canton, Ohio—forwarded to us under date of March 27, 1882, in the Washington

Reporter, by Rev. L. Axtell, of Pike Run, in that county. This venerable writer's contribution gives particulars of the life of Spalding not to be found elsewhere, and confirms most of the material points mentioned by others. Evidently written with care, and with a view to the truth of history, we deem it worthy of a place entire in these pages:

"CANTON, OHIO, *Dec. 20, 1880.*

"*Mr. John Aiken, Esq.:*

"I here send you the document you solicited so long ago. You see, though a long time coming, that it is poorly written; but I am too old to do it very well. I hope you will be able to read it. You probably have seen Mrs. McKinstry's statement in *Scribner's Monthly* (already published in the Washington *Reporter*.—EDS.) for August, 1880. I wish to say that I have not seen her or had any intelligence from her, since they left Conneaut. If any should think we have conferred in any way to make out a case of plagiarism against Joseph Smith, let them know that so far as we are concerned, we are now perfect strangers. I did not know that she was living until I heard, as stated in the accompanying paper. If so many errors had not been published there would be no necessity for this statement. When contradicting statements are published, people often say, one is wrong, maybe neither is right, and so ignore both. Mrs. McKinstry says that her father's iron works was a foundry. This was the little girl's view of it. It was a forge of the old type. Iron was made from ore under a trip hammer, as there were no rollers in this country at that time. But this is not essential, and has nothing to do with Mormonism.

"If my statement is not published, please return

it to me as soon as convenient. Please inform me if you receive this. I am not anxious for myself at all, but if it can do anything for those entangled by the delusion, it cannot be published too quickly. I hope your Historical Society may prosper and do much good.

"Yours truly,

"ABNER JACKSON."

ABNER JACKSON'S STATEMENT.

"It is a fact well established that the book called the *Book of Mormon*, had its origin from a romance that was written by Solomon Spaulding, in Conneaut, a small village in Ashtabula County, Ohio, about A.D. 1812. Spaulding was a highly educated man about six feet high, of rather slender build, with a dark complexion, black eyes, black hair, rather slow of speech, never trifling, pleasant in conversation, but seldom laughing aloud. His deportment was grave and dignified in society, and he was much respected by those of his acquaintance. He was a clergyman of the Presbyterian order, and for a time a settled pastor in the city of New York. So said his brother John Spaulding and others in the neighborhood, who heard him preach. It was said that failing health caused him to resign the pastorate. He then came to Richfield, Otsego County, New York, and started a store, near where my father lived, about the beginning of the present century.

"Spaulding contracted for large tracts of land along the shore of Lake Erie, on each side of the State line, in both Pennsylvania and Ohio. My father exchanged with him, the farm on which he lived in Otsego County, New York, for land in Erie County, Pa., where the town of Albion now stands, and moved on it A.D., 1805. It was then a dense forest. Shortly after my father moved, Spaulding sold his store in Richfield, and moved to

Conneaut, Ashtabula County, Ohio, and built a forge on Conneaut Creek, two miles from Conneaut Harbor, and two miles from the State line. In building this he failed, sold out, and about the beginning of the year 1812, commenced to write his famous romance called by him the *Manuscript Found*.

"This romance, Mr. Spaulding brought with him on a visit to my father, a short time before he moved from Conneaut to Pittsburgh. At that time I was confined to the house with a lame knee, and so I was in company with them and heard the conversation that passed between them. Spaulding read much of his manuscript to my father, and in conversation with him, explained his views of the old fortifications in this country, and told his romance. A note in Morse's Geography suggested it as a possibility that our Indians were descendants of the lost tribes of Israel. Said Morse, they might have wandered through Asia up to Behring's Strait, and across the Strait to this continent. Besides there were habits and ceremonies among them that resembled some habits and ceremonies among the Israelites of that day. Then the old fortifications and earth mounds, containing so many kinds of relics and human bones, and some of them so large, altogether convinced him that they were a larger race and more enlightened and civilized than are found among the Indians among us at this day. These facts and reflections prompted him to write his Romance, purporting to be a history of the lost tribes of Israel.

"He begins with their departure from Palestine, or Judea, then up through Asia, points out their exposures, hardships, and sufferings, also their disputes and quarrels, especially when they built their craft for passing over the Straits. Then after their landing he gave an account of their divisions and

subdivisions under different leaders, but two parties controlled the balance. One of them was called the Righteous, worshipers and servants of God. These organized with prophets, priests, and teachers, for the education of their children, and settled down to cultivate the soil, and to a life of civilization. The others were Idolaters. They contended for a life of idleness; in short, a wild, wicked, savage life.

"They soon quarrelled, and then commenced war anew, and continued to fight, except at very short intervals. Sometimes one party was successful and sometimes the other, until finally a terrible battle was fought, which was conclusive. All the righteous were slain, except one, and he was Chief Prophet and Recorder. He was notified of the defeat in time by Divine authority; told where, when, and how to conceal the record, and He would take care that it should be preserved, and brought to light again at the proper time, for the benefit of mankind. So the Recorder professed to do, and then submitted to his fate. I do not remember what that fate was. He was left alone of his party. I do not remember that anything more was said of him.

"Spaulding's romance professed to find the Record where the Recorder concealed it, in one of those mounds, one of which was but a few rods from Spaulding's residence. Soon after this visit, Spaulding moved to Pittsburgh, and took his manuscript to the Pittsburgh *Gazette* office, intending to have it printed, but in this he failed. My brother, J. J. Jackson, was a recruiting officer in the U. S. Army, and stationed at Pittsburgh at that time. Being well acquainted with Spaulding and his lady he soon found them, and in his letters home would inform us how they were getting along. The last account he gave us of them was that he was selling pictures and she was sewing up clothing for the soldiers.

The next we heard of them was by report. Spaulding moved to Amity, Washington county, Pa., and soon after died and was buried there. His wife and daughter went to her brother, Lawyer Sabine, Onondaga Valley, Onondaga Co., N. Y. When I was returning from Clarksburg, W. Va., to my home in New Brighton, Beaver Co., Pa., A. D., 1840, I passed through Amity, hunted the grave of Spaulding and copied from the headstone the following inscription:*

'IN MEMORY OF

Solomon Spaulding, who departed this life Oct. 20th, A. D., 1816. Aged 55 years.

'Kind cherubs guard the sleeping clay,
Until the great decision day,
And saints complete in glory rise,
To share the triumph of the skies.'

"Spaulding frequently read his manuscript to the neighbors and amused them as he progressed with his work. He wrote it in Bible style. 'And it came to pass' occurred so often that some called him 'old come to pass.'

"So much for Spaulding's romance; now for the *Book of Mormon*.

"The first account of the *Book of Mormon* that I saw, was a notice in my father's newspaper, stating that Joseph Smith, Jr., professed having dreamed that an angel had appeared to him and told him to go and search in a place he named in Pal-

* The headstone which marked Mr. Spalding's grave, and which bore the above inscription, has almost if not altogether disappeared, through the ravages of time and relic hunters. It is due to the memory of Mr. Spalding, who was the innocent cause of the stupendous fraud of Mormonism, and also to the truth of history, that this tomb-stone be replaced by a suitable and substantial monument bearing the original inscription, together with such other legends as may perpetuate the memory of the origin of the greatest imposture of the century. The Christian Church owes it to its own vindication, that such a monument be erected. The Historical Society should also assist in perpetuating a local incident.

myra, N. Y., and he would find a gold-leaf Bible. Smith was incredulous and did not go until the second or third time he dreamed the same dream. Then he said he went, and, to his surprise, he found the golden Bible, according to his dreams. But it was written in a language so ancient that none could be found able either to read it or tell in what language it was written. Some time after another statement appeared, that an angel had consented to read and interpret it to Joseph Smith, and he should report it to a third person, who should write it in plain English, so that all might read the new Bible and understand its import. Some time after, in 1830, the book was published at Palmyra, N. Y., called a *New Revelation; the Book of Mormon.* This purports to be a history of the lost tribes of the Children of Israel. It begins with them just where the romance did, and it follows the romance very closely. It is true there are some verbal alterations and additions, enlarging the production somewhat, without changing its main features. The *Book of Mormon* follows the romance too closely to be a stranger. In both, many persons appear having the same name; as Maroni, Mormon, Nephites, Moroni, Lama, Lamanite, Nephe, and others.

"Here then we are presented with Romance, second, called the *Book of Mormon*, telling the same story of the same people, traveling from the same plain, in the same way, having the same difficulties and destination, with the same wars, same battles, and same results, with thousands upon thousands slain. Then see the Mormon account of the last battle, at Cumorah, where all the righteous were slain. They were called the Nephites, the others were called Lamanites (see Moroni's account of the closing scene) 'and now it came to pass that a great battle was fought at Cumorah. The Lamanites slew all the Nephites' (except Moroni), and he said

'I will write up and hide the Recorder in the earth, and whither I go it mattereth not.'—*Book of Mormon*, page 344, third American edition. How much this resembles the closing scene in the *Manuscript Found*. The most singular part of the whole matter is, that it follows the romance so closely, with this difference: the first claims to be a romance; the second claims to be a revelation of God, a new Bible! When it was brought to Conneaut and read there in public, old Esq. Wright heard it, and exclaimed, '"Old come to pass" has come to life again.' Here was the place where Spalding wrote and read his manuscript to the neighbors for their amusement and 'Squire Wright had often heard him read from his Romance. This was in 1832, sixteen years after Spalding's death. This 'Squire Wright lived on a farm just outside of the little village. I was acquainted with him for twenty-five years. I lived on his farm when I was a boy and attended school in the village. I am particular to notice these things to show that I had an opportunity of knowing what I am writing about.

"After I commenced writing this article, I heard that an article in *Scribner's Monthly*, for August, 1880, on the *Book of Mormon*, contained a note and affidavit of Mrs. Matilda S. McKinstry, Solomon Spaulding's only child, stating that she remembered her father's romance. I sent at once for the *Monthly*, and on the 613, 614, 615 and 616 pages, found the article and her testimony. Her statement from the commencement, until they moved to Pittsburgh, in all *essential particulars* I know to be true. She relates those acts as they occurred to my own personal knowledge, though she was then a little girl. She is now about seventy-five years of age.

"I stated before that I knew nothing of Spaulding after he moved to Pittsburgh, except by letters and newspapers. He soon moved to Amity, Wash-

ington County, Pa., and shortly after this he died and his wife went to her brother's. His daughter's account of the deceitful method by which Hurlburt gained possession of and retained Spaulding's manuscript, is, I think, important and should not be lost sight of. She was no child then. I think she has done her part well in the vindication of the truth by her unvarnished statement of what she remembered of her father's romance. I have not seen her since she was a little girl, but I have seen both of these productions, heard Spaulding read much of his romance to my father and explain his views and reasons for writing it. I also have seen and read the *Book of Mormon*, and it follows Spaulding's romance too closely to be anything else than a borrowed production from the romance. I think that Mrs. McKinstry's statement fills a gap in my account from Spalding's removal to Pittsburgh, to the death of his wife in 1844. I wish, if my statement is published that hers also be published with it, that the truth may be vindicated by the truth beyond any reasonable doubt.

"(Signed)

"ABNER JACKSON.

"Canton, Ohio, Dec. 20, 1880."

The foregoing array of evidence in support of the theory that the *Book of Mormon* was based on Spalding's romance, is about all that we care to introduce, though more is at hand. And this is what the Salt Lake editor calls a "mere supposition" of some "mysterious connection between the manuscript and Joseph Smith." That there was a mysterious connection is not doubted; indeed, it is directly and very pointedly affirmed by these people.

What that connection was may yet be shown. These people do not bolster up their story by an array of "angels" and "heavenly messengers," but by plain, honest, common-sense averment; and hence will not be so readily believed by some; but their story will carry conviction to every well-balanced human intellect.

But the Salt Lake editor further assures us that there is an additional "God-given testimony" of thousands in support of Smith's claim; which testimony, when interpreted, means simply the mental ability to believe Smith's absurd and impossible story. Just such "God-given testimony" has been marshalled in support of every silly and ridiculous delusion since the world began.

Reader, let us bring together the points of the foregoing narrations, and examine their bearing. That Rev. Solomon Spalding did reside at Conneaut, Ohio, between the years 1808 and 1814, is made as clear as human testimony can make it. That while there he wrote several manuscript books, is also fully established. That he died in Pennsylvania in 1816, leaving these manuscripts behind him, cannot be disputed. That one of these manuscripts was entitled *Manuscript Found*, while the titles of the others were not known, is also clearly established. The Mormons themselves do not deny it. No writer anywhere, or of any class, that we are aware

of, has ever denied any of these propositions. The facts are palpable and would not be more clearly evident, were the manuscripts themselves brought to light. If, then, Mr. Spalding wrote a work so entitled, it must have been about *something*—it must have had some specific characteristics. What were they? All his friends and neighbors agree that he had a lively imagination; that he was much interested in the discoveries that had been made near his residence, indicating the existence of a pre-historic race of people in America; that he thought, talked, and wrote much upon that theme, and read portions of his writings to his neighbors and friends.

And now—no, not NOW—but more than fifty years ago, and only seventeen years after his death—come a number of these neighbors and friends, and say that this book—this *Manuscript Found*, the existence of which no one has ever denied—contained the names of "Nephi," "Lehi," "Moroni," "Laban," "Nephites," "Lamanites," "Zarahemla," and others; that its theme was the history of a supposed race of Jewish emigrants and their descendants in America; that it was ridiculously full of such phrases as "And it came to pass," "I, Nephi," "Lo, and behold," etc.; that it was written in Biblical style, and that it abounded in descriptions of great wars and battles between the

contending tribes. These statements are made with great unanimity, and no apparent attempt at collusion, by men and women who could have had no object but truth and justice in view. Reader, take up the *Book of Mormon*—"Wherefore it is an abridgement of the Record of the People of Nephi, and also of the Lamanites"—and see if you can find in it any emanations from Rev. Spalding's imaginative mind. See if you can recognize any of the names these friends of his remember so well—and which were never before found in any other book. See if you can recall any of the themes, the historical allusions, the phrases, they so minutely particularize. In the language of the Salt Lake editor, "What more need be said?" "Lo, and behold," "verily," its title, instead of the "confusion of language" used by Smith, Rigdon, Cowdery & Co., should have read:

"THE MANUSCRIPT FOUND,"
A Romance,
Written by Rev. Solomon Spalding, of Conneaut,
Long Since Deceased;
Ohio,
Stolen, Mutilated, Enlarged,
And Rendered More Riduculous,
In Order to Make it More Likely to be Accepted
by Gulls,
as a
Message From Heaven.
"And now, if there be fault, it be the mistake of"
SOME CRANKS.

It can make little difference, therefore, if it should be never fully ascertained how, or in what manner, or by whom, that *Manuscript Found* came into those men's hands. The fact stands out boldly, clearly, that it was there; that it was this Spalding romance, or a fraudulent copy of it, and not golden plates, from which the embryo prophet was pretending to translate during the years 1827–8–9. Whether it came to him through Rigdon's hands, as believed by the Spalding family, or through Cowdery's, or Parley P. Pratt's, is of little consequence, except as to gratify curiosity, and need not, perhaps, be further inquired into. There were five men who bore conspicuous parts in bringing this *Book of Mormon*, before the public; any one of whom may have obtained the manuscript. Its application and working up was evidently the labor of Sidney Rigdon chiefly. Two of these men, Smith and Harris, may never have been in Northern Ohio, previous to 1827; Cowdery, Pratt, and Rigdon had all been there, in the vicinity of where Spalding had resided.

The Spalding family all believed that Rigdon had obtained the MS. and copied it, while it remained in the office of Patterson & Lambdin at Pittsburgh. From Joseph Miller's latest letter it would seem, that even in Rev. Spalding's life-time the impression prevailed that Rigdon had obtained the manuscript.

The Mormons vehemently deny that Rigdon was ever a printer, or about said Patterson's office.

Robert Patterson, Esq., the capable editor of the Pittsburgh *Presbyterian Banner*, and son of the Rev. Robert Patterson alluded to, has lately given the subject much attention. In a very lucid and searching paper from his pen, communicated to the Washington County Historical Society, we find the following, bearing on Patterson's possession of the manuscript:

"On being applied to in 1842, by Rev. Samuel Williams, who was preparing for publication a pamphlet entitled *Mormonism Exposed*, Mr. Patterson wrote the following brief certificate, which we copy in full from Mr. Williams' pamphlet:

"'R. Patterson had in his employment Silas Engles at the time, a foreman printer, and general superintendent of the printing business. As he (S. E.) was an excellent scholar, as well as a good printer, to him was entrusted the entire concerns of the office. He even decided on the propriety or otherwise of publishing manuscripts when offered, —as to their morality, scholarship, etc. In this character he informed R. P. that a gentleman from the East originally, had put into his hands a manuscript of a singular work, chiefly in the style of our English translation of the Bible, and handed the copy to R. P., who read only a few pages, and finding nothing apparently exceptionable, he (R. P.) said to Engles he might publish it, if the author furnished the funds or good security. He (the author) failing to comply with the terms, Mr Engles returned the manuscript, as I supposed at that time,

after it had been some weeks in his possession with other manuscripts in the office.

"'This communication written and signed 2d April, 1842.

"'ROBERT PATTERSON.'"

From Mr. Patterson's pamphlet, we also quote the following:

"Rev. John Winter, M. D., was one of the early ministers of the Baptist Church, laboring in Western Pennsylvania and Eastern Ohio. During a portion of the time when Sidney Rigdon was pastor of the First Baptist Church in Pittsburgh, Dr. Winter was teaching a school in the same city, and was well acquainted with Rigdon. Upon one occasion, during this period, 1822–23, Dr. Winter was in Rigdon's study, when the latter took from his desk a large manuscript, and said in substance, 'A Presbyterian minister, Spalding, whose health had failed, brought this to the printer to see if it would pay to publish it. It is a romance of the Bible.' Dr. Winter did not read any part of it, and paid no more attention to it until after the *Book of Mormon* appeared, when he heard that Mr. Spalding's widow recognized in it the writings of her husband. . . . Mrs. Mary W. Irvine, a daughter of Dr. Winter, writes from Sharon, Pa., April 5, 1881, as follows: 'I have frequently heard my father speak of Rigdon having Spalding's MS. and that he had gotten it from the printers to read as a curiosity; as such he showed it to father; and that at that time Rigdon had an intention of making the use of it that he afterwards did; for father always said Rigdon helped Smith in his scheme, by revising and making the Mormon Bible out of Rev. Spalding's manuscript.'"

The foregoing citations would seem conclusive in

fixing the fraud upon Sidney Rigdon; and notwithstanding his and all the other Mormon denials, and the apparent want of agreement among Spalding's friends, we feel sure that an intelligent and discerning public, will forever hold it. And here we let the matter rest.

CHAPTER XLV.

AFTER FIFTY YEARS.

A Strange Discovery—A Spalding MS. Found in Honolulu—A God-Send to the Mormons—A False Impression—Not the "Manuscript Found"—Of No Historic Value—Mr. Patterson's Closing Tribute.

And now comes one of the most remarkable features of this much discussed and remarkable story. A short time ago President Fairchild of Oberlin College, Ohio, was on a visit with friends residing at Honolulu, in the Sandwich Islands. While at the home of Mr. L. L. Rice, an American citizen there, he became interested in some documents which had many years before accumulated in the latter's possession, and which had been brought with him from Ohio, his former residence.

