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MORMONISM IN ILLINOIS.

No. I

One of the most striking features in the history of modern fanaticism, is unquestionably the progress of Mormonism in the United States. That an uneducated youth, without the recommendation of decent morality, and in fact notorious only for a vagrant and dissolute life, should create and excite a new and revolutionary movement in the religious world, and be able to operate on the public mind by means of the most absurd pretenses to the divine and prophetic character, and that too in an age and amongst a people who boast of their general intelligence, is a paradox scarcely to be accounted for on any known law of the human mind. It is our intention, in this and subsequent articles, to give a brief, and, so far as practicable, correct sketch of the history of this infatuated people, during the period of their residence in the State of Illinois. For years prior to their emigration to this State, they had occupied a district of almost wilderness country in the west of Missouri, where, however popular they may have been on their first arrival, they soon rendered themselves obnoxious by setting up the most arrogant pretensions to divine favor and protection, and the advocacy of the most dangerous and disorganizing social doctrines. Smith, their dictator and prophet, assumed to act from divine appointment. It was pretended that his mission was of both a spiritual and temporal character. He was to radically and essentially change all the features of divine worship, and herald the millennial reign of Christ on earth. In addition to this, so far as could be ascertained from his vague and rather obscure prophetic teachings, he was to establish a temporal kingdom, in which the saints were to reign, and crush the unbelieving world beneath their vigorous rule. It was claimed that the foundations of this kingdom were laid at Independence, an inconsiderable village on the Missouri river. From this nucleus, it was to be extended by a series of supernatural incidents and bri-

lliant conquests, more miraculous, complete, and dazzling than the rapid march of the Moslem prophet under his crescent banner. For the accomplishment of his purposes and the establishment of his dynasty, he was to concentrate all the savage tribes of the far West, and animate them to revenge the wrongs they had received at the hands of the white men. The terrible Comanche, the Bedouin of the American desert; the Sac and Fox, still smarting under the defeat of their celebrated chieftain, Black Hawk; the Pawnees, the Omahas, and all the wild tribes of the deep valleys and lofty crags of the Rocky Mountains, were to hear the voice of the Prophet, submit to his teachings, and to give their untamed barbarian energies, and employ the tactics of their destructive warfare to the establishment of the Mormon supremacy.

It cannot be pretended that these bold assumptions of the Prophet were the insane ravings of stupid fanaticism, intended only for the amusement and edification of his superstitious and fanciful followers. The whole policy of the Prophet plainly indicated that his dreams of conquest and future empire resulted not so much from his fanaticism, as from a lofty, earnest, and determined ambition. For the purpose of advancing these lofty views, he employed and sent amongst the various tribes on the skirts of his settlement, his most cunning emissaries, for the avowed purpose of winning them over to his intended coalition. The Book of Mormon, which is a pretended history of the ancient aborigines of the country, from which it is claimed that the modern tribes have descended, was the principal means used by the Mormon missionaries to effect the conversion of the savages. From the pages of this blundering fiction, the red man was taught of his elevated origin; of an ancestry which had peopled a vast continent, and established a civilization even superior to that of their European enemies. From the pages of this book,

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they were pointed to immense cities, which far surpassed the most populous and magnificent of modern times, and which had long since decayed and passed away, leaving distinct traces of their ruins behind. The heart of the modern savage was animated, and his sanguinary nature was excited and aroused by graphic details of terrific battles fought; of cities desolated; of countries laid waste, and whole tribes exterminated by ruthless and indiscriminate warfare. Whilst their admiration was enlisted by the heroic virtues of an ancestry which had perished from the earth, their own feeble and helpless condition was depicted in strong and glowing terms by the cunning missionary of the new faith