One of those old and long-neglected manuscripts on examination proved to be one of Rev. Spalding's romances—to the great astonishment of both those gentlemen. The fact was soon made public here in the States, and was seized upon and heralded to the world by the newspapers, as a discovery of the long lost *Manuscript Found* of Rev. Solomon Spalding, and the original of the *Book of Mormon*. The manuscript (after discussion as to the proper dis-

position to be made of it), was deposited by Mr. Rice in the college library at Oberlin. Various extracts from its pages, bearing no resemblance to the matter of the *Book of Mormon*, have been published; and the conclusion has been quite general that the Spalding story was a fallacy. The Mormons themselves have regarded the discovery as a God-send, and have lost no time in announcing to their readers this marvelous refutation of their enemies' falsehoods. Both the Salt Lake and the Reconstructed branches, it is stated, have procured copies of the work for publication. The former we have not seen; but the latter, issued with much apparent satisfaction, and neatly printed in pamphlet form at Lamoni, Iowa, under authority of the church—now lies before us. It professes to be a true and exact copy of the original, and certified to as such; *yet its very first line is a* FALSEHOOD! It entitles the book *The Manuscript Found* of Solomon Spalding, when no such title is found anywhere on or in the work. The nearest approach to it is the attestation of Dr. Hurlbut on the fly-leaf, as follows:

"The writings of Solomon Spalding, as proved by Henry Lake, John N. Miller, Aaron Wright and others.

"D. P. HURLBUT."

Thus showing conclusively that it is the manu-

uscript obtained by the doctor and brought to Howe in 1834. Besides, it can be traced directly from Howe to Rice—the latter having purchased the Painesville *Telegraph* a year or two after Howe's book was printed, with the printing office and all its contents. Howe lost track of the manuscript, and supposed it might have been destroyed in a fire in his office, when, in fact, it had been delivered with other waste matter to his successor, and by him, very strangely, instead of being destroyed, carried to Honolulu. That it is the same manuscript is also shown by another circumstance. It will be remembered that Howe, in his book, refers to a letter obtained with the manuscript indicating that Spalding had imbibed "infidel" opinions. Strange enough, that same letter is still with the MS., as found in Honolulu. Again, the contents of this newly-found manuscript, as described by those having access to it, are identical with those ascribed to it by Howe. So that the evidence is clear:

"1. That this newly-discovered work is really one of Spalding's romances.

"2. That it is the identical one referred to by Howe in his *Mormonism Unveiled*, and which he received from Hurlbut, and Hurlbut from the Spaldings, in 1833.

"3. *That it is* NOT *the romance known as Manuscript Found*, and bears no resemblance to it.

"4. And consequently—that it can bring no

comfort to the Mormons, in disproof of the "Spalding Story."

Mr. Patterson, in closing his valuable little book on the subject, thus eloquently refers to Mr. Spalding and his work:

"It is scarcely necessary to say that Spalding himself must be acquitted of all intention to deceive, even though four of the hearers of his romance as read by him have attested his singular presentiment —was it prescience?—that in after years his romance would be accepted by thousands as veritable history. But even he could not have foreseen that this coinage of his brain would ever pass current as having been enstamped by the authority of heaven. The unconscious prophet of a new Islam, in all his imaginings he did not dream that his hand was outlining the Koran of a dark delusion; that the fables which beguiled his restless hours would be accepted by hundreds of thousands of his fellowmen as the oracles of God; and that in inglorious yet heroic martyrdom some of them would even seal with their blood their faith in the inspiration of his phantasies. Journeying to Pittsburgh in 1812, with the sanguine hope of soon seeing his romance in print, it never entered his mind that in three-score years and ten thereafter, the shades of Laman and Nephi, of Mormon and Moroni, evoked by his magic wand from the sepulchral mounds of Conneaut,—the graves of a long-forgotten race,—would be stalking over two hemispheres, and would be leading through the very city of his sojourn their myriad victims of deception to distant homes of wretchedness and shame. Struggling to escape the burden of his debts, he little imagined how vast the burden he was about unwittingly to lay upon his country.

"Sleep on, humble dreamer, in thy lowly bed! Thy fond desire to win a public hearing for thy wondrous story was denied thee in thy toilsome life. Thou knewest not that a strange immortality awaited it and thee. Rest peacefully, for from thine eye, which sought to penetrate the past alone, this saddest of future visions was mercifully withheld. Surely never hitherto have passed such sorrowful processions near the grave of so innocent an author of their woe."

With this we conclude the review of the senseless gold-laden story. No one really believes it. Even its originators, its eleven witnesses, and their immediate followers, had no abiding faith in it, else Cumorah Hill would ere this have been prospected from base to crown, in search of those other precious relics said to have been hid away by the angel. Yet its influence has been far-reaching. It has continued to grow, agitating and disturbing every community into which it has made its way, until it now curses half a continent. But it is on the wane; and ere the twentieth century ends, the Story of the Golden Message will have faded from men's memories.

CHAPTER XLVI.

NAUVOO CHARTER.

An Act to Incorporate the City of Nauvoo.

Section 1. *Be it enacted by the People of the State of Illinois, represented in the General Assembly*, That all that district of country embraced within the following boundaries, to wit: [*long description of boundaries.*]

Sec. 2. Whenever any tract of land adjoining the city of Nauvoo shall have been laid out into town lots, and duly recorded according to law, the same shall form a part of the city of Nauvoo.

Sec. 3. The inhabitants of said city, by the name and style aforesaid, shall have power to sue and be sued, plead and be impleaded, defend and be defended, in all courts of law and equity, and in all actions whatsoever; to purchase, receive and hold property, real and personal, in said city; to purchase, receive and hold real property beyond the city for burying ground, or for other public purposes, for the use of the inhabitants of said city; to sell, lease, convey or dispose of property, real and personal, for the benefit of the city; to improve and protect such property, and to do all other things in relation thereto as natural persons.

Sec. 4. There shall be a City Council to consist of Mayor, four Aldermen and nine Councillors, who shall have the qualifications of electors of said city, and shall be elected by the qualified voters thereof, and shall hold their offices for two years, and until their successors shall be elected and qualified. The

City Council shall judge of the qualifications, elections and returns of their own members, and a majority of them shall form a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and compel the attendance of absent members, under such penalties as may be prescribed by ordinance.

SEC. 5. The Mayor, Aldermen and Councillors, before entering upon the duties of their offices, shall take and subscribe an oath or affirmation, that they will support the Constitution of the United States and of this State; and that they will well and truly perform the duties of their offices to the best of their skill and abilities.

SEC. 6. On the first Monday of February next, and every two years thereafter, an election shall be held for the election of one Mayor, four Aldermen and nine Councillors; and at the first election under this act, three judges shall be chosen *viva voce* by the electors present, the said judges shall choose two clerks, and the judges and clerks before entering upon their duties, shall take and subscribe an oath or affirmation, such as is now required by law to be taken by judges and clerks of other elections; and at all subsequent elections the necessary number of judges and clerks shall be appointed by the City Council. At the first election so held the polls shall be opened at nine o'clock, A. M., and closed at six o'clock, P. M.; at the close of the polls the votes shall be counted, and a statement thereof proclaimed at the front door of the house at which such election shall be held; and the clerks shall leave with each person elected, or at his usual place of residence within five days after the election, a written notice of his election, and each person so notified, shall within ten days after the election, take the oath or affirmation hereinbefore mentioned, a certificate of which oath shall be deposited with the

Recorder, whose appointment is hereafter provided for, and be by him preserved; and all subsequent elections shall be held, conducted, and returns thereof made, as may be provided for by the ordinances of the City Council.

SEC. 7. All free white male inhabitants, who are of the age of twenty-one years, who are entitled to vote for State officers, and who shall have been actual residents of said city sixty days next preceding said election, shall be entitled to vote for city officers.

SEC. 8. The City Council shall have authority to levy and collect taxes for city purposes, upon all property, real and personal, within the limits of the city, not exceeding one half per cent. per annum upon the assessed value thereof, and may enforce the payment of the same in any manner to be provided by ordinance, not repugnant to the Constitution of the United States, or of this State.

SEC. 9. The City Council shall have power to appoint a Recorder, Treasurer, Assessor, Marshal, Supervisor of Streets, and all such other officers as may be necessary, and to prescribe their duties, and remove them from office at pleasure.

SEC. 10. The City Council shall have power to require of all officers, appointed in pursuance of this act, bonds with penalty and security, for the faithful performance of their respective duties, such as may be deemed expedient; and also to require all officers appointed as aforesaid, to take an oath for the faithful performance of the duties of their respective offices.

SEC. 11. The City Council shall have power and authority to make, ordain, establish, and execute all such ordinances, not repugnant to the Constitution of the United States, or of this State, as they may deem necessary for the benefit, peace, good

order, regulation, convenience and cleanliness of said city; for the protection of property therein from destruction by fire or otherwise, and for the health and happiness thereof; they shall have power to fill all vacancies that may happen by death, resignation or removal, in any of the offices herein made elective; to fix and establish all the fees of the officers of said corporation not herein established; to impose such fines not exceeding one hundred dollars for each offence, as they may deem just, for refusing to accept any office in or under the corporation, or for misconduct therein; to divide the city into wards; to add to the number of Aldermen and Councillors, and apportion them among the several wards as may be most just and conducive to the interests of the city.

Sec. 12. To license, tax and regulate auctions, merchants, retailers, grocers, hawkers, pedlars, brokers, pawn-brokers and money-changers.

Sec. 13. The City Council shall have exclusive power within the city, by ordinance to license, regulate and restrain the keeping of ferries; to regulate the police of the city; to impose fines, forfeitures and penalties for the breach of any ordinance, and provide for the recovery of such fines and forfeitures, and the enforcement of such penalties, and to pass such ordinances as may be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the powers specified in this act; *Provided*, Such ordinances are not repugnant to the Constitution of the United States or of this State; and in fine, to exercise such other legislative powers as are conferred on the City Council of the city of Springfield, by an act entitled "An Act to incorporate the City of Springfield," approved February third, one thousand eight hundred and forty.

Sec. 14. All ordinances passed by the City Council shall, within one month after they shall

have been passed, be published in some newspaper printed in the city, or certified copies thereof be posted up in three of the most public places in the city.

SEC. 15. All ordinances of the city may be proven by the seal of the corporation, and when printed or published in book or pamphlet form, purporting to be printed or published by authority of the corporation, the same shall be received in evidence in all courts or places without further proof.

SEC. 16. The Mayor and Aldermen shall be conservators of the peace within the limits of said city, and shall have all the powers of Justices of the Peace therein, both in civil and criminal cases, arising under the laws of the State; they shall, as Justices of the Peace, within the limits of said city, perform the same duties, be governed by the same laws, give the same bonds and security as other Justices of the Peace, and be commissioned as Justices of the Peace in and for said city by the Governor.

SEC. 17. The Mayor shall have exclusive jurisdiction in all cases arising under the ordinances of the corporation, and shall issue such process as may be necessary to carry said ordinances into execution and effect; appeals may be had from any decision or judgment of said Mayor, or Aldermen, arising under the city ordinances, to the Municipal Court, under such regulations as may be prescribed by ordinance, which Court shall be composed of the Mayor, or Chief Justice, and the Aldermen, as Associate Justices; and from the final judgment of the Municipal Court to the Circuit Court of Hancock County, in the same manner as appeals are taken from the judgments of Justices of the Peace: *Provided*, That the parties litigant shall have the right to a trial by a jury of twelve men in all cases

before the Municipal Court. The Municipal Court shall have power to grant writs of *habeas corpus* in all cases arising under the ordinances of the City Council.

SEC. 18. The Municipal Court shall sit on the first Monday of every month, and the City Council at such times and places as may be prescribed by city ordinance, special meetings of which may, at any time, be called by the Mayor or any two Aldermen.

SEC. 19. All processes issued by the Mayor, Aldermen, or Municipal Court, shall be directed to the Marshal, and in the execution thereof he shall be governed by the same laws as are or may be prescribed for the direction and compensation of constables in similar cases. The Marshal shall also perform such other duties as may be required of him under the ordinances of said city, and shall be the principal ministerial officer.

SEC. 20. It shall be the duty of the Recorder to make and keep accurate records of all ordinances made by the City Council, and of all their proceedings in their corporate capacity; which records shall at all times be open to the inspection of the electors of said city; and shall perform such other duties as may be required of him by the ordinances of the City Council, and shall serve as Clerk of the Municipal Court.

SEC. 21. When it shall be necessary to take private property for opening, widening, or altering any public street, lane, avenue or alley, the corporation shall make a just compensation therefor, to the person whose property is so taken, and if the amount of such compensation cannot be agreed upon, the Mayor shall cause the same to be ascertained by a jury of six disinterested freeholders of the city.

SEC. 22. All jurors impanelled to inquire into

the amount of benefits or damages that shall happen to the owners of property so proposed to be taken, shall first be sworn to that effect, and shall return to the Mayor their inquest in writing, signed by each juror.

SEC. 23. In case the Mayor shall at any time be guilty of a palpable omission of duty, or shall wilfully and corruptly be guilty of oppression, malconduct, or partiality in the discharge of the duties of his office, he shall be liable to be indicted in the Circuit Court of Hancock County; and on conviction he shall be fined not more than two hundred dollars, and the Court shall have power on the recommendation of the jury, to add to the judgment of the Court, that he be removed from office.

SEC. 24. The City Council may establish and organize an institution of learning within the limits of the city for the teaching of the arts, sciences and learned professions, to be called the "University of the City of Nauvoo;" which institution shall be under the control and management of a board of trustees, consisting of a Chancellor, Registrar, and twenty-three Regents, which board shall thereafter be a body corporate and politic, with perpetual succession, by the name of the "Chancellor and Regents of the University of the City of Nauvoo," and shall have full power to pass, ordain, establish and execute all such laws and ordinances as they may consider for the welfare and prosperity of said University, its officers and students; *Provided*, That the said laws and ordinances shall not be repugnant to the Constitution of the United States or of this State; and, *Provided* also, That the Trustees shall at all times be appointed by the City Council, and shall have all the powers and privileges for the advancement of the cause of education, which appertain to the trustees of any other College or University of this State.

SEC. 25. The City Council may organize the inhabitants of said city subject to military duty into a body of independent military men, to be called the "Nauvoo Legion," the Court-Martial of which shall be composed of the commissioned officers of said Legion, and constitute the law-making department, with full powers and authority to make, ordain, establish and execute, all such laws and ordinances, as may be considered necessary for the benefit, government and regulation of said Legion; *Provided*, Said Court-Martial shall pass no law or act repugnant to or inconsistent with the Constitution of the United States or this State; and, *Provided*, also, That the officers of the Legion shall be commissioned by the Governor of the State. The said Legion shall perform the same amount of military duty as is now or may be hereafter required of the regular militia of the State, and shall be at the disposal of the Mayor in executing the laws and ordinances of the City Corporation, and the laws of the State, and at the disposal of the Governor for the public defence and the execution of the laws of the State, or of the United States, and shall be entitled to their proportion of the public arms; and, *Provided*, also, That said Legion shall be exempt from all other military duty.

SEC. 26. The inhabitants of the "City of Nauvoo" are hereby exempt from working on any road beyond the limits of the city; and for the purpose of keeping the streets, lanes, avenues and alleys in repair, to require of the male inhabitants of said city, over the age of twenty-one and under fifty years, to labor on said streets, lanes, avenues and alleys, not exceeding three days in each year; any person failing to perform such labors when duly notified by the Supervisor, shall forfeit and pay the sum of one dollar per day for each day so neglected or refused.

SEC. 27. The City Council shall have power to provide for the punishment of offenders, by imprisonment in the county or city jail, in all cases when such offenders shall fail or refuse to pay the fines and forfeitures which may be recovered against them.

SEC. 28. This act is hereby declared to be a public act, and shall take effect on the first Monday of February next.

Approved, December 16, 1840.

CHAPTER XLVII.

SOME OF THE CITY ORDINANCES.

AN ORDINANCE *Regulating the Mode of Proceeding in Cases of Habeas Corpus before the Municipal Court.*

SECTION 1. *Be it ordained by the City Council of the City of Nauvoo*, That in all cases where any person or persons shall at any time hereafter be arrested or under arrest, in this city, under any writ or process, and shall be brought before the Municpal Court of this city, by virtue of a writ of *habeas corpus*, the Court shall, in every such case, have power and authority, and are hereby required to examine into the origin, validity and legality of the writ or process, under which said arrest was made; and if it shall appear to the Court upon sufficient testimony, that said writ or process was illegal, or not legally issued, or did not proceed from the proper authority, then the Court shall discharge the prisoner from under said arrest; but if it shall appear to the Court that said writ or process had issued from proper authority, and was a legal process, the Court shall then proceed and fully hear the merits of the case upon which said arrest was made, upon such evidence as may be produced and sworn before said Court; and shall have power to adjourn the hearing, and also issue process from time to time, in their discretion, in order to procure the attendance of witnesses, so that a fair and impartial trial and decision may be obtained in every case.

SEC. 2. *And be it further ordained*, That if upon

investigation it shall be proven before the Municipal Court that the writ or process has been issued either through private pique, malicious intent, religious or other persecution, falsehood or misrepresentation, contrary to the Constitution of the United States or of this State, the said writ or process shall be quashed, and considered of no force or effect, and the prisoner or prisoners shall be released and discharged therefrom.

SEC. 3. *And be it also further ordained*, That in the absence, sickness, disability, or other circumstances, disqualifying or preventing the Mayor from officiating in his office as Chief Justice of the Municipal Court, the Aldermen present shall appoint one from amongst them to act as Chief Justice or President *pro tempore*.

SEC. 4. This ordinance to take effect and be in force from and after its passage.

HYRUM SMITH,
Vice-Mayor and President pro tempore.

Passed August 8, 1842.

JAMES SLOAN, *Recorder.*

AN ORDINANCE *concerning Marriages.*

SECTION 1. *Be it ordained by the City Council of the City of Nauvoo*, That all male persons over the age of seventeen years, and females over the age of fourteen years may contract and be joined in marriage; *Provided*, In all cases where either party is a minor, the consent of parents or guardians be first had.

SEC. 2. Any persons as aforesaid wishing to marry, or be joined in marriage, may go before any regular Minister of the Gospel, Mayor, Alderman, Justice of the Peace, Judge, or other person authorized to solemnize marriages in this State, and celebrate or declare their marriage in such manner and form as shall be most agreeable, either with or without license.

SEC. 3. Any person solemnizing a marriage as aforesaid, shall make return thereof to the City Recorder,* accompanied by a recording fee of fifty cents, within thirty days of the solemnization thereof; and it is hereby made the duty of the Recorder to keep an accurate record of all such marriages. The penalty for a violation of either of the provisions of this ordinance shall be twenty dollars, to be recovered as other penalties or forfeitures.

JOHN C. BENNETT,
Mayor.

Passed Feb. 17, 1842.
JAMES SLOAN, *Recorder.*

Number One again provided for, in the following ordinance:

AN ORDINANCE *for the Health and Convenience of Travellers and other persons.*

SECTION 1. *Be it ordained by the City Council of the City of Nauvoo*, That the Mayor of the City be and is hereby authorized to sell or give spirits, of any quantity, as he in his wisdom shall judge to be for the health, comfort or convenience of such travellers or other persons, as shall visit his house from time to time.

JOSEPH SMITH,
Mayor.

Passed Dec. 12, 1842.
W. RICHARDS, *Recorder.*

AN EXTRA ORDINANCE *for the extra case of Joseph Smith, and others.*

[*Preamble recounting Smith's difficulties with Missouri omitted.*]

* The statutes of the State of Illinois require that a license shall first be obtained from the office of the County Clerk, and that the person solemnizing marriages shall make his return to said officer.

SECTION 1. *Be it ordained by the City Council of the City of Nauvoo*, According to the intent and meaning of the Charter, "for the benefit and convenience," That hereafter if any person or persons shall come with process, demand, or requisition founded upon the aforesaid Missouri difficulties, to arrest said Joseph Smith, he or they shall be subject to be arrested by any officer of the city, with or without process, and tried by the Municipal Court, upon testimony, and if found guilty, sentenced to imprisonment in the city prison for life, which convict or convicts can only be pardoned by the Governor, with the consent of the Mayor of said city. . . .

JOSEPH SMITH,
Mayor.

Passed Dec. 8, 1843.
W. RICHARDS, *Recorder.*

AN ORDINANCE *To Prevent unlawful Search or Seizure of Person or Property, by Foreign Process, in the City of Nauvoo.*

SECTION 1. *Be it ordained by the City Council of the City of Nauvoo*, To prevent kidnapping, illegal arrests of persons, or unlawful searches for property, that all writs issued out of the city shall, before they are executed within the limits of the city, be examined by and receive the approval and signature of the Mayor of said city on the back of said process, and be served by the Marshal of said city.

SEC. 2. *And be it further ordained*, That every officer who shall execute, or attempt to execute, any process as aforesaid, without first obtaining the approval and signature of the Mayor of said city, as specified in the first section of this ordinance, shall be subject to a fine of not less than five dollars nor more than one hundred dollars, or imprisonment

not less than one month nor more than six months in the city prison, or both, as a breach of ordinance to be tried before the Municipal Court of said city.

JOSEPH SMITH,
Mayor.

Passed Dec. 21, 1843.
WILLARD RICHARDS, *Recorder.*

AMENDMENT.

SEC. 3. *Be it ordained by the City Council of the City of Nauvoo*, That nothing in the foregoing ordinance shall be so construed as to prevent, hinder or thwart the designs of justice, or to retard the civil officers of the State or county in the discharge of their official duties; but to aid and assist them within the limits of this city.

JOSEPH SMITH,
Mayor.

Passed Jan. 10, 1844.
WILLARD RICHARDS, *Recorder.*

AN ORDINANCE *entitled "An Ordinance to Repeal certain Ordinances therein named."*

Whereas, An Ordinance entitled "An Ordinance for the extra case of Joseph Smith and others," passed Dec. 8, 1843, and, *Whereas*, The Ordinance entitled "An Ordinance to prevent unlawful seizure and search of person and property, by foreign process in the City of Nauvoo," passed Dec. 21, 1843, have had their desired effect in preserving the peace, happiness, persons or property of the citizens of Nauvoo, according to their intent and meaning; therefore,

SECTION 1. *Be it ordained by the City Council of the City of Nauvoo*, That the aforesaid ordinances are hereby repealed.

SEC. 2. *And be it further ordained*, That nothing in the first section of this ordinance shall be so

construed as to give license or liberty to any foreign officer, or other person or persons, to illegally disturb the peace, happiness or quiet of any citizen of said city, any ordinance to the contrary nothwithstanding, under a penalty of not less than five hundred dollars, or imprisonment six months in the city prison.

JOSEPH SMITH,
Mayor.

Passed Feb., 1844.
WILLARD RICHARDS, *Recorder.*

AN ORDINANCE *in Relation to Religious Societies.*

SECTION 1. *Be it ordained by the City Council of the City of Nauvoo*, That the Catholics, Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, Latter-Day Saints, Quakers, Episcopalians, Universalists, Unitarians, Mohammedans, and all other religious sects and denominations whatever, shall have free toleration and equal privileges in this city; and should any person be guilty of ridiculing, abusing, or otherwise depreciating another in consequence of his religion, or of disturbing or interrupting any religious meeting, within the limits of this city, he shall on conviction thereof before the Mayor or Municipal Court, be considered a disturber of the public peace, and fined in any sum not exceeding five hundred dollars, or imprisoned not exceeding six months, or both, at the discretion of said Mayor or Court.

[*Published without date or official signature.*]

CHAPTER XLVIII.

THE CELEBRATED "CELESTIAL MARRIAGE" REVELATION.

As Published by Brigham Young in Utah.

A Revelation on the Patriarchal Order of Matrimony, or Plurality of Wives. Given to Joseph Smith, the Seer, in Nauvoo, July 12, 1843.

1. Verily, thus saith the Lord unto you my servant Joseph, that inasmuch as you have inquired of my hand, to know and understand wherein I, the Lord, justified my servants Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; as also Moses, David, and Solomon, my servants, as touching the principle and doctrine of their having many wives and concubines; Behold! and lo, I am the Lord, thy God, and will answer thee as touching this matter; Therefore, prepare thy heart to receive and obey the instructions which I am about to give unto you; for all those who have this law revealed unto them, must obey the same; for, behold! I reveal unto you a new and everlasting covenant; and if ye abide not that covenant, then are ye damned; for no one can reject this covenant, and be permitted to enter into my glory; for all who will have a blessing at my hands shall abide the law which was appointed for that blessing, and the conditions thereof, as was instituted from before the foundation of the world: and as pertaining to the new and everlasting covenant, it was instituted for the fulness of my glory; and

he that receiveth a fulness thereof, must and shall abide the law, or he shall be damned, saith the Lord God.

2. And verily I say unto you, that the conditions of this law are these: All covenants, contracts, bonds, obligations, oaths, vows, performances, connexions, associations, or expectations, that are not made and entered into, and sealed, by the holy spirit of promise, of him who is anointed, both as well for time and for all eternity, and that too most holy, by revelation and commandment, through the medium of mine anointed, whom I have appointed on the earth to hold this power (and I have appointed unto my servant Joseph to hold this power in the last days, and there is never but one on the earth at a time, on whom this power and the Keys of this Priesthood are conferred), are of no efficacy, virtue, or force, in and after the resurrection from the dead; for all contracts that are not made unto this end, have an end when men are dead.

3. Behold! mine house is a house of order, saith the Lord God, and not a house of confusion. Will I accept of an offering, saith the Lord, that is not made in my name! Or, will I receive at your hands that which I have not appointed! And will I appoint unto you, saith the Lord, except it be by law, even as I and my Father ordained unto you, before the world was! I am the Lord thy God, and I give unto you this commandment, that no man shall come unto the Father but by me, or by my word, which is my law, saith the Lord; and everything that is in the world, whether it be ordained of men, by thrones, or principalities, or powers, or things of name, whatsoever they may be, that are not by me, or by my word, saith the Lord, shall be thrown down, and shall not remain after men are dead, neither in nor after the resurrection, saith the Lord your God; for whatsoever things remaineth, are by

me; and whatsoever things are not by me, shall be shaken and destroyed.

4. Therefore, if a man marry him a wife in the world, and he marry her not by me, nor by my word; and he covenant with her so long as he is in the world, and she with him, their covenant and marriage is not of force when they are dead, and when they are out of the world; therefore, they are not bound by any law when they are out of the world; therefore, when they are out of the world, they neither marry nor are given in marriage; but are appointed angels in heaven, which angels are ministering servants, to minister to those who are worthy of a far more, and an exceeding, and an eternal weight of glory; for these angels did not abide my law, therefore they cannot be enlarged, but remain separately and singly, without exaltation, in their saved condition, to all eternity, and from henceforth are not Gods, but are angels of God, forever and ever.

5. And again, verily I say unto you, if a man marry a wife and make a covenant with her for time and for all eternity, if that covenant is not by me or by my word, which is my law, and is not sealed by the holy spirit of promise, through him whom I have anointed and appointed unto this power—then it is not valid, neither of force when they are out of the world, because they are not joined by me, saith the Lord, neither by my word; when they are out of the world, it cannot be received there, because the angels and the Gods are appointed there, by whom they cannot pass; they cannot, therefore, inherit my glory, for my house is a house of order, saith the Lord God.

6. And again, verily I say unto you, if a man marry a wife by my word, which is my law, and by the new and everlasting covenant, and it is sealed unto them by the holy spirit of promise, by him who

is anointed, unto whom I have appointed this power, and the Keys of this Priesthood; and it shall be said unto them, ye shall come forth in the first resurrection; and if it be after the first resurrection, in the next resurrection; and shall inherit thrones, kingdoms, principalities, and powers, of dominions, all heights and depths—then shall it be written in the Lamb's Book of Life, that he shall commit no murder whereby to shed innocent blood, and if ye abide in my covenant, and commit no murder whereby to shed innocent blood, it shall be done unto them in all things whatsoever my servant hath put upon them, in time, and through all eternity, and shall be of full force when they are out of the world; and they shall pass by the angels, and the Gods, which are set there, to their exaltation and glory in all things, as hath been sealed upon their heads, which glory shall be a fulness and a continuation of the seeds for ever and ever.

7. Then shall they be Gods, because they have no end; therefore shall they be from everlasting to everlasting, because they continue; then shall they be above all, because all things are subject unto them. Then shall they be God's, because they have all power, and the angels are subject unto them.

8. Verily, verily I say unto you, except ye abide my law, ye cannot attain to this glory: for straight is the gate and narrow the way that leadeth unto the exaltation and continuation of the lives, and few there be that find it, because ye receive me not in the world, neither do ye know me. But if ye receive me in the world, then shall ye know me, and shall receive your exaltation, that where I am ye shall be also. This is eternal lives, to know the only wise and true God, and Jesus Christ, whom he hath sent. I am he. Receive ye, therefore, my

law. Broad is the gate and wide the way that leadeth to the death; and many there are that go in thereat; because they receive me not, neither do they abide in my law.

9. Verily, verily I say unto you, if a man marry a wife according to my word, and they are sealed by the holy spirit of promise, according to mine appointment, and he or she shall commit any sin or transgression of the new and everlasting covenant whatever, and all manner of blasphemies, and if they commit no murder, wherein they shed innocent blood—yet they shall come forth in the first resurrection, and enter their exaltation; but they shall be destroyed in the flesh, and shall be delivered unto the buffetings of Satan unto the day of redemption, saith the Lord God.

10. The blasphemy against the Holy Ghost which shall not be forgiven in the world, nor out of the world, is in that ye commit murder, wherein ye shed innocent blood, and assent unto my death, after ye have received my new and everlasting covenant, saith the Lord God; and he that abideth not this law, can in no wise enter into my glory, but shall be damned, saith the Lord.

11. I am the Lord thy God, and will give unto thee the law of my Holy Priesthood, as was ordained by me, and my Father, before the world was. Abraham received all things, whatsoever he received, by revelation and commandment, by my word, saith the Lord, and hath entered into his exaltation, and sitteth upon his throne.

12. Abraham received promises concerning his seed, and of the fruit of his loins—from whose loins ye are, namely, my servant Joseph—which were to continue so long as they were in the world; and as touching Abraham and his seed, out of the world they should continue; both in the world and out of the world should they continue as innumer-

able as the stars; or, if ye were to count the sand upon the sea-shore, ye could not number them. This promise is yours, also, because ye are of Abraham, and the promise was made unto Abraham; and by this law are the continuation of the works of my Father, wherein He glorifieth Himself. Go ye, therefore, and do the works of Abraham; enter ye into my law, and ye shall be saved. But if ye enter not into my law, ye cannot receive the promise of my Father, which He made unto Abraham.

13. God commanded Abraham, and Sarah gave Hagar to Abraham to wife. And why did she do it? Because this was the law, and from Hagar sprang many people. This, therefore, was fulfilling, among other things, the promises. Was Abraham, therefore, under condemnation? Verily, I say unto you, *Nay;* for I, the Lord, commanded it. Abraham was commanded to offer his son Isaac; nevertheless, it was written, thou shall not kill. Abraham, however, did not refuse, and it was accounted unto him for righteousness.

14. Abraham received concubines, and they bare him children, and it was accounted unto him for righteousness, because they were given unto him, and he abode in my law, as Isaac also, and Jacob did none other things than that which they were commanded; and because they did none other things than that which they were commanded, they have entered into their exaltation, according to the promises, and sit upon thrones, and are not angels, but are Gods. David also received many wives and concubines, as also Solomon and Moses my servants; as also many others of my servants, from the beginning of creation until this time; and in nothing did they sin, save in those things which they received not of me.

15. David's wives and concubines were given

unto him, of me, by the hand of Nathan, my servant, and others of the prophets who had the Keys of this power; and in none of these things did he sin against me, save in the case of Uriah and his wife; and therefore he hath fallen from his exaltation, and received his portion; and he shall not inherit them out of the world; for I gave them unto another, saith the Lord.

16. I am the Lord thy God, and I gave unto thee, my servant Joseph, an appointment, and restore all things; ask what ye will, and it shall be given unto you according to my word; and as ye have asked concerning adultery—verily, verily I say unto you, if a man receiveth a wife in the new and everlasting covenant, and if she be with another man, and I have not appointed unto her by the holy anointing, she hath committed adultery, and shall be destroyed. If she be not in the new and everlasting covenant, and she be with another man, she has committed adultery; and if her husband be with another woman, and he was under a vow, he hath broken his vow, and hath committed adultery, and if she hath not committed adultery, but is innocent, and hath not broken her vow, and she knoweth it, and I reveal it unto you, my servant Joseph, then shall you have power, by the power of my Holy Priesthood, to take her, and give her unto him that hath not committed adultery, but hath been faithful; for he shall be made ruler over many; for I have conferred upon you the Keys and power of the Priesthood, wherein I restore all things, and make known unto you all things in due time.

17. And verily, verily I say unto you, that whatsoever you seal on earth shall be sealed in heaven; and whatsoever you bind on earth, in my name, and by my word, saith the Lord, it shall be eternally bound in the heavens; and whosesoever

sins ye remit on earth, shall be remitted eternally in the heavens; and whosesoever sins you retain on earth, shall be retained in heaven.

18. And again, verily I say, whomsoever you bless, I will bless; and whomsoever you curse, I will curse, saith the Lord; for I, the Lord, am thy God.

19. And again, verily I say unto you, my servant Joseph, that whatsoever you give on earth, and to whomsoever you give any one on earth, by my word, and according to my law, it shall be visited with blessings, and not cursings, and with my power, saith the Lord, and shall be without condemnation on earth, and in heaven; for I am the Lord thy God, and will be with thee even unto the end of the world, and through all eternity; for verily, I seal upon you your exaltation, and prepare a throne for you in the Kingdom of my Father, with Abraham your father. Behold, I have seen your sacrifices, and will forgive all your sins; I have seen your sacrifices in obedience to that which I have told you; go, therefore, and I make a way for your escape, as I accepted the offering of Abraham, of his son Isaac.

20. Verily I say unto you, a commandment I give unto mine handmaid, Emma Smith, your wife whom I have given unto you, that she stay herself, and partake not of that which I commanded you to offer unto her; for I did it, saith the Lord, to prove you all, as I did Abraham; and that I might require an offering at your hand, by covenant and sacrifice: and let mine handmaid, Emma Smith, receive all those that have been given unto my servant Joseph, and who are virtuous and pure before me; and those who are not pure, and have said they were pure, shall be destroyed, saith the Lord God; for I am the Lord thy God, and ye shall obey my voice; and I give unto my servant Joseph, that

he shall be made ruler over many things, for he hath been faithful over a few things, and from henceforth I will strengthen him.

21. And I command mine handmaid Emma Smith, to abide and cleave unto my servant Joseph, and to none else. But if she will not abide this commandment, she shall be destroyed, saith the Lord; for I am the Lord thy God, and will destroy her, if she abide not in my law; but if she will not abide this commandment, then shall my servant Joseph do all things for her, even as he hath said; and I will bless him and multiply him, and give unto him an hundredfold in this world, of fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, houses and lands, wives and children, and crowns of eternal lives in the eternal worlds. And again, verily I say, let my handmaid forgive my servant Joseph his trespasses, and then shall she be forgiven her trespasses, wherein she hath trespassed against me; and I, the Lord thy God, will bless her, and multiply her, and make her heart to rejoice.

22. And again, I say, let not my servant Joseph put his property out of his hands, lest an enemy come and destroy him; for Satan seeketh to destroy; for I am the Lord thy God, and he is my servant; and behold! and lo, I am with him, as I was with Abraham, thy Father, even unto his exaltation and glory.

23. Now, as touching the law of the Priesthood, there are many things pertaining thereunto. Verily, if a man be called of my Father, as was Aaron, by mine own voice, and by the voice of him that sent me; and I have endowed him with the Keys of the power of this Priesthood, if he do anything in my name, and according to my law, and by my word, he will not commit sin, and I will justify him. Let no one, therefore, set on my servant Joseph; for I will justify him; for he shall do the sacrifice

which I require at his hands, for his trangressions, saith the Lord your God.

24. And again, as pertaining to the law of the Priesthood: If any man espouse a virgin, and desire to espouse another, and the first give her consent; and if he espouse the second, and they are virgins, and have vowed to no other man, then is he justified; he cannot commit adultery, for they are given unto him; for he cannot commit adultery with that that belongeth unto him and to no one else; and if he have ten virgins given unto him by this law, he cannot commit adultery, for they belong to him, and they are given unto him, therefore is he justified. But if one or either of the ten virgins, after she is espoused, shall be with another man, she has committed adultery, and shall be destroyed; for they are given unto him to multiply and replenish the earth, according to my commandment, and to fulfil the promise which was given by my Father before the foundation of the world; and for their exaltation in the eternal worlds, that they may bear the souls of men: for herein is the work of my Father continued, that he may be glorified.

25. And again, verily, verily I say unto you, if any man have a wife who holds the keys of this power, and he teaches unto her the law of my Priesthood, as pertaining to these things, then shall she believe, and administer unto him, or she shall be destroyed, saith the Lord your God; for I will destroy her; for I will magnify my name upon all those who receive and abide in my law. Therefore, it shall be lawful in me, if she receive not this law, for him to receive all things, whatsoever I, the Lord his God, will give unto him, because she did not administer unto him according to my word; and she then becomes the transgressor; and he is exempt from the law of Sarah, who administered unto Abraham according to the law, when I com-

manded Abraham to take Hagar to wife. And now, as pertaining to this law, verily, verily I say unto you, I will reveal more unto you hereafter; therefore, let this suffice for the present. Behold, I am Alpha and Omega. AMEN.

CHAPTER XLIX.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES AND ANECDOTES.

THE KINDERHOOK PLATES—TITLES OF THE TWELVE—THE PROPHET AS A LINGUIST—SOME MORMON METHODS—THE PROPHET AND CHURCH AS LAND SPECULATORS—A STORY FROM STENHOUSE—BISHOP JOHN D. LEE—THE "CORRECTED" HOLY SCRIPTURES.

THE KINDERHOOK PLATES.

THE plates known as the Kinderhook plates, have been referred to by many writers on Mormonism, as having some connection with that system. This is a mistake. They had no more to do with Mormonism, or the *Book of Mormon* or the Mormon Prophet, than with the downfall of Babylon,—excepting that they were exhibited in Nauvoo. They were not discovered at Kinderhook, *New York*, as stated by one writer, nor in *Ohio*, as related by others. They were dug out of a small mound at Kinderhook, Pike County, *Illinois*, about seventy-five miles south of Nauvoo, in or about 1843, by Mr. Wiley, a merchant of that place. Intent on ascertaining whether a mound near him contained any relics, this gentleman had the mound dug into, and these plates, among other things of minor importance, were exhumed. They were of copper, six

in number, about three inches long, and bell-shaped, and about the thickness of an ordinary tin plate. The writer saw and examined these plates about the time they were exhibted at Nauvoo. Drawings were made of one side of at least two of them. What became of them afterwards he does not know. Most probably they were deposited by Mr. Wiley in some museum of antiquities.

Titles of the Twelve.

The Twelve Apostles were thus designated by W. W. Phelps, as published in the *Times and Seasons*, at Nauvoo, in 1841: his own name,—we believe he was one of them,—being modestly omitted:

Brigham Young—*The Lion of the Lord.*
Parley P. Pratt—*The Archer of Paradise.*
Orson Hyde—*The Olive Branch of Israel.*
Willard Richards—*The Keeper of the Rolls.*
John Taylor—*The Champion of Right.*
William Smith—*The Patriarch of Jacob's Staff.*
Wilfred Woodruff—*The Banner of the Gospel.*
George A. Smith—*The Entablature of Truth.*
Orson Pratt—*The Gauge of Philosophy.*
John E. Page—*The Sun-Dial, and*
Lyman Wight—*The Wild Ram of the Mountains.*

The Prophet as a Linguist.

How Mr. Smith became a linguist it is hard to tell, seeing he was so ignorant of his native tongue. He was quite fond of parading his acquirements in

that respect before his wondering followers. We give some specimens. In the *Times and Seasons*, of May 1, 1843, he gives a learned dissertation on the derivation of the name *Mormon*. He says:

"It has been stated that this word was derived from the Greek word *mormo*. This is not the case. There was no Greek or Latin upon the plates from which I, through the grace God, translated the *Book of Mormon*. Let the language of that book speak for itself. On the 523d page of the 4th edition it reads:

"'And now, behold, we have written this record according to our knowledge in the characters which are called among us the Reformed Egyptian, being handed down and altered by us, according to our manner of speech; and if our plates had been sufficiently large, we should have written in Hebrew; but the Hebrew hath been altered by us also; and if we could have written in Hebrew, behold ye would have had no imperfection in our record; but the Lord knoweth the things which we have written, and also that none other people knoweth our language; therefore he hath prepared means for the interpretation thereof.'

"Here, then, the subject is put to silence; for 'none other people knoweth our language,' therefore the Lord, and not man, had to interpret, after the people were all dead. . . . Before I give a definition, however, to the word, let me say that the Bible in its widest sense, means *good;* for the Saviour says, according to the gospel of St. John, 'I am the *good* shepherd;' and it will not be beyond the common use of terms to say that *good* is among the most important in use, and though known by various names in different languages, still its meaning is the same, and is ever in opposition to *bad.*

We say from the Saxon, *good;* the Dane, *god;* the German, *gut;* the Dutch, *goed;* the Latin, *bonus;* the Greek, *kalos;* the Hebrew, *tob;* and the Egyptian, *mon.* Hence, with the addition of *more*, or the contraction *mor*, we have the word *Mormon;* which means literally *more good.*

Luminous and lucid! Then again, in a correspondence with James Arlington Bennett, a "crank" lawyer, residing in the city of New York, the prophet made this display of his learning:

"Were I an Egyptian, I would exclaim Jah-oh-eh, Enish-go-on-dosh, Flo-ces Flos-is-is, (O, the earth, the power of attraction, and the moon passing between her and the sun); a Hebrew, Hanelo-heem yenan; a Greek, O theos phos, esi; a Roman, Dominus regit me; a German, Got gebe uns das licht; a Portuguese, Senhor Jesu Christo e liberda de; a Frenchman, Dieu defend le droit; but as I am, I give God the glory, and say, in the beautiful language of the poet:

> 'Could we with ink the ocean fill,
> Was the whole earth of parchment made,
> And every single stick a quill,
> And every man a scribe by trade,—
> To write the love of God above
> Would drain the ocean dry;
> Nor could the whole upon the scroll
> Be spread from sky to sky.'"

Still another of those efforts, and the last one we can make room for here, is to be found in an "Appeal to the Green Mountain Boys," published in the Nauvoo *Neighbor* about the last of January, 1843. This was an "Address to the Free-

EXPLANATION OF THE CUT ON OPPOSITE PAGE.

Fig. 1. Kolob, signifying the first creation, nearest to the celestial, or the residence of God. First in government, the last pertaining to the measurement of time. The measurement, according to celestial time; which, celestial time, signifies one day to a cubit. One day, in Kolob, is equal to a thousand years, according to the measurement of this earth, which is called by the Egyptians Jah-oh-eh.

Fig. 2. Stands next to Kolob, called by the Egyptians Oliblish, which is the next grand governing creation, near to the celestial or the place where God resides; holding the key of power also, pertaining to other planets; as revealed from God to Abraham, as he offered sacrifice upon an altar, which he had built unto the Lord.

Fig. 3. is made to represent God, sitting upon His throne, clothed with power and authority: with a crown of eternal light upon his head: representing, also, the grand Key-Words of the Holy Priesthood, as revealed to Adam in the Garden of Eden, as also to Seth, Noah, Melchisedeck, Abraham, and all to whom the Priesthood was revealed.

Fig. 4. Answers to the Hebrew word raukeeyang, signifying expanse, or the firmament of the heavens; also, a numerical figure, in Egyptian, signifying one thousand; answering to the measuring of the time of Oliblish, which is equal with Kolob in its revolution and in its measuring of time.

Fig. 5. Is called in Egyptian Enish-go-on-dosh; that is one of the governing planets also: and is said by the Egyptians to be the Sun, and to borrow its light from Kolob through the medium of Kae-e-vanrash, which is the grand Key, or in other words, the governing power, which governs fifteen other fixed planets or stars, as also Floeese or the Moon, the Earth and the Sun in their annual revolutions. This planet receives its power through the medium of Kli-flos-is-es, or Hah-ko-kau-beam, the stars represented by numbers 22, and 23, receiving light from the revolutions of Kolob.

Fig. 6. Represents this earth in its four quarters.

Fig. 7. Represents God sitting upon His throne, revealing, through the heavens, the grand Key-Words of the Priesthood; as, also, the sign of the Holy Ghost unto Abraham, in the form of a dove.

Fig. 8. Contains writing that cannot be revealed unto the world; but is to be had in the Holy Temple of God.

Fig. 9. Ought not to be revealed at the present time.

Fig. 10. Also.

Fig. 11. Also.—If the world can find out these numbers, So let it be, Amen.

Figures 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, and 20, will be given in the own due time of the Lord. The above transation is given as far as we have any right to give, at the present time.

This cut and explanation are from a pamphlet published by Franklin D. Richards in Liverpool in 1851, who presumes true believers "will appreciate this little collection of precious truths as a *Pearl of Great Price*," and he therefore gives it that title. A part of the pamphlet is from the so-called Book of Abraham.—"A translation of some ancient records, that have fallen into our hands from the catacombs of Egypt, purporting to be the writings of Abraham while he was in Egypt, called The Book of Abraham, written by his own hand, upon papyrus." It is of interest in connection with the claims of archæological knowledge or inspiration of the prophet



A FAC-SIMILE FROM THE BOOK OF ABRAHAM.

men of the State of Vermont, the brave Green Mountain Boys, and honest men," and contained a recital of the sufferings of himself and people in Missouri, etc. It starts out by stating that he was a native Vermonter, and that his father was a soldier in the Revolution. In the course of it the following paragraph is injected, and the reader must judge what connection it has with the main subject:

"Were I a Chaldean, I would exclaim: 'Keed'-naob ta maroon le-hoam elauhay augh deyshemay-augh yah aur kan ion gua abadoo, yabadoo ma'ar guan bomen tehoat shemayaugh elal.' (Thus shall ye say unto them, The gods that have not made the heavens and the earth, they shall perish from the earth and from these heavens.) An Egyptian: 'Saeeh-ni.' (What other persons are those?) A Grecian: 'Diabolos bassilenei.' (The Devil reigns.) A Frenchman: 'Messieurs sans Dieu.' (Gentlemen without God.) A Turk: 'Ain sheurs.' (The fountain of Light.) A German: 'Sie sind unferstandig.' (What consummate ignorance!) A Syrian: 'Zan-bok.' (Sacrifice.) A Spaniard: 'Il sabio muda conscio, il nescio no.' (A wise man reflects, a fool does not.) A Samaritan: 'Sannau.' (O stranger!) An Italian: 'A tempa! O diffidanza!' (O the times! O the diffidences!) A Hebrew: 'Antoub ail rancy.' (Thou God seest me.) A Dane: 'Hoad tidende?' (What tidings?) A Saxon: 'Hwart riht?' (What right?) A Swede: 'Hvad skilla!' (What skill!) A Polander: 'Nav-yeu-shoo-bah poa na Jesu Christus.' (Blessed be the name of Jesus Christ.) A Western Indian: 'She-mo-kah, she-mo-kah, ough nega.' (The white man, O the

white man, he very uncertain.) A Roman: 'Procol, o procol este profain.' (Be off, be off, ye profane.) But as I am, I will only add: 'When the wicked rule, the people mourn.'"

Some Mormon Methods.

The following plain story, told us by a gentleman of undoubted veracity, who resided not many miles from Nauvoo, tells, as well as volumes could tell, the methods resorted to by the leaders to filch the hard earnings of their followers, for their own aggrandizement and for the temple fund; and it also furnishes a reason why the Mormons were so objectionable as neighbors. We give it in his own words:

"I often went with produce to Nauvoo; and it mattered little what kind it was, so it was something people could live on; and if at any time my stuff was dull sale, I would go the Committee Rooms [the 'Lord's Store House,'], and could always trade it off for something. They had almost every conceivable thing, from all kinds of implements and men's and women's clothing down to baby clothes and trinkets,—*which had been deposited as tithing by the owners, or for the benefit of the temple.*

"In the fall of 1843 I went to Nauvoo to buy calves, and called on a blind man who had one to sell. I bought his calf,—and being curious to learn his history, went in and saw his wife, with little twin infants in a cradle, and great destitution. He told me that he had a nice home in Massachusetts, which gave them a good support. But one of the Mormon elders preaching in that country,

called on him and told him that if he would sell out and go to Nauvoo, *the prophet would open his eyes and restore his sight.* And he sold out, and had come to the city, and had spent all his means, and was now in great need. I asked him why the prophet did not open his eyes. He replied that *Joseph had informed him that he couldn't open his eyes till the temple was finished:* and then, when the temple was finished, he would open them, *and he should see better than before.* And he believed, and was waiting patiently for the last stroke to be made on the temple!

"After this interview, when in Nauvoo I often took them something, and the blind man's wife seemed to think I was one of the Saints. One day I inquired how they were getting along. She told me they had been getting along finely; *that there was a company formed to go out on the prairie and butcher cattle to get beef for the destitute;*— and that they had been well supplied until about a week ago; but Brother———was mean enough to tell on them, and now they dare not go out any more to the prairie for beef—'and what to do we don't know.'"

Bancroft Library

Going out to the prairie for beef, was to procure it from anybody's cattle that ranged there.

The Prophet and Church as Land Speculators.

The church and its head were speculators in lands and town lots in and about Nauvoo. Of course, a monopoly of the business was desired. One of the methods to secure this was to keep the following notice standing in the columns of the *Neighbor:*

"NOTICE.—*To Emigrants and Latter-Day Saints generally:* I feel it my duty to say to the brethren generally, and especially to those who are emigrating to this place, that there is in the hands of the trustee in trust, a large quantity of lands, both in the city and adjoining townships, in this county, which is for sale, some of which belongs to the church, and is designed for the benefit of the poor, and also to liquidate debts owing by the church, for which the trustee in trust is responsible. Some, also, is land which has been consecrated for the building of the Temple and the Nauvoo House. If the brethren who move in here and want an inheritance, will buy their lands of the trustee in trust, they will thereby benefit the poor, the Temple, and the Nauvoo House, and even then only be doing that which is their duty, and which I know, by considerable experience, will be vastly for their benefit and satisfaction in days to come. Let all the brethren, therefore, when they move into Nauvoo, consult President Joseph Smith, the trustee, etc., and purchase their lands of him; and I am bold to say that God will bless them, and they will hereafter be glad they did so.

"We hold ourselves ready at any time to wait on the brethren, and show them the lands belonging to the Church, and the Temple, etc., and can be found any day either at President Joseph Smith's bar-room, or the Temple Recorder's Office at the Temple.

"W. CLAYTON,
"*Clerk.*

Nauvoo, Dec. 16, 1843."

A STORY FROM STENHOUSE.

Some years since, Mr. T. B. H. Stenhouse, a former Mormon Elder in Utah, issued a work enti-

mon mode of dealing with offenders, of which Stenhouse has noted many examples.

John D. Lee.

The reader will remember this individual as the man who was made the scape-goat of the authorities in Utah, some years ago, and was tried, found guilty, and executed, for his participation in the massacre at Mountain Meadows. Lee was a resident of Nauvoo in 1843, and in good standing; was sent out as a traveling elder. He was afterwards advanced to the position of bishop, and at the time of said massacre was known in Utah as Bishop Lee. It is plain that Lee was sacrificed to save men higher in authority than he.

The "Corrected" Holy Scriptures.

The Publishing Committee of the "Reconstructed" Church at Plano, Illinois (since located at Lamoni, Iowa), publish a handsome edition of the Bible, which they entitle "The Holy Scriptures, Translated and Corrected by the Spirit of Revelation, by Joseph Smith, Jr., the Seer." The history of this book is thus given in its preface:

"This Work is given to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints and to the public in pursuance of the commandment of God.

"As concerning the manner of translation and correction, it is evident, from the MSS. and the testimony of those who were conversant with the

APPENDIX.

THE LEADERS IN THE REVOLT AT NAUVOO.

THE principal leaders in the revolt at Nauvoo, and the proprietors of the *Expositor* "nuisance," were the two Generals in the Nauvoo Legion, William and Wilson Law, Dr. Robert D. and Charles A. Foster, Francis and Chauncey Higbee, and Sylvester Emmans. Of course these all "vamosed the ranche" when the press was destroyed, as it had become decidedly unsafe for them to remain longer in the city. They had all been prominent men there, and some of them had been influential leaders.

MR. EMMANS was understood to have been a lawyer, not a member of the church, but an adventurer who came there to seek practice. He seems to have been well received, as in a short period he was advanced to a membership in the city council. What grievance he had to induce him to join the rebellion we have never learned. His name stood in its editorial columns as editor of the paper. He afterwards located at Beardstown, Illinois, and for several years conducted a newspaper there.

FRANCIS M. and CHAUNCEY L. HIGBEE were two brothers, sons of an early disciple of the prophet, who had been with him in Kirtland and Missouri, and afterwards had gone with him as an emissary to Washington. He had died soon after locating in Nauvoo. The elder son, Francis, became intimate in the family of Mr. Rigdon, and we believe married his daughter, but died many years ago. Chauncey Higbee left the city and settled in Pittsfield, Illinois, studied law and became a judge, in which position he served successfully and honorably in the circuit in which Nauvoo is situated, and is now dead. There is no doubt but Judge Higbee lived to regret the years of his youth and reckless inexperience among the Mormons—always declining to be consulted or inter-

viewed on the subject, and remarking, as he once did to the writer, that the subject was a distasteful one.

Dr. Robert D. and Charles A. Foster were brothers, who early made their appearance in Nauvoo, but it is not remembered whether they came from Missouri or not. Dr. Foster was a physician of considerable intelligence and capacity, and stood well with the leaders; so much so that in 1843 he was put forward and elected to the responsible office of county school commissioner, receiving the support of the leaders and the almost undivided vote of the sect. He was holding that office at the time he joined the insurrection. These brothers afterward removed to some point on the Mississippi above, and have since disappeared from public view.

The Generals Law were converts of wealth from Canada, and had joined the fortunes of the prophet after the "stake" was planted at Nauvoo. They went into business there, and were for several years active and popular business men, in the milling line. After the expulsion of the rebels, they too went north and settled in Wisconsin, poorer but wiser men. We close this sketch of the revolters by copying in part the report of an interview held with General William Law, as late as in 1887, at the home of his son, Judge Thomas Law, at Shullsburgh, Wisconsin. If living now he is an octogenarian. He was interviewed by a Dr. Wyl of Salt Lake City, who published it in the Salt Lake *Tribune*. Wilson Law is long since dead.

The statements of the interview must be taken for what they are worth. While many of them are corroborated elsewhere and in many ways, there are others that need verification, and some that probably exist only in the mind of the narrator. One fact, however, will obtrude itself upon the mind of the reader—that while these seceders are making all these damaging statements against the prophet and the leaders at Nauvoo, it is remembered that only a year or so earlier they were denying them when made by others. It is for them to reconcile these damaging facts.

Interview with William Law, March 30, 1887.

Dr. William Law lives with his son, Judge "Tommy" Law. The house is a fine cottage, large, well-kept

grounds surround it. We entered a cheerful looking room and there sat *William Law*, dressed in black, a most venerable looking figure. The head has a striking expression of intelligence, the large, clear eyes are of a remarkably deep steel blue; the general impression is that of a thinker, of a benevolent and just man. He greeted me in a fatherly way. I expressed my joy at seeing at last so important a witness of a history to whose study I had devoted two years.

I sat down near the venerable figure. I hesitated to put any questions to him, but he made my task easy by saying: "You speak, in your book, of Joseph Smith having sent Rockwell to kill Governer Boggs. Let me tell you, that *Joe Smith told me the fact himself.* The words were substantially like this: "I *sent Rockwell to kill Boggs*, but he missed him, it was a failure; he wounded him *instead of sending him to Hell.*"

This beginning gave me some courage, and I began the pumping business, in a cautious way, though, that I might not frighten my subject. I had put down in my note-book a score of questions or so. So I glanced over them now and then, stealthily, and ventured this or that question, waiting till the good doctor would get warm in the recollections of the past. This happened soon and then I could ask with more liberty.

"What position had Rockwell in Joseph's house?"

"Rockwell was the lackey of the house. He used to comb and shave Joseph, blackened his boots, and drove his carriage. He would have done anything Joe wanted him to do. I never saw a horse or carriage belonging to Rockwell which you say he got from Joseph for the attempt to kill Boggs."

The reader will easily understand that I had particular reasons to ask about the *Expositor*, Wm. Law being the only surviving publisher and editor of that celebrated sheet, born and killed June 7, 1844. So I began:

"I suppose that *you* originated the *Expositor*, Dr. Law?"

"Yes, *I* originated the idea to publish that paper. I had friends in many parts of the country. They knew that I had become a member of the Mormon religion. I wanted to show them, by publishing the paper, that I had not been in a fraud willingly (here the old man's

eyes filled with tears and his voice trembled). I started the idea, and my brother Wilson, stood to me like a brother should. I don't remember whether it was I, or not, who gave the name 'Expositor.' But I and my brother, we gave the money, about $2,000. I gave the biggest part. The Higbees etc., had scarcely a dollar in it."

"You were well off at that time, Dr. Law?"

"We had property to the amount of about $30,000, which was a good deal in those days. We had farms in Nauvoo, city lots, and our residences. My brother had a fine brick two-story building. By starting the *Expositor* we lost nearly everything."

"Didn't you have a store and a mill?"

"Yes, we had a large steam flour and saw mill and a store. It would have been the smart thing to do, to remain quiet, sell our property without noise for what we could get, and move away. That would have been smart, but I wasn't cool and smart then. I wanted to do my duty and nothing else, and didn't care for the consequences, not a bit. Many friends advised me to be smart and remain quiet, but I would not hear of it and spoke my mind whenever an opportunity offered. When the Smiths saw that we were against them, then they applied to us their usual system, that is, to *freeze us out*. Secret orders went out that nobody could buy property without the permission of Joseph Smith, Hyrum, or the authorities, as they called them, so our property was practically worthless. Yes, my brother Wilson stood to me like a man, fully, fearlessly. He died, here in Shullsburgh, of a stroke of apoplexy, after an illness of three days, ten years ago. He was a very fine and tremendously strong man. He wrestled with Joe in Nauvoo and threw him on his back."

"How did you become a Mormon, Doctor?"

"John Taylor and Almon W. Babbitt came as missionaries to Canada and preached where I lived, twenty-five miles south of Toronto. I believe that Taylor was sincere *then* and I believe he was to a late day. Finally the greed of power and money killed his conscience. There was, now and then, a good man in Mormondom, for instance William Marks. He was a very good man and knew as little of the secret crimes of the leaders as I knew myself."

"The letters you wrote me, made me suppose that the Smiths tried to kill you when they saw an enemy in you?"

"They tried to get rid of me in different ways. One was by *poisoning*. I was already out of the church when Hyrum called one day and invited me for the next day to a *reconciliation dinner* as he called it, to his house. He said Joseph would come too. He invited me and my wife. He was very urgent about the matter, but I declined the invitation. Now I must tell you that I, in those dangerous days, did not neglect to look out somewhat for the safety of my person, and that I kept a detective or two among those who were in the confidence of the Smiths. That very same evening of the day on which Hyrum had been to my house inviting me, my detective told me that they had conceived the plan to poison me at the reconciliation dinner. Their object was a double one. My going to the dinner would have shown to the people that I was reconciled, and my death would have freed them of an enemy. You may imagine that I didn't regret having declined that amiable invitation."

"Have you had any knowledge of cases of poisoning in Nauvoo, ordered by the authorities?"

"I know that several men, six or seven, died under very suspicious circumstances. Among them were two secretaries of the prophet, Mulholland and Blaskel Thompson. I saw Mulholland die, and the symptoms looked very suspicious to me. Dr. Foster, who was a very good physician, believed firmly that those six or seven men had been poisoned, and told me so repeatedly."

"What may have been the reason for poisoning the secretaries?"

(With a smile) "They knew too much, probably."

"What do you know about the Danites?"

"Nothing of my personal knowledge. They existed, but their workings were kept very secret. I never belonged to the initiated. Smith tried very hard to get them to kill me. One day my detective told me, that two Danites had gone to Joseph and told him that they wanted to put me out of the way. Joseph said: '*Don't* —he (Law) is too influential; his death would bring the country down upon us; *wait.*' Later, when I was

thoroughly aware of my danger, they tried in all manners to use me up, and had Danites all day and night after me, but I looked out and kept myself safe. Whatever there was of crime in Nauvoo, was kept secret. On the outside everything looked nice and smooth. There were lots of strangers every Sunday as visitors and then the best speakers were put on the stand as samples of the fruits of this fine religion."

"Did Emma, the elect lady, come to your house and complain about Joseph?"

"No. She never came to my house for that purpose. But I met her sometimes on the street, and then she used to complain, especially because of the girls whom Joseph kept in the house, devoting his attention to them. You have overrated her, she was dishonest."

"Do you mean to say that she was so outside of the influence Joseph had over her?"

"Yes, that is exactly what I mean. Let me tell you a case, that will be full proof to you. Soon after my arrival in Nauvoo the two L—— girls came to the holy city, two very young girls, 15 to 17 years of age. They had been converted in Canada, were orphans and worth about $8,000 in English gold. Joseph got to be appointed their guardian, probably with the help of Dr. Bennett. He naturally put the gold in his pocket and had the girls sealed to him. He asked me to go on his bond as a guardian, as Sidney Rigdon had done. 'It is only a formality,' he said. Foolishly enough, and not yet suspecting anything, I put my name on the paper. Emma complained about Joseph's living with the L—— girls, but not very violently. It is my conviction that she was his *full accomplice*, that she was not a bit better than he. When I saw how things went, I should have taken steps to be released of that bond, but I never thought of it. After Joseph's death, A. W. Babbitt became guardian of the two girls. He asked Emma for a settlement about the $8,000. Emma said she had nothing to do with her husband's debts. Now Babbitt asked for the books, and she gave them to him. Babbitt found that Joseph had counted an expense of about $3,000 for board and clothing of the girls. Now Babbitt wanted the $5,000 that was to be paid. Babbitt, who was a straight, good, honest, sincere man, set about

to find out property to pay the $5,000 with. *He could find none.* Two splendid farms near Nauvoo, a big, brick house, worth from $3,000 to $4,000, the hotel kept by Joe, a mass of vacant town lots. all were in Emma's name, not transferred later, but transferred from the beginning. She always looked out for her part. When I saw how things stood, I wrote to Babbitt to take hold of all the property left by me in Nauvoo and of all claims held by me against people in Nauvoo. And so the debt was paid by me—Emma didn't pay a cent."

We had chatted about an hour when Dr. Law said that he felt a little tired. I kept silent for a few minutes. The old gentleman rallied very soon, and began to speak without being questioned.

"I told you that the Smiths tried to poison me. When Joseph saw that I had no great appetite for reconciliation dinners, he tried with the *Indians.* The plan was, that somebody should use me up who was not openly connected with the church; he was yet afraid of the people because of my influence. Later he would have killed me without any regard. One day about one hundred redskins came to town, and twenty or thirty were sent to my house. We tried to get rid of them, but could not, and we saw clearly that they had a dark plan for the night. But we had to keep them, gave them blankets, and they were all night in our hall. Wilson Law, I, and some friends, though, kept good watch all night, with barricaded windows and doors, and guns and pistols ready."

"You have known the parents of the prophet, old Lucy and old Joe, the Abraham of this new dispensation?"

"Oh, yes, I know them. Old Lucy was in her dotage at that time; she seemed a harmless old woman. Old Joe sold blessings, so much a head, always in the same style—that my sons should be emperors and my daughters mothers of queens, and that everybody should have as many children as there was sands on the shore. Old Joe was an old tramp."

"How about Dr. Bennett?"

"Bennett was very smart and clever, but a thorough scoundrel. Never could find out the reason of his downfall. Mrs. Pratt was a most excellent, pure woman, but

the fact that Bennett visited her sometimes, was used by Joseph to ruin her character. He had his spies everywhere, and if a woman refused him, he sent his fellows out to whisper stories around about her."

"What do you remember about Emma's relations to the revelation on celestial marriage?"

"Well, I told you that she used to complain to me about Joseph's escapades whenever she met me on the street. She spoke repeatedly about that pretended revelation. She said once: '*The revelation says I must submit or be destroyed. Well, I guess I have to submit.*' On another day she said: '*Joe and I have settled our troubles on the basis of equal rights.*' . . . Emma was a full accomplice of Joseph's crimes. She was a large, coarse woman, as deep a woman as there was, always full of schemes and smooth as oil. They were worthy of each other; she was not a particle better than he."

"You think that Joseph was an infidel?"

"Yes, that he was I have not the slightest doubt. What proofs have I? Well, my general and intimate knowledge of his character. And is it possible that a man, who ascribes all kinds of impudent lies to the *Lord*, could have been anything else but an infidel?"

"Did you ever see the celebrated peepstone?"

"No, I never saw it and I never saw Joseph giving a revelation. But Hyrum told me once that Joseph, in his younger years, *used to hunt for hidden treasures with a peepstone.*"

"Was Joseph a habitual drunkard?"

"I don't believe he was. I only saw him drunk once. I found Joseph and Hyrum at a place where they kept quantities of wine. I remember that Joseph drank heavily, and that I talked to Hyrum, begging him to take his brother away, but that was the only time I saw the prophet drunk."

"Have you ever heard of the old woman that was drowned in the interest of the church?"

"I have heard of a woman being put aside. They said she had been brought over the river and buried on an island near the shore or on the other shore, near the water. But at that time I did not believe a word of rumors of this kind, and did not investigate them."

"Did you ever hear of abortion being practiced in Nauvoo?"

"Yes. There was some talk about Joseph getting no issue from all the women he had intercourse with. Dr. Foster spoke to me about the fact. But I don't remember what was told about abortion. If I heard things of the kind, I didn't believe in them at that time. Joseph was very free in his talk about his women. He told me one day of a certain girl and remarked, that she had given him more pleasure than any girl he had ever enjoyed. I told him it was horrible to talk like this."

"What do you know about robbery being practiced for the benefit of the church?"

"That sort of business was kept very secret. Hyrum had once a very fine, bran new blue suit, and people told me the suit was the produce of the *spoils of the Gentiles.* I have no doubt that Hyrum played an important role in this department of church affairs. I think I can prove it. There was one day a 'little council' called in Hyrum's office, and I was invited to come. Joseph called at my house and took me to the little council. Eight or ten were present, all leaders in the church. Hyrum made a long argument—said he: 'The Missourians have robbed, plundered and murdered our people. We should take our revenge on them as thoroughly as possible and regain what we have lost in Missouri. The simplest way would be if our people would go to Missouri and buy their horses and cattle on credit, and *then not pay for them;* and our merchants would go to St. Louis and take their large quantities of goods on credit and then, when the notes became due, simply not pay them; our people always go there and pay for everything. That's foolish, very foolish, but it is just the thing that, for instance, Brother Law is doing. He has paid thousands of dollars there; but get all these things from them for nothing, horses, cattle, and goods, that would help the people wonderfully. Our merchants should transfer all they have—not only their stock in trade, but their lots, houses and farms, too—to their wives and friends in general, so that the creditors could not get a cent out of them. Some of those present applauded the proposition, and said that would be *only fair.* I said nothing. Then somebody said: 'Brother Law has said nothing.' I said: 'This seems to me not

only wrong and unjust, but at the same time very ridiculous, because it is not practicable. You cannot buy horses and cattle on credit without having established a credit by long trading; and as to St. Louis, I was always of the opinion that the people there had been very good to the Mormons. So you would ruin your friends to injure your enemies, punish the innocent to hurt the guilty. The St. Louis merchants were surely not the men that persecuted you in Missouri.' Hyrum got up, furious, ready to attack me. But Joseph rose and said: 'I move that we adjourn this meeting. Brother Law has said his opinion, and that is all you wanted from him.' Joseph went home with me and on the way he told me that he shared my views fully, and that I had exactly spoken his mind. He praised me very much for the justice and honesty of my views. 'I did not talk,' said he, 'since you took the very words from my lips.' I need not tell you that this was diplomacy on Joseph's part, but Hyrum hated me from that moment, and never forgave me for what I had said at that little council. But Hyrum hated me for another reason."

"Was that in the robbery line, too?"

"No. That was from a political reason. It was because I opposed him in the dirty political trade he made with Hoge against Walker. Walker had bought Joseph's influence by declaring that the city charter of Nauvoo secured the *habeas corpus*. I stood by them when Joseph promised Walker that he should have nine out of every ten Mormon votes. But Hyrum went to Galena to meet the Democratic convention there, and promised the support of the church to Mr. Hoge *for a seat in Congress*. Yes, General Hyrum Smith was to sit in Congress next year. Saturday came and I went to Hyrum and had a talk with him. He said he would tell the people to vote for Hoge, and I said I would oppose him on the stand. He made objections, but finally had to consent to my speaking on the stand in this matter. When it came to the speaking in public Hyrum did all he could to obstruct me by putting long-winded speakers on the stand, one after the other, so that it was nearly dark when I got on the stand. Now, I showed the people how shamefully they had treated Mr. Walker, and I made such an impression that they began to shout for Mr. Walker.

Then, Hyrum jumped on the stand and declared that he had a revelation from the Lord, that the people should vote for Mr. Hoge. This was Saturday. Sunday morning I went to Joseph and told him what Hyrum had done. We went over to the meeting and Joseph told Hyrum what I had said. Hyrum insisted that he had had a revelation. 'Oh,' said Joseph, 'if this is a revelation, then it is all right,' and he went on the stand and said to the people: 'My office is so high, that I could not think of bothering the Lord with political affairs. But Brother Hyrum has had a revelation—when the Lord speaks let the people obey.'"

"Had you ever some dramatic scene with Joseph about the difficulties between you and him?"

"He avoided me. But once I got hold of him in the street and told him in very plain terms what I thought of him. I said: '*You are a hypocrite and a vulgar scoundrel*, you want to destroy me.' Instead of knocking me down, which he could have done very easily, being so much bigger and stronger than I, he went away hurriedly without uttering a single word."

"Were you in Nauvoo when the *Expositor* press was destroyed?"

"No, I was in Carthage. There was a meeting at the court house, many people were present and it was considered what should be done regarding the Mormons. I think Stephen A. Douglas was present at the meeting. My friends urged me to come to Carthage with the press immediately. No conclusion was arrived at, however. The same evening we went home and when we came to Nauvoo we rode over our type, that was scattered in the street, and over our broken office furniture. The work of Joseph's agents had been very complete; it had been done by a mob of about 200. The building, a new, pretty brick structure, had been perfectly gutted, not a bit had been left of anything."

"Had anything been prepared for a second number?"

"Yes, the inside of number two had been set up. Seeing what had been done, I took my abode, for safety's sake, at my brother's. I left Nauvoo on a large, new steam ferry-boat, which transported me, my family and my brother to Burlington, Iowa. While we had people packing our things in my house, we rode, my brother and

I, through the city in an open carriage, to show that we were not afraid."

"Did you ever see Joseph again after you left Nauvoo?"

"Only once. I saw him in Carthage at the trial. We spoke not to each other, and he seemed greatly preoccupied. We left Nauvoo on the second day after the passing of the ordinance which put the press under the absolute will of Joseph and his creatures. This ordinance gave them power to imprison and fine us at liberty."

"What opinion have you of Governor Ford?"

"Ford made a good impression upon me; he was surely a good, straight man."

"What kind of a life did the prophet lead in Nauvoo?"

"Joseph lived in great plenty. He entertained his friends and had a right good time. He was a jolly fellow. I don't think that in his family tea and coffee were used, but they were served to the strangers whom he entertained as tavern-keeper. At least, I suppose so. The Smiths had plenty of money. Why, when I came to Nauvoo I paid Hyrum $700 in gold for a barren lot, and at that rate they sold any amount of lots after having got the land very cheap, to be sure. Their principle was to weaken a man in his purse, and in this way take power and influence from him. Weaken everybody, that was their motto. Joseph's maxim was, when you have taken all the money a fellow has got, you can do with him whatever you please."

"What became of Dr. Bennett?"

"The last thing I heard of him was that he went up the river with a large lot of fancy fowls, a speculation of his."

"What do you know about the revelation on polygamy?"

"The way I heard of it was that Hyrum gave it to me to read. I was never in a High Council where it was read, all stories to the contrary notwithstanding. Hyrum gave it to me in his office, told me to take it home and read it, and then be careful with it, and bring it back again. I took it home, read it and showed it to my wife. She and I were just turned upside down by it; we did not know what to do. I said to my wife, that I would take it over to Joseph and ask him about it. I did not

believe that he would acknowledge it, and I said so to my wife. But she was not of my opinion. She felt perfectly sure that he would father it. When I came to Joseph and showed him the paper, he said: 'Yes, that is a genuine revelation.' I said to the prophet: 'But in the Book of Doctrine and Covenants there is a revelation just the contrary of this. '*Oh*,' said Joseph, '*that was given when the church was in its infancy, then it was all right to feed the people on milk, but now it is necessary to give them strong meat.*' We talked a long time about it; finally our discussion became very hot, and we gave it up. From that time on the breach between us became more open and more decided every day, after having been prepared for a long time. But the revelation gave the finishing touch to my doubts, and showed me clearly that he was a rascal. I took the revelation back to my wife and told her that Joseph had acknowledged it. 'That is what I fully expected,' said she. 'What shall we do?' said I. She advised me to keep still, try to sell my property quietly for what I could get. But I did not follow her advice. My heart was burning, I wanted to tread upon the viper."

"You returned the revelation to Hyrum?"

"Yes, I did. I was astonished to see in your book that the revelation was such a long document. I remember DISTINCTLY that the original given me by Hyrum was MUCH SHORTER. *It covered not more than two or three pages of foolscap.* The contents are substantially the same, but there was not that theological introduction. The thing consisted simply in the command of doing it, and that command was restricted to the *High Priesthood* and to *virgins* and *widows*. But as to Joseph, himself, the Lord's chosen servant, it was restricted to *virgins* only, to clean vessels, from which to procure a *pure seed* to the Lord."

"In what manner would Joseph succeed to keep you and others from knowing what was going on behind the curtain?"

"Marks, Yves, I, and some others had, for a long time, no idea of the depravity that was going on. This was simply the result of a very smart system adopted by the prophet and his intimate friends like Brigham Young, Kimball, and others. They first tried a man to see

whether they could make a criminal tool out of him. When they felt that he would not be the stuff to make a criminal of, they kept him outside the inner circle and used him to show him up as an example of their religion, as a good, virtuous, universally respected brother."

"Was Joseph a coward?"

"Yes, he was a coward and so was Hyrum. You see it already in the fact that when I attacked him on the street with most violent words, he did not dare to answer a word."

"How did the prophets dress?"

"Joe and Hyrum were always dressed well, generally in blue, sometimes in black. Joseph was a fine man, no doubt of it."

"How was it with Joseph's wrestling?"

"The forces of the prophet in this line have been exaggerated. My brother Wilson wrestled once with him, and he laid him down on the floor like a baby. Wilson could throw a lead bar much farther than Joe could. But Wilson was an uncommonly fine and strong man, over six feet. He could hold a weight of 56 pounds on his little finger and write his name on the wall in big letters. Joseph was flabby; he never worked at anything and that probably made him so. Rockwell did everything about the house."

"Had you any idea that there was a sort of conspiracy to kill Joseph in jail?"

"No, I had no idea, no idea. I had been ruined by that man; all my property was gone; all my dearest illusions destroyed, and through my connection with him I got a black spot on my life, which will pain me to the very last minute of my existence. But I tell you [the old gentleman buried his head in his hands, and when he removed them his eyes were wet], I tell you, no, if I had had any idea of any such scheme, *I would have taken steps to stop it.* I have always considered the killing of Joseph Smith a wrong action. It is my opinion that he deserved his fate fully, much more than thousands of men who paid the penalty of their crimes to Judge Lynch—but I would have preferred that he should have been *tried by court and sent to the Penitentiary.*"

"Did you practice medicine in Nauvoo, Doctor?"

"Only occasionally. I came to Nauvoo with money.

I had had a mill in Canada, already. Joseph said to me: 'You must not be a doctor here. Buy lands, build mills, and keep a store to keep you running. As to practicing and not making anything, *let some Gentiles come and do that.* You look out for business and profit. I practiced, however, occasionally. Once John Taylor was taken with a very malignant fever. He was treated by his regular physician, I think Dr. Wells was his name. He grew worse and worse. At last I was called in, saw him, and prescribed for him. They followed my prescriptions and he got better. This is, I believe, the worst thing I did in Nauvoo or anywhere else!"—Dr. Law followed this joke with a chuckle, so as to give me to understand that it was a sin to cure so great a rascal.

"What kind of men were the other editors of the *Expositor?*"

"Dr. Foster was a fine physician and surgeon and a very agreeable, lively, interesting man. The Higbees had been very good friends of Joseph in Missouri, and had served his cause there with a kind of boyish enthusiasm. Frank died long ago and Chauncey only lately. He had studied law, was an attorney, and sat on the bench for awhile. He was quite intelligent. The father of the Higbees had been an excellent man. He died rather suddenly, and from that time there was something between his boys and Joseph."

"What kind of a physician was Dr. Bennett?"

"He was a physician of the old school. I could not say whether he was very successful as a doctor or not. He was so much occupied for Joseph, that he had no time to attend the sick."

"Did Joseph pay any salary to this Bismarck of his?"

"I don't know, but in that honeymoon of favor, which he enjoyed in his first Nauvoo time, Joseph gave him surely all he wanted."

"Did you ever hear Joseph speak of his money?"

"Oh, yes, he used to boast of his riches. He expressed the opinion, that it was all-important that he should be rich. I heard him say myself, 'It would be better that every man in the church should lose his last cent, than that I should fail and go down.'"

GOVERNOR WEST AND THE POLYGAMISTS.

FOLLOWING is a verified report of the visit of Governor Caleb W. West, of Utah, to the Utah penitentiary, May 13, 1886, wherein he states the purpose of his visit, and of the conversation which ensued between him and Apostle Lorenzo Snow:

[From Salt Lake Tribune, May 14.]

Yesterday Governor West, accompanied by Secretary Thomas, Register Webb, Marshal Ireland, W. C. Hall, Esq., and Adam Patterson, the official reporter of the Third District Court, made a visit to the Utah Penitentiary. The object of the visit of the Governor was for the purpose of presenting to Lorenzo Snow and the other polygamists now in the Penitentiary the condition of affairs resulting from the late decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Snow case, and to say on behalf of Judge Zane and Prosecuting Attorney Dickson and himself, that if they would agree in good faith to obey the laws hereafter, they would recommend them to the clemency of President Cleveland.

The party left the Walker House at 1:30 P. M., and arrived at the Penitentiary at 2:30 P. M. Upon arriving there they were received by Warden Dow and conducted into one of the apartments of the building outside the wall. Apostle Lorenzo Snow, at the request of Governor West, was brought into the room, when the following conversation occurred between the Governor and Apostle Snow:

Governor West—Mr. Snow, I suppose you are advised of the action of the Supreme Court in your case?

Snow—Yes, sir; I have heard they have concluded they had no jurisdiction in my case.

Governor—Of course you are aware that that determination by that court makes final the decision of that case by the Supreme Court here.

Snow—I suppose so.

Governor—Under those circumstances, of course, that is now the law because it is the decision of the highest judicial tribunal to which it could be submitted, and I conceive that it would be a very opportune time to call and submit to you a proposition, which, in conjunction with Judge Zane and Mr. Dickson, we have thought ad-

visable to make, in order to show you and the people of the Territory that they are mistaken in believing that those charged with the execution of the laws in the Territory are animated by any spirit of malice or vindictiveness toward the people who are in the majority in the Territory; that on the contrary their only wish and only desire; one which is nearest to their hearts, is to have the people of the Territory obey and respect the law. Upon consultation with Judge Zane and Mr. Dickson, and they supporting the view that I have suggested, I have come to say to you and your people here that we would unite in a petition to the executive to issue his pardon in these cases upon a promise, in good faith, that you will obey and respect the laws, and that you will continue no longer to live in violation of them.

Snow—Well, Governor, so far as I am concerned personally, I am not in conflict with any of the laws of the country. I have obeyed the laws as faithfully and conscientiously as I can thus far, and I am not here because of disobedience of any law. I am here wrongfully convicted and wrongfully sentenced.

Governor—Yes, but that is from your standpoint. Of course, that is a question——

Snow—No, no; perhaps you misunderstand me. I don't mean particularly and exclusively the Edmunds law; I mean the laws of the land that I consider supreme—

Governor—The law is exactly what the court says it is. If you are here under a conviction of that kind and your intention was to obey the law, as you say you have done, then you can sacrifice nothing if you promise to obey the law in the future. You then rid yourself of a conviction which you say is wrongful, and you protect yourself from a future prosecution if you obey the laws.

Snow—Well, but Governor, why should this be required of me, inasmuch as I certainly have not as yet disobeyed the laws? The law has been wrongfully and illegally administered in the case of many of us here in the Pen—

Governor—But we have to submit to the law as administered by its agents and properly constituted authorities. Not one of us, as a citizen, has a right to put his opinion against that determination. We are bound to submit to

the construction of the laws which the court gives. We cannot adopt our own construction and follow that, because the decisions of the courts constitute what the law is. You are too intelligent a man to have asked me the question why you should be required to make such a promise as that, because you know very well you have taught and believed that certain practices are right which the law has put its ban upon. It has been said by our law-making power that it is not right, and not only that, but such practices cannot be tolerated in this land, and that punishment will follow a violation of it.

Snow—I defy any man to come forward and testify that I have taught any person to disobey the laws. There is no person that can come forward and testify to that.

Governor—That has been the teaching of the body that you belong to.

Snow—It has been in the past, but it has not been with me in the present.

Governor—I am not talking about the past. Of course, I don't care to discuss that. I say you are here under a conviction in a court for a past offense, and I come to propose that the Federal officials unite in asking the President for pardon for you and others to relieve you from any punishment you may have incurred, if you, in good faith, for the future submit yourselves to the laws as interpreted and construed by the courts.

Snow—Well, now, Governor, of course there is no use wasting time on this. If you ask me if I renounce the principles of plural marriage, I will answer you at once.

Governor—No; that is not the question. The question I ask you is, will you agree, in good faith, sincerely, in the future to respect and obey the laws as interpreted by the courts, which I and every other good citizen ought to do and must do, and failing to do, incur punishment?

Snow—I was once asked that same question in the First District Court at Ogden, and I expressed to the Court my wishes that I should not be required to answer that question. I considered it a question that they had no business to ask. I had obeyed the laws and had been convicted illegally and wrongfully, and I did not consider it was a personal question as to the future.

Governor—I understand that. That was a question

that was asked you in court, and you had a right to decline to answer. Now, I come with the earnest desire to save misery and trouble to the people with whom I am to be associated officially, and I have it very near to my heart, if possible, to relieve the people here of a great deal of unnecessary suffering, because I am satisfied that all this suffering, so far as the protection of the peculiar institution which you have established is concerned, is useless; that it will do no good whatever—not one particle—and that all the sacrifices which you make, and all the sufferings which you endure, will go for naught. I come with that spirit and with those motives.

Snow—Yes, I presume so; but my views are entirely different from that—directly opposite. The result will not be the one that you anticipate. I speak with knowledge and you speak with your opinion. I speak in reference to knowledge, and am perfectly convinced that the result will be widely different from that which you state. No doubt there will be a great deal of suffering, but I, as one—and I presume it is so with a great majority of this people—am ready to take the consequences. We believe in a certain principle, and that principle is dear to our hearts, and we are willing to suffer as the ancients did. We honor the law administered rightfully.

Governor—You have come to the question exactly which I was just going to suggest to you. That being your state of feeling, that being your avowed course of action, you ought, then, to do the officials in this Territory the justice to say that they are not to blame for this state of affairs; that your own conduct and your own position puts you in disobedience to the laws; that while you suffer the suffering is incurred by your action and not by any spirit of malice or any desire upon the part of the Government or those who represent it to do you an injury or to cause this suffering; because, you see, my object and purpose here now is to unite in an effort to relieve you, but you, by the position you take, preclude any such position being taken; you voluntarily and obdurately place yourselves in this position. Therefore, common fairness should require you not to say and not to publish to the world that you are being persecuted, hounded, maliciously and vindictively pursued by the Federal officials who are intrusted with the administration of the laws.

Snow—Oh, no more so than Jesus Christ and the Apostles. They had these same things to suffer and practiced the same gospel; and we expect that inasmuch as we have espoused the same religion and the same principles that they proclaimed, and for which they lost their lives, that we will have to suffer, and we are willing to do it.

Governor—You are not being persecuted for opinion's sake.

Snow—Oh, no more than the Roman Empire persecuted the Apostles for opinion's sake. They arrayed themselves in disobedience to the laws of the country they were in. It was the laws that condemned them to death, and it was the Jewish law that condemned Jesus.

Governor—You are getting off the question and getting upon a question that is so wide that we would have to lengthen our lives to discuss it. I came here with simply one purpose and desire, which was if I could possibly, by any effort on my part with the concurrence on your part of obedience to the laws, to relieve you from any suffering. You must look at this matter just as it stands. The courts have construed this law, and their construction of it is the law, and we have no right to say anything else. And when you get out if you continue the course which you have pursued, do the same acts again, it will simply be a temporary relief from here—back you have to come.

Snow—I expect so. I presume that would be the case.

Governor—Well, now you are suffering and you are causing others to suffer, and you are injuring the prosperity of the Territory, and all for no good purpose. You cannot accomplish anything by it. That will not repeal the laws, nor will it benefit you in any way; because in prison here, you don't enjoy the liberty that is guaranteed by the laws to every law-abiding man; you cannot have the pleasures of home which are protected by the law, and you are suffering here without benefit.

Snow—Exactly, but I have no confidence in the courts. Even if I was to make a promise, I have no idea in the world that the courts would administer us justice. Let them first administer us justice and administer the laws correctly and then we will see.

Governor—Yes, but that is your own individual opinion, that the laws are not administered correctly.

Snow—It is your individual opinion that they are.

Governor—I beg your pardon. We must not be too egotistical. I did not make the laws, and I do not say what the laws are; on the contrary, I am taking the decisions of the courts. I can take the legislative acts and read them and I may think I know what the law is and go into court, and the court says that is not the law. Therefore, I must take the law as decided by the courts. and so must every law-abiding man. It seems to me you cannot say that you have no confidence in the protection of the courts and the officials here——

Snow—I have no confidence whatever.

Governor—You ought not to say that you have no confidence in the protection of the courts and officials unless you believe that I have come here under false pretences and that Judge Zane——

Snow—Oh, no.

Governor—That Judge Zane and Mr. Dickson, who have concurred with me, are not doing it in good faith. That is the only way you can say that, because you must have confidence in us or you must believe we are not acting in good faith. You know it is a very unusual thing to see officials who are charged with the execution of the laws, coming as I have done, and with the concurrence of those men, to say that if you will give your promise, in good faith, that you will observe this law that we will unite to have you relieved from the convictions against you. Ordinarily offenders have suffered for the offenses they have committed, and have no chance to promise reformation with the chance of being relieved from puishment. So you must have confidence if you believe in our sincerity.

Snow—I certainly believe in your sincerity, but you are not the court. As to Dickson and as to Zane I have no confidence in them at all.

Governor—Mr. Snow, I think you are very unjust in that opinion, because I know that this suggestion that I make——

Snow—If you had suffered you would think differently.

Governor—But you are charging the suffering to them

wrongfully, I think. They do not make the laws, they execute them, and the suffering occurs from your disobedience of the laws. You are responsible for the suffering, not Judge Zane nor Mr. Dickson, and I tell you, you do them great injustice; because from all the conversations I have had with them, and all their conduct during the short time I have been here, I am sure those men are animated by a good purpose; an earnest desire that the people of this Territory obey the law, and they take no pleasure in the suffering which is caused by disobedience of the laws.

Snow—They send us here without a particle of evidence. It is through the counsel given to the jury by the Judge—by Judge Zane, who is influenced by Dickson. I have not a particle of confidence in those men. If you had come entirely alone without the names of those men, we would have more confidence in the propositions.

Governor—You can have confidence in the propositions whether I tell you or they, because they are made in entire good faith.

Snow—What did I tell you in the talk we had the other day in reference to the Supreme Court?

Governor—That Supreme Court has a duty to perform. Of course it could not take jurisdiction of the case which was not within its jurisdiction.

Snow—They took jurisdiction in the first case that went up there.

Governor—Of course; then, if they were wrong in the first place, I would not have so great a respect for them if they did not turn around and rectify it in the other case. Of course you can have what opinions you please about the courts or the officials; but, as I say, no good citizen can have an opinion which will justify him in violating the law—none. There is no excuse for that.

Snow—All right.

Governor—Of course I did not know what the result of this would be, but I came with the disposition to show you and the people here that there is an opportunity for them to escape the punishment they have incurred if they should conform to the law, and escape the misery and trouble they are enduring now in consequence of their violation of the law.

Snow—If Judge Zane and Dickson wish to take the course to obtain any proposition from me in this matter, let them first release me and my friends from the penitentiary.

Governor—They could not do it; nobody but the President could.

Snow—Well, we do not ask it.

[Heretofore literal—hereafter condensed.]

Apostle Snow then went on at some length to recite the story of their experience in Illinois and Missouri claiming that similar persecutions to what they endured there, were being inflicted here and with the same spirit.

The Governor replied that the refutation of the position that it was a persecution for religion's sake lay in the fact that we had hundreds and hundreds of different denominations in the United States, and none but the people here had ever any such complaint to make.

To this Snow replied that was because they were man-made Christians, while the Mormons were God's people, and that made all the difference, and started on the subject of modern revelation, a subject which the Governor was not disposed to discuss.

Snow also claimed again that he had conformed to the laws.

The Governor said he thought that was a mistake; that the court and jury had found otherwise, and that our conduct must be regulated not by the individual's own construction of the law but by the decisions of the courts.

Snow then repeated what he had formerly said in court at Ogden in regard to his intention to obey the law in the future—that he thought it was an improper question and that he told the Judge so.

Governor West then said that Mr. Snow's responsibility, on account of the position he held, was much greater than that of many others convicted of the same offense; that by his conduct many a heart would ache and many a tear would flow that he would be responsible for, which might be saved if he would obey the law and use his influence and control among the people to have them do likewise.

Mr. Snow said they had an object in view; that there would be a change eventually, but how much suffering

there would be between this time and that period he could not say, but they were prepared to go through it. He would not promise to obey the law, "even if you were the President of the United States, although you said the other day he is a better man than you are." He had about the same regard for Dickson's official career that he had for the Jews for killing our Saviour.

The Governor then explained to Snow that he had had him called out in order that he might first have a talk with him in detail on the matter, but that he was going inside to make the same offer to the other prisoners confined on similar sentences. Snow said he would not speak a word to them in relation to it, but should leave it to the individual judgment of each person.

Snow received the kindly propositions of the Governor coolly, and by an occasional sneer upon his countenance manifested in a careless way his utter indifference to the great opportunity presented to him. He several times tried to draw the Governor into a religious discussion, but was unsuccessful.

The party then entered the enclosure and found that all the prisoners confined who were not charged with unlawful cohabitation had been caused to retire to the east side and those convicted of the latter offense were assembled in the large room near the southwest corner of the enclosure. The Governor then spoke to them as follows:

"I have simply come to announce to you something which you probably know. The Supreme Court of the United States has rendered a decision dismissing the appeal in certain cases in which a construction of the law under which you are sentenced is involved, and the tribunal which has the construction and settlement of what the law is, having decided it, and you all being aware now of your duty under the law, it occurred to me as a very opportune time to come here and make a proposition to you which had suggested itself to my mind for your relief. That proposition is made after a consultation with Judge Zane and with Mr. Dickson, and it is, that we would all concur in a petition of the President to relieve you from the effect of the sentences which you are now suffering, for disobedience of the law, if you would in good faith and sincerity, agree to respect and obey the laws as interpreted by the courts.

"You know that the effect of the decision which has been rendered, and which is the law of the land beyond question and beyond controversy, is that if you get free here and continue in the same course of life that brought you here, that it is only a question of how long you live as to how long you will be kept in a place like this. Now, it is the desire of the Federal officials here, if possible, to relieve you from past punishment if in the future you will be subservient and obedient to the laws.

"That is all I came for, and I came with the honest, earnest, and sincere desire that as many of you as will accept of this proposition will relieve yourselves from this punishment and not incur it in the future. This is all I have to say, except that the proposition is made with all earnestness and sincerity, and with a great desire that some, if not all, will avail themselves of it. It is a matter for you to determine, however, and it is submitted to you in that way. I hope you will take it under consideration and think about it. I hope that, in good faith and sincerity, you will try to avail yourselves of our efforts in your behalf. If any of you are disposed to make this agreement in good faith, and you are not prepared to do it now; if you are prepared at any future time you can let the Marshal know it and he will convey the information to me, and I will give the matter such attention as is proper to have you speedily released."

This speech was received in silence, with a cunning leer on many faces. Apostle Snow sneeringly asked: "Would you wish to take a vote on it?"

Governor—No, sir; I don't care for any expression now, except that if any parties are willing they can say so now, and if not, I prefer to let it pass until they are willing.

Abraham H. Cannon asked the question what they should do with their wives, and such questioning was continued at considerable length and very informally after they were all outside the building. The Governor said he was not there to expound the law; the only advice he could give them was to obey the laws as interpreted by the courts. Cannon remarked that the interpretations of the courts were various and so conflicting that he would like to be informed how they were to know what the law was. The Governor replied that he thought with

Mr. Cannon's education and intelligence if he went about it earnestly he would have very little difficulty in ascertaining what the law was.

Then followed for a few minutes a general conversation, several of the prisoners gathering round each of the visitors and plying them with questions. "What must we do with our wives and children?" "Who can tell us what the courts require?" "Judge Zane requires one thing, Judge Powers another; whom are we to obey?" "Am I expected to declare my children illegitimate?" etc., to all of which there was but one answer. As one of them mournfully remarked: "We have got to give in or stay here for the balance of our lives."

The Governor and party, after good-natured adieus, left the penitentiary at 3:30 p. m., arriving at the Walker House an hour later. Thus ended a kindly meant but fruitless mission.

I hereby certify that the foregoing is a correct report of the interview at the Utah Penitentiary between Gov. West, Lorenzo Snow, and others. It is literal so far as it purports to be; and the balance of it (that which is put in narrative form) is a fair and correct condensation of the same. I am stenographic reporter of the Third Judicial District Court of Utah Territory.

A. S. PATTERSON.

[Governor West also affirmed the correctness of this interview in a telegram to the Hon. R. N. Baskin.—ED. TRIBUNE.]

A CHARACTERISTIC DOCUMENT.

AN apology may be considered due for the introduction into these pages of such an indecent and disgusting document as the following. Yet the public have a right to know just what Mormonism is and was during the days of its founders. To supply this knowledge truly and faithfully is one of the purposes of this work; and we therefore feel justified in adding what follows to the already vast accumulation.

Whilst sojourning in Northwest Missouri, the Prophet issued at the Stake of Far West, a paper called the *El-*

ders' Journal. It was designed to be and was accepted as the church organ, and was controlled and edited by Joseph Smith himself, though it is understood that Sidney Rigdon was a regular writer for its pages. Which of these two is responsible for the article in question, we have now no means of knowing other than is contained within itself.

During that period, only a short time previous to the breaking up and expulsion from that State, there was much dissension and insubordination among the brethren, both in the West and in Ohio. A number were rebellious and were cut off—turned over to the buffetings of Satan—to use a familiar expression of the period. Among those rebellious ones were the individuals named below—two of whom had been editors of the church organs, two were of the Twelve Apostles, and the others had held high positions.

In this *Elders' Journal*—date not now at hand—appeared the following, which is given nearly entire; and because of its disgusting character, we hide it away in this Appendix. Its genuineness is not to be disputed, as reference to that journal will show.

It will be remembered that Smith and Rigdon and their followers were all this time posing as Saints of the Most High, and that the first named claimed to be commissioned from Heaven to do a great work for the Salvation of the world, while Sidney was to aid him. This is one of the ways they adopted for doing it.

Dissenters and Priests.

[From the Elders' Journal.]

. . . If we did not know, that the people of this generation love lies more than the truth, or at least a great many of them, it would be a matter of some astonishment to us, to see with what eagerness they give credence to every hypocrite, and iniquitous wretch we detect in his wickedness, and bring to an account. It matters not how scandalous is his conduct, the priests and all their coadjutors rally around them the very moment they are excluded from the church, and listen with most intense interest to their lies; and soon the papers are filled with their lies and abominations. But such is the piteous situation of

the priests of all denominations, for there are no exceptions to be made; for, to say the least of them, they have pleasure in lies; but in the truth they have no pleasure, neither have they any part. Within the last six months they have been making one of their greatest efforts. The church, in accordance with her laws, excluded from her fellowship a set of creatures, whose behavior would have disgraced a Heathen Temple; and as might have been expected, they had recourse to the foulest lying and basest slander, in order to hide their iniquity. This seemed as a favorable opportunity, to the persecuting priests and their adherents. They gathered round them in swarms, like the flies around Æsop's foxes, and opened both their eyes and ears, to enjoy a good feast of lies, which pleased them more abundantly than any other sound could, except the voice of Beelzebub, the Prince of the whole brood; his voice would doubtless have been been more delightful to them than an angel of light to the ear of a Prophet of the living God. All these pious soul's papers were put into requisition; and this gang of horse-thieves and drunkards were called upon immediately, to write their lies on paper, and let them print them, so that all the world might have as great a feast of lies as they had. Accordingly, to work they all went, with one accord; and after this mighty mountain of bustle and human folly, had filled its full time of gestation, behold, and lo! it brought forth a mouse from the bowels of Mr. Warren Parrish, and the priest's papers have flown abroad to tell the world of it! No animal, we presume, has been produced in the last century, which caused more agony, pain and groaning, than this wonder of modern times; for during the time of gestation, and a long time before the birth thereof, he kept up such an unusual groaning and grunting, that all the devil's whelps in Geauga and Cuyahoga counties, of Ohio, were running together, to see what was about to come forth from the womb of granny Parrish. He made such an awful fuss about what was conceived in him, that night after night, and day after day, he poured forth his agony before all living, as they saw proper to assemble. For a rational being to have looked at him, and heard him groan and grunt, and saw him sweat and struggle, would have supposed that his womb was as much swol-

len as was Rebecca's when the angel told her that there were two nations there. In all this grunting business he was aided by Leonard Rich; who, however, was generally so drunk that he had to support himself by something, to keep him from falling down; but then it was all for conscience sake. Also a pair of young black-legs; one of them a Massachusetts shoemaker, by the name of John F. Boynton; a man notorious for nothing but ignorance, ill-breeding, and impudence; and the other by the name of Luke Johnson, whose notoriety consisted, if information be correct, in stealing a barrel of flour from his father, and other acts of a similar kind. Thus aided Mamma Parrish made a monstrous effort to bring forth; and when the full time of gestation was come, the wonder came forth, and the priests who were in waiting, seized the animal at its birth, rolled it up in their papers and sent it abroad to the world. But Rich, Boynton, and Johnson, in the character of midwives, waited around the bed of Mamma Parish to get away the after-birth; but awful to relate! they no sooner got it away than Mamma expired, and the poor bantling was left in the hands of the priests to protect and nurse it, without any other friend. A short time after the delivery of granny Parrish, a little ignorant blockhead, by the name of Stephen Burnett, whose heart was so set on money, that he would at any time sell his soul for fifty dollars, and then think that he had made an excellent bargain; and who had got wearied of the restraints of religion, and could not bear to have his purse taxed, hearing of the delivery of granny Parrish, ran to Kirtland, got into the Temple, and tried with all his power to bring forth something, nobody knows what, nor did he know, himself; but he thought as granny Parrish had been fruitful, so must he; but after some terrible gruntings, and finding nothing coming but an abortion, rose up in his anger, proclaiming all revelation lies, and ran home to his daddy with all his might, not leaving even an egg behind, and there sat down and rejoiced in the great victory he had obtained over the great God, and all the holy angels; how he had discovered them liars and impostors.

There was also a kind of secondary attendant, that waited upon this granny of modern libels, whose name is Sylvester Smith; in his character there is something no-

torious—and that is, that at a certain time in Kirtland, he signed a libel, in order to avoid the punishment due to his crimes; and in so doing has disqualified himself for taking an oath before any court of justice in the United States. That libel can be forthcoming at any time, if called for. Thus armed and attended, this modern libeller has gone forth to the assistance of the Priests, to help them fight against the great God, and against his work. How successful they will be, future events will determine. A few words on the history of this Priest's help-mate may not be amiss. He went into Kirtland, Ohio, some few years since to live, and hired his boarding in the house of one Zerah Cole. He had not, however, been there but a short time, until Mr. Cole began to make a grievous complaint about his taking unlawful freedom with his (Cole's) wife. Parrish was accordingly brought to an account, before the authorities of the church for his crime. The fact was established, that such unlawful conduct had actually taken place between Parrish and Cole's wife. Parrish, finding that he could not escape, confessed, and plead for forgiveness like a criminal at the bar, promising in the most solemn manner, that if the church would forgive him, he never would do so again—and he was accordingly forgiven. For some considerable time there were no outbreakings with him, at least, that were known; but a train of circumstances begun at last to fix guilt on his head, in another point of light. He had the handling of large sums of money; and it was soon discovered, that after the money was counted and laid away, and came to be used and counted again, that there was always a part of it missing. This being the case repeatedly, those who owned it, knowing that there was no other person but Parrish who had access, suspicion, of necessity, fixed itself on him. At last the matter went to such length, that a search-warrant was called for, to search his trunk. The warrant was demanded at the office of F.G. Williams, Esq., but he refused to grant it; and some difficulty arose on account of it. The warrant was, however, at last obtained, but too late; for the trunk in question was taken out of the way, and could not be found; but as to his guilt, little doubt can be entertained, by those acquainted with the circumstances.

After this affair, Parrish began to discover that there

was great iniquity in the church, particularly in the editor of this paper, and began to make a public excitement about it; but in a short time he had an opportunity of proving to the world the truth of his assertion. A poor, persecuting booby, by the name of Grandison Newell, and who, in fact, was scarcely a grade above the beasts that perish, went and swore out a state's warrant against the editor of the paper,—saying he was afraid of his life. In so doing, he swore a palpable lie, and everybody knew it, and so did the court, and decided accordingly. One of the witnesses called in behalf of Mr. Newell was Warren Parrish.

Newell had no doubt but great things would be proven by Parrish. When the day of trial, however, came, Parrish was not forthcoming. Newell's counsel demanded an attachment to bring him forthwith, and accordingly Parrish was brought. But behold the disappointment! when Parrish was called, instead of fulfilling Newell's expectation, when asked by the lawyers, "Do you know of any thing in the character or conduct of Mr. Smith, which is unworthy of his professions as a man of God?" the answer was, "I do not." The countenance of Newell fell; and if he had possessed one grain of human feeling, would have went off with shame; but of this there is about as much in him, as there is in other beasts. In giving the answer Parrish did, he has given the lie to all that he has said, both before and since; and his letter, that is now going the rounds in the Priest's papers, is an outrageous pack of lies, or else he took a false oath at Paynesville. Take it which way you will, and the Priests have but a feeble help-mate in Granny Parrish! The truth is, at the time Parrish was called on to give testimony, in Paynesville, he had not got his nerves so strengthened, as to take a false oath, and though he could lie most insufferably, still, he had some fear about swearing lies. But no doubt if he were called upon now, he would swear lies as fast as tell them; since he denies all revelation, all angels, all spirits, and has taken the liar Sylvester Smith by the hand, and become his companion. Some time after Parrish had given his testimony at Paynesville, he began again to rail. The church would bear it no longer, and cut him off. A short time after he was cut off, he plead with them to receive him back again, and in order

to get back, he confessed all he had said to be false, asking forgiveness for it, and by much pleading and confession, and promises of reformation, was received back again. Thus, once under oath, and another, and another time voluntarily, for the sake of getting back into the church, he confessed himself, that all that he had said, and all that he had written, were falsehoods; for his letter that is going the rounds in the papers, is no more than a reiteration of what he had before declared, and denied himself. This is the poor, pitiful resort, then, of the Priests, in order to stop the progress of the truth. But this is not all concerning Mamma Parrish. The next business we find him in, is, robbing the Kirtland bank of twenty-five thousand dollars at one time, and large sums at others. The managers had in the mean time appointed him as Cashier, and F. G. Williams as President, and they managed the institution with a *witness*. Parrish had stole the paper out of the institution, and went to buying Bogus and counterfeit coin with it, becoming a partner with the Tinker's Creek black-legs, and in company with Julius Granger, in buying different kinds of property with it, and devoting it to his own use, and soon entirely destroyed the institution. He was aided by his former associates to take his paper, and go and buy Bogus with it, from the Tinker's Creek black-legs, and on the way coming home, they would way-lay Parrish and his gang, and rob them, so they would lose the Bogus money at last. Parrish sold his horse and carriage for Bogus money, and behold when he came home and opened his box of Bogus, it was sand and stones. Parrish was somewhat chagrined at this, so he gets out a state's warrant, takes his coadjutor, Luke Johnson, and off to Tinker's Creek they go, —Johnson a constable; the pretended object was to take the man who had them (the horse and carriage), one for stealing them, and the other as stolen property. Coming to the place where they were, Johnson takes after the man and drives him into a barn. Parrish in the mean time, takes the horse and carriage and clears to Kirtland with it. And when Johnson had pretendedly tried to take the man, until he supposed Parrish had got off with the horse and carriage, he ceased the pursuit, and went home. For this, Parrish was taken by the Sheriff of Cuyahoga county, his hands bound behind his back, and

held in custody until he paid two hundred dollars, and if he had not paid it, he would have stood a chance for the workhouse. Thus, O ye Priests, what a blessed company of associates you have got, to help you on in the work of persecution. You ought to rejoice greatly at the venerable addition which you have added to your numbers. No doubt they are men as much after your own hearts, as ever David was after the heart of God: and you, Mr. Sunderland in particular, you have, no doubt, in Warren Parrish, an helpmate after your own image, and your own likeness. Congratulate yourself greatly, for having obtained a man after your own heart to help you to lie and persecute. O ye Priests! but you are a heaven-born race! and that all the world may well know, by the company you keep; you have got Warren Parrish for an associate, a man notorious for lying, for adultery, for stealing, for swindling, and for villainy of all kinds, but for nothing else; are you not happily yoked together with believers, precisely of your own characters?—Surely you are, since it is company of your own choosing. For our parts we shall consider it an honor to be belied and persecuted by debauchees; in it we will rejoice as long as we have breath, knowing if these men speak well of us that we are not doing the will of God, for the friendship of such is enmity against God, and the friendship of God is enmity to such. And there, O ye Priests, we leave you with your holy company, until it shall be said to you all, "Depart ye workers of iniquity, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels."

There is another character, who has figured somewhat in the affairs of Granny Parrish—a Doctor W. A. Cowdery. This *poor, pitiful beggar* came to Kirtland a few years since, with a large family, nearly naked and destitute. It was really painful to see this pious Doctor's (for such he professed to be) *rags flying*, when he walked the streets; he was taken in by us in this pitiful condition, and we put him into the printing office, and gave him enormous wages, not because he could earn it, or because we needed his service, but merely out of pity; we knew the man's incompetency all the time, and his ignorance and inability to fill any place in the literary world, with credit to himself or his employers; but notwithstanding all this, out of pure compassion, we gave

him a place, and afterwards hired him to edit the paper in that place, and gave him double as much as he could have gotten anywhere else. The subscribers, many at least, complained of his inability to edit the paper, and there was much dissatisfaction about it, but still we retained him in our employ merely that he might not have to be supported as a pauper. By our means he got himself and family decently clothed and got supplied with all the comforts of life, and it was nothing more nor less than supporting himself and family as paupers; for his services were actually not worth one cent to us, but on the contrary was an injury, the owners of the establishment could have done all the work which he did, themselves, just as well without him as with him. In reality it was a piece of pauperism, but now reader, mark the sequel; it is a fact of public notoriety, that as soon as he found himself and family in the possession of decent apparel, he began to use all his influence to our injury, both in his sayings and doings. We have often heard it remarked by slave-holders, that you should not make a negro equal with you, or he would try to walk over you; we have found the saying verified in this pious Doctor, for truly niggardly spirit manifested itself in all its meanness, even in his own writings, (and they were very mean at best). He threw out foul insinuations, which no man who has *one particle of noble feeling* would have condescended to, but such was the conduct of this *master of manners;* nor was this niggardly cause confined to himself, but his sons also were found engaged in the same mean business. His sons, in violation of every sacred obligation, were found among the number of Granny Parrish men, using all their influence, which however was nothing, but they were none the less guilty for that; for if it had been ever so great it would have been used to destroy the benefactors of their family from poverty and wretchedness.

One thing we have learned, that there are negroes who wear white skins, as well as those who wear black ones. Granny Parrish and a few others who acted as lackies, such as Martin Harris, Joseph Coe, Cyrus P. Smalling, etc., but they are so far beneath contempt, that a notice of them would be too great a sacrifice for a gentleman to make. Having said so much, we leave this hopeful com-

pany, in the new bond of union which they have formed with the Priests.

While they were held under restraint by the church, and had to behave with a degree of propriety, at least, the Priests manifested the greatest opposition to them; but no sooner were they excluded from the fellowship of the church, and gave loose to all kinds of abominations, swearing, lying, cheating, swindling, drinking, with every other species of debauchery, then the Priests began to extol them to the heavens, for their piety and virtue, and make friends with them, and call them the finest fellows in the world. Is it any wonder, then, that we say of the Priests of modern days, that they are of Satan's own making, and are of their father, the Devil? Nay, verily, nay, for no being but a scandalous sycophant and base hypocrite would say otherwise. Therefore, until we have more evidence than we have now, we shall always think, when we see men associating with scoundrels, that they themselves are scoundrels; and there we shall leave them for the present, firmly believing, that when the day of decision has come, we shall see all the priests who adhere to the sectarian religions of the day, with all their followers, without an exception, receive their portion with the Devil and his angels.

MRS. EMMA SMITH'S LETTER.

We have frequently expressed the opinion that Mrs. Emma Hale Smith never had any confidence in the validity of her husband's claim as "Prophet, Seer, and Revelator." At the time of her death in Nauvoo, a few years ago, her son Joseph and his friends, of the "Reconstructed Branch" of the church, had much to say of her adherence to the faith, and of her having died in ful belief of the truths of Mormonism.

It is true that in all the later years of her life, and since that son had arrived at manhood and had been placed in the new Presidential office, she had lived in friendly relations with him and his followers. How far this condition of affairs may have changed her opinions is not known; but certain it is, that in her widowhood, and while the son was still a boy, and with no aspirations

for a prophet's career, her feelings were otherwise. She was a very quiet and unobtrusive woman, yet on many occasions when questioned on the subject, she is reported to have expressed her unbelief in the sacred character of her husband's mission.

The year 1845 was one of turbulence at Nauvoo. Among all the aspirants for the prophet's mantle, Brigham Young was the successful one, and was preparing to lead his followers to Oregon or California. In the New York *Sun* of about Dec. 1, 1845, was published the following letter from Mrs. Smith, which goes far to substantiate the correctness of our opinion:

NAUVOO (Ill.), Nov. 20th, 1845.

To the Editor of the New York Sun:

SIR:—I hope to be excused for addressing, for the first time in my life, a letter to the Editor of a newspaper, and this I have been induced to do from seeing the letter of General Arlington Bennett, published in the newspapers, urging the Mormon people to remove to the Pacific Ocean, and advocating the cause of the *tyrants*, who have seized on the government of the Mormon Church. This church, such as it is, was formed by my lamented husband who was martyred for its sake, and whether true or false, has laid down his life for its belief!

I am left here, sir, with a family of children to attend to, without any means of giving them an education for *there is not a school in the city*, nor is it intended there shall be any here, or at any other place, where the men, who now govern this infatuated, simple-minded people, have sway. I have not the least objection that these petty tyrants remove to California or any other remote place, out of the world if they wish; for they will never be of any service to the Mormons, or the human family, no matter where they go. Their object is to keep the people over whom they rule in the greatest ignorance, and most abject religious bondage, if these poor confiding creatures remove with them, they will die in the wilderness!—The laws of the United States are quite good enough for me and my children, and my settled intention is to remain where I am, take care of my property, and if I cannot educate my children here, send them to New York or New England for that pur-

pose. Many of the Mormons will, no doubt, remove in the spring, and many more will remain here: and nothing would give me greater pleasure than to have a *mixed society* in Nauvoo, as in other cities, and all exclusive religious distinctions abolished.

I must now say, that I never for a moment believed in what my husband called his apparitions or revelations, as I thought him laboring under a diseased mind; yet, they may all be true, as a Prophet is seldom without credence or honor, excepting in his own family or country; but as my conviction is to the contrary, I shall educate my children in a different faith, and teach them to obey and reverence the laws and institutions of their country. Shall I not, sir, be protected in these resolutions against the annoyance of the men I now oppose, for they will no doubt seek my life?

What object Gen. Arlington Bennett has in advocating the cause of these tyrants I am unable to understand, for he assured me when at my house, that he had not the remotest intention of connecting himself in any manner with them, much less of removing with them to the Pacific Ocean. But this is a strange world; and I would not be surprised if they had offered to annoint and crown him King or Emperor in the West! As I have something more to say, I will take the liberty to write you another letter.

With great respect,
I am, sir, your humble servant,
EMMA SMITH.

THE MORMONS OR LATTER-DAY SAINTS.

GLIMPSES OF THE HISTORY OF UTAH AND ITS FOUNDERS.

From Life Notes, Memory, History and Statistics.

BY J. E. JOHNSON, ST. GEORGE, UTAH.

[NOTE.—Whilst engaged in the preparation of this work, the writer was under the necessity of applying to Utah for certain documents he needed. These were obtained from the gentleman above named, a former citizen of Hancock county, Illinois, a strong believer in the creed and mission of Mormonism. In return for his many acts of kindness during this correspondence, in forwarding books and papers and responding to enquiries, at his suggestion he was promised a hearing in

this Appendix, from his own standpoint. He accordingly prepared and forwarded the paper which follows—to which a place is herein cheerfully given. The intelligent reader and all persons acquainted with the history of Mormonism, will readily discover its many exaggerations, erroneous statements and inferences, and perversion of facts, and be able to correct them. It can hardly be expected that Mr. Johnson will live to realize the extent of the monstrous delusion under which he and his many kindred in Utah have spent their lives, and the infamy which the world accords to its originators and abettors.*]

Autobiography.

On the 18th day of April, 1817, I was born of Puritan parents, in the then wilds of western New York,—Pomfret,—Chautauqua Co., my parents having recently emigrated from Grafton, Mass. I am one of sixteen children, born of my mother, to my father.

In the winter of 1830–31, being then 13 years old, I first saw the so-called "Mormon Elders," who came to our farm-house, with their strange doctrine and the Book of Mormon. My mother, elder brothers and sisters, and many of our neighbors, were believers; and in the spring of 1832, our family removed to Kirtland, Ohio, where I first became acquainted with Joseph Smith, the prophet, his parents, brothers, and sisters. At that time our house for public meetings, 16 x 24, was ample for the Sunday congregation. From the time I first saw him to the period of his death, I lived in most friendly relations with the prophet and his kindred; and will here state that I never saw in him an ungenerous or dishonest action. In 1837 a complication of civil, religious, and political difficulties caused a determination to abandon Kirtland, and go to the new home in Missouri. The hegira began and finished up with the remaining poor, who went in a large body called the "Kirtland Camp" in 1838, after finishing and dedicating the temple.

Ere we had reached the desired haven, the cruel order of Gov. Boggs had been proclaimed, and many of our people were fleeing, for a more hospitable country, for their lives, and were kindly received by the people of Illinois; many of whom were noble, high-minded, and generous people.

* Since the foregoing was written a letter from St. George informs us that Mr. Johnson had emigrated to Arizona and is now dead.

In 1839 Nauvoo was founded, at Commerce, and many of the exiles gathered there. Change of location and climate, exhaustion and poverty, made this then unhealthy region more deadly still,—all were more or less sick, and many died.

I soon went as physician and nurse, and so acted, until I was prostrated with fever. I was at the laying of the foundation and capstone of the temple—was afterward imprisoned therein, and still later saw its destruction by fire. I was P. M. at Macedonia (now Webster) and kept a store also. When Gov. Ford with State troops was in Carthage, Col. A. W. Babbitt and myself went over to talk with him. The Governor told us his plan: to get Joseph and Hyrum Smith to deliver themselves up and go to Carthage jail, and he would then disband the troops and not allow them to march into the city; and asked the Colonel and myself to carry a dispatch to the prophet that night. It was raining and nearly sundown, but we accepted the mission, ordered the buggy, and started, but were immediately stopped by the military, who rushed before and around us, threatening our lives if we did not return. Sheriff Backenstos and others endeavored in vain to open our way, and not until the Governor stood on our carriage and loudly commanded a dispersion, were we allowed to go on, Darkness came. We were pursued, but having turned towards La Harpe, when we reached the open prairie, we were saved. All that stormy night in the wet prairie, we traveled, and at daylight found ourselves near Warsaw—turned our course—presented the Governor's message—waited a day, when Joseph and Hyrum Smith, accepting the Governor's promise of protection, started on return with us to Carthage. But meeting the officer sent to demand the State arms, the party returned to Nauvoo.

Early in spring, after the death of the prophet, while in bed at home in Macedonia, I was awakened and called to the door by some 30 mounted men and told to leave the country within 30 days,—nor stay at my peril. I asked why, what had I done? and was answered "Nothing;" but that were I permitted to stay, other Mormons would remain, and they were determined to rid the county of all speedily. Unable to dispose of property or gain means, I went meantime to Nauvoo, to gain time;

was present and bore arms in the fight between the new citizens and so-called posse; was taken prisoner and incarcerated in the temple. Afterward I was permitted my liberty (?) on condition of leaving the State in 12 hours, to which I agreed. There being no ferry boat running, I took the first steamer, which happened to be bound for Galena, and with my family left Illinois. The excitement and exertion consequent upon the rapid transpiration of events brought on a severe attack of fever, and I was prostrate and delirious, and first found myself and family on the levee at the steamer landing at Galena. Finding small chance here for one so destitute, we must needs return by next steamer, and landed at Montrose sick and destitute. Mr. Peck paid my debt to the steamer, and we took first opportunity to remove up the Des Moines river, and in the spring of 1849 arrived at Kanesville (now Council Bluffs); built a storehouse, the first frame building built on the Missouri slope, and started a store, supplying the great overland emigration to Utah and California. In 1850, being in bad health, I crossed the plains to Utah in July, and returned in October greatly improved in health.

In 1852, I, in company with Almon W. Babbitt, established the *Council Bluffs Bugle*, a weekly democratic newspaper, which was destroyed by fire in 1853, together with my stores and business, taking nearly all I had; but soon another office was in its place, and I published the paper until 1856, and had meantime issued the *Omaha Arrow*, the first paper published in Nebraska; and also established another office at Crescent City, Iowa, and published the *Crescent City Oracle*, and in '57 the *Council Bluffs Press;* and at Wood River Center, Central Nebraska, the *Huntsman's Echo* was published, and a mercantile supply station established. In autumn of 1858 I (Johnson, Blake & Co.) sent the first train of goods for miners' supplies to the "Cherry Creek" mines, and we built the first house on the new site of Denver City. Being editor of a democratic paper, and not approving the war programme,—I concluded it prudent to leave the frontier, and go to my kindred and people in Utah, which I did in 1861, since which my labors have been divided between horticulture, mercantile and publishing pursuits.

I am now 65 years old, and I have 17 living children and

18 grandchildren,—all a pride and comfort to me. The descendants of *my* parents, now settled in the Rocky Mountain region, number over 500—among whom there is no one profane, a drunkard, a gambler, or a harlot!

The Hegira from Nauvoo.

Early in February, 1846, the Mormons began crossing the Mississippi River, exiles from Nauvoo, to seek a home in a land of which little was known, except that it was a mountain desert; and by the first of March 400 wagons had accumulated a few miles from the river, in Iowa, and in organizations of tens, fifties, and hundreds, officered and ready. Though scantily supplied with even necessaries, the cavalcade started northwestwards, towards the Rocky Mountains. From inclemency of the weather, and scant supply of teams, the able-bodied, male and female, traveled on foot, and great hardships and much suffering were experienced in the slow toiling progress through snow, mud, and storm, many falling sick on the way over a trackless country across unsettled Iowa.

That the sick might be cared for, and rest given to teams exhausted, two settlements were made on the route, called severally *Garden Grove* and *Mount Pisgah*, where rude houses were erected, ground broken, and crops planted; all teams that were able pushing on, the foremost arriving at Council Bluffs early in June, then occupied by the Pottawattamie Indians. On the 26th of that month, a United States recruiting officer arrived in camp, by order of the President of the United States, asking for the enlistment of a battalion of 500 men to march to California to seize and hold that country, then a Mexican State. This demand was cheerfully responded to, the enlisted men officered, and on the 15th of July commenced their march.

The loss of so large a force from the camp made it impossible to move forward that season. So a location was selected on the west side of the Missouri river, by consent of the Omaha Indians, who owned that country; houses were built, the prarie sod turned over, and much of late crops planted, ranges for stock selected, men sent into Missouri to obtain grain and provisions for their labor, and all that was possible was done to sustain and feed

the multitude through the approaching winter. The place was named "Winter Quarters," and before the falling of snow, a city of near 500 rude buildings had been built for dwellings, shops, schools and houses of worship. From toil, hardship and privations of the journey, change of climate and habits, many who hopefully started upon this pilgrimage were laid to rest upon a high bluff above the rude town; while the graves of others who fell by the way marked the course of their journeying with sad monuments of their religious zeal, and faith in the doctrine this people professed. In course of the winter and spring, flour, meal and meat were brought up from Missouri—the result of labor and exchange of such property as could be spared—to amply supply the multitude, that by springtime had gathered for the journey. Watches, jewelry, and many valuable trifles were exchanged for food, clothing, and necessaries for the journey; and on the 7th of July, 1847, as many as could be mustered with safe teams and outfit started from Winter Quarters, leaving the remainder in a condition to raise their bread until prepared to follow. The camp consisted of 73 wagons, 143 men, 3 women and 2 children, 148 souls,—the families remaining behind to follow the train of the pioneers whenever the condition of things would permit.

This party was organized into companies of tens, with a captain over each, with Brigham Young as Commander-in-Chief; and thus equipped, organized, and officered, made the first white man's wagon trail up the Platte River; making boats and rafts upon which to cross streams, killing buffalo enough for the meat supply, arriving in sight of Chimney Rock May 23d, at Fort Laramie June 1st, and the South Pass on the 26th. On the 4th of July the passage of Green River was made; and here they met Samuel Brannan, who had previously landed at San Francisco with a company from the east in the ship *Brooklynn*, whence he had come to pilot the pioneers on their journey.

Entering Salt Lake Valley.

On the 24th of July, 1847, the company of pioneers entered Great Salt Lake Valley, and encamped on the site of Salt Lake City, celebrating the event by worship

and rejoicing. The next day plowing ground for crops commenced, and potatoes and many seeds were put in the ground, and water for irrigation taken from City Creek in a ditch. In days following the country was explored 100 miles north and nearly as far south. On the 29th about 400 of the Mormon Battalion returning from the Pacific arrived at the camp, having in company 100 of their brethren from Mississippi, adding 400 head of stock. The site of Salt Lake City was determined in council. On Sunday, the 20th, a conference was held and men chosen both for civil and religious officers of the colony, and on the 26th most of the Battalion and pioneers started on their return to Winter Quarters, where their families had been left. On their return they met 600 wagons of familes and brethren on their way to their new home, and arrived at Winter Quarters, Oct. 31st.

The next year the emigration for Salt Lake numbered nearly 1,000 wagons,—and thus was the foundation laid for the richest and most populous and prosperous territory of the Rocky Mountains; rich in climate, pure water, minerals, grasses, and the varied products of the soil.

At Work in Earnest.

Now explorations continue, roads are made into the canons for timber and lumber, houses built, lands surveyed, fields fenced, and the city laid out; lands plowed, canals dug, and seeds of every attainable utilitarian plant put into the ground; and local government established. Settlements were extended north, south, and west fifty miles. The year following, the first crops in nearly all the settlements were devastated by crickets, that brought the colonists nearly to a state of starvation. Bran-bread, wild roots, and sometimes the hides of cattle, were sweet morsels. Late crops were planted and happily saved the colony. The colony was increased to many thousands, and settlements increased. A constitutional convention was called, a constitution and state government provided, and representatives sent to Washington on behalf of the "State of Deseret." Congress took action and organized the country into the Territory of Utah in 1850, with Brigham Young as governor,—and there was peace, prosperity, and plenty in the land.

In 1849 began the rush of emigration from the East for the El Dorado of gold in California, first discovered by members of the Mormon Battalion, while digging a mill-race for Captian Sutter. The next year the tide of gold-seekers was immense, and millions of dollars' worth of property was left by the roadside, and in Salt Lake exchanged for trifles, including wagons, merchandise, tools, and every conceivable thing needed by the colonists. For these they exchanged the produce of the country, fresh teams, pack-saddles, etc. These were providential supplies on both sides—saving life with one party, and driving want from the other. And thus this young colony largely facilitated the settlement of the Golden State.

When gold was discovered in California, Captain Sam. Brannan (one of my old schoolmates), together with the remnant of the Mormon Battalion, and passengers on the *Brooklynn*, together joined in the gold search, abandoning the site of San Francisco, where they had made claims, and settled; and within a year large sums were collected, of which one-tenth was paid as tithing, and soon a golden currency was coined at Salt Lake, and for several years was used in commercial business at par. Being lighter than U. S. coin, but without alloy, its coinage and use were discontinued. This influx of the precious metal materially assisted the colonists in the purchase of machinery greatly needed, and aided the large emigration that yearly crossed the plains with wagons.

The Federal officers, non-residents in the Territory, arrived in July, 1851; but not satisfied, returned and resigned their commissions the following year.

These vacancies were subsequently filled by the appointment of Messrs. Kinney, Stiles, and Drummond to the bench, and A. W. Babbitt, of Utah, secretary. Excepting the last named, these returned, in 1856, to Washington, and their falsehood and misrepresentation of the condition of things in Utah, was the cause of sending an army to Utah in A. D. 1857, upon the strength of the statements of these men, without having sent a commission to ascertain the facts.

The people of Utah withstood this outrage upon their rights as American citizens, and refused to allow the

army to enter the settlement. Meantime the legislative assembly met and sent a memorial to Congress, asking to be heard. Commissioners were finally sent, and returning, made report of the utter falsehood of the judges. The army marched in and formed an encampment at Camp Floyd; the new Governor (Cumming) was installed the people of the colony exoneraed from the crimes charged against them, and peace again restorad, at a cost to the government of some millions of dollars, paid for the administrative blunder.

Much credit is due to Thomas L. Kane for the settlement and prompt adjustment of this difficulty.

Industries and enterprise again assert their sway; settlements are yearly extended—even into surrounding territories; machinery, mills, and factories set in motion; and again the destructive cricket and grasshopper appear in myriads on several occasions. In 1861 and '62 the Atlantic and Pacific telegraph was completed, and settlements extended to Bear Lake in the north, and to the Colorado, far south of the southern line of Utah. In January, 1870, the last rail of the Utah Central Railroad was laid at Salt Lake City, amid the rejoicing of many thouands who had gathered to witness it and the appearance of the first train of cars from the junction (at Ogden) with the Union and Central Pacific, which the colonists had greatly assisted in constructing.

The same year the Utah Legislature passed the bill granting suffrage to women; also, previous to the last date, the people of Utah had built telegraph lines to every important settlement in the territory, and at a later date extended a line into Nevada, at Pioche, and north into Idaho. The Utah Southern and extension reached its present terminus in 1880, and they also had built a line north from Ogden into Idaho, and another westward. The vast mining operations going forward, nearly the whole extent of the territory, together with a large surplus of grain and other produce, the need of machinery and moving of produce, greatly hastened the completion of these roads. The settlements and the region of Washington and Kane counties possess a mild climate, and produce most semi-tropical fruits and crops, cotton, exotic grapes, etc., in great perfection.

Since 1875, a large number of Utah colonists have

been settling the vacant regions of Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, Wyoming, Idaho, and Nevada; and these are reckoned among the most industrious and enterprising of the good citizens of these regions. The numbers of this people in these mountain regions, outside of Utah, will approximate 75,000.

Brigham Young, the founder of Utah, died at the age of seventy-six, and was deeply mourned by all his people. Following his death, the twelve apostles assumed control of the affairs and interests of the church, and were thus sustained by all the congregations.

The mining, commercial, manufacturing, legal, and other business has grown to important proportions; the people are in many instances wealthy, and all are well-to-do, there being no citizen paupers.

This condition of things has attracted many lawyers, speculators, and sharpers. Some of these men have been government appointees to official positions. An antagonism has ever been fostered by these people, termed *outsiders*, newspapers published, clubs organized, and every means employed, including the aid of missionaries of various denominations, to break up the unity and cohesiveness of the people, that they may obtain political control. Congress has been repeatedly appealed to, to aid in the work of taking from the people their religious and political rights, and in a number of instances they have succeeded in getting laws passed by Congress, ostensibly for the eradication of polygamy, but really for the purpose of breaking up and destroying the religious system of the people of Utah, as is apparent on reading the discussions in Congress, on the recently passed Edmunds Bill, and the published admissions of the authors of this un-American measure.

Utah to-day, under "Mormon rule," is the most prosperous, and best governed of all the Rocky Mountain States and Territories. Let us see—"A tree is known by its fruits," is a trite and true saying. Let us reason together—shake the tree, examine and test the fruit, ere we judge the tree, or the doctrines, teachings, and practices that bring such results.

All the facts, figures, and statements following are deduced from published official reports, and open and admitted facts, in approximate measure and number.

The present (1882) population of Utah is 150,000; of this there are but about 15,000 non-Mormons.

This population is distributed among 250 cities, towns, and settlements; Salt Lake City, with a population of 20,000, is the largest city and capital—politically, religiously, and commercially of the territory.

There are in Utah 1,000 miles of telegraph and 500 miles of railroad.

Value of exports and imports, $20,000,000 annually.

Amount of jobbing and trade, $12,000,000.

Annual value of manufactures, $500,000 (not including mining).

Annual product of mines, $10,000,000.

Utah contains 85,000 square miles. Of this there are in cultivation 250,000 acres. Varying in altitude from 2,900 feet above sea level at St. George, in the extreme south, to 6,440 in the far north at Randolph, on Bear River. The Wasatch Mountains rise to an altitude above the sea level from 6,000 to 13,000 feet.

Great Salt Lake covers an area of nearly 4,000 square miles.

The coal lands in Utah, as returned by government surveyors to the land office in Salt Lake City, are 125,000 acres.

Value of capital used in mining and reduction works, $25,000,000, approximately.

Valuable minerals and ores found in Utah, and more or less worked; viz., gold, silver, copper, lead, zinc, antimony, arsenic, sulphur, alum, sulphate of iron, cement, lime, salt, potash, mineral wax, asphaltum, plaster of Paris, and last but not least, iron and coal in vast quantities.

Utah has 100 flouring mills, 125 saw mills, 20 tanneries, 6 cotton and woolen mills with 5,000 spindles, 20 boot and shoe factories, 10 furniture manufactories, a number of foundries and machine shops, broom manufactories, 25 printing-offices, and as many newspapers.

Acres in fruit, 8,000, annual value, $500,000.

Number of horses, mules, cattle, sheep, goats, and swine, 600,000, valued at $8,000,000. Wool clip of 1882, estimated at 2,000,000 lbs., value $500,000.

School population in Utah, 35,000, and over 350 schoolhouses; the school property representing a value

of three-fourths of a million dollars. Money raised by taxation for school purposes, $35,000; appropriated by the Legislature for schools, 20,000. There are several academies and one collage in Utah.

Comparative Illiteracy.

The amount per capita of our school population that is invested in school property, Utah, exceeds several southern and western states,—is in advance of both Indiana and Illinois, and the general average of the entire Union. According to the population, Utah, as compared with Massachusetts—

Has a larger percentage of school attendance;
A smaller percentage of illiteracy;
Less percentage of convicts;
Only about a fifth of the percentage of insane;
No paupers among our citizens;
A larger percentage of printing establishments;
A much larger percentage of churches.

Utah has far less percentage of white population that cannot read and write, that are over 10 years of age, than the white population of the whole United States.

The percentage of total white population who cannot write in Utah, is 5.71. Sixteen states and territories show a far higher percentage—eight being above 15, and two above 20; Rhode Island having 8.72 and Massachusetts 5.14.

Before the advent of non-Mormons into Utah there were no saloons, no gambling houses, no gaudy temples of departed virtue, and prostitution was unknown, until introduced by United States officials.

There are in Utah 300 societies for the relief of the poor and afflicted, with a fund at their disposal aggregating over $100,000.

Through the bishops and others, in all the cities, towns, and settlements, provisions are made that no human being need go hungry.

In every town and settlement in the territory there are organizations for mutual improvement of the young that hold regular meetings monthly or oftener, having good libraries, and lectures, scientific and religious.

In nearly every settlement, town, and city, there are

organizations for agricultural improvement,—gardeners' clubs and pomological societies.

In every ward in the Territory teachers are appointed, whose duty it is to watch over the actions and interests of the people, restrain disorder, to settle all difficulties, peaceably if possible, and bring to account the refractory and those who trespass upon their neighbors, and to promote good feeling and brotherly love and unity.

Criminality.

The non-Mormon population of Utah is about 10 per cent. The arrests made in Salt Lake City for the year 1881, were 1,020; of this number 169 claimed to be Mormons, and 851 were non-Mormons.

In the city and county prisons, there were recently 35 prisoners, all non-Mormons, and in all the 14 jails and prisons in the Territory, there were 125 prisoners, and of these 114 were non-Mormons.

Of the 20 counties in the Territory, 13 are almost exclusively Mormon, and these contain no dram shop, brewery, gaming house, brothel, bowling saloon, or pauper. All houses of prostitution, and other disreputable concerns in the Territory, are kept and patronized by non-Mormons.

Eighty per cent. of all litigation in the Territory, is of outside growth and promotion.

Over eighty per cent. of suicides, homicides, and infanticides, in the Territory, are perpetrated by the 17 per cent. of non-Mormons.

The Mormon population are peaceful, law-abiding, industrious, temperate, social, hospitable, and honest, as a rule.

They built several hundred miles of both railroad and telegraph, through the Rocky Mountains. They have built all the other railroads and telegraph lines in Utah.

They have paid the expense of emigrating more than 50,000 of the industrious poor from Europe, and many of these are now among our most thriving farmers and artisans.

In 1830 Joseph Smith organized a church of but six members. The present month was 52 years since that occurred. In that time, the doctrines he promulgated have been preached to every nation of the civilized world,

and the present number of believers in this doctrine, and members of the Church of Latter-Day Saints, called Mormons, reach the enormous number of nearly 300,000, counting all ages, of white population, and representing a property value of over $100,000,000.

In all honesty and fairness, can this people truthfully be called *poor, ignorant, indolent, criminal*, or *unchristian?* Judge them by their fruits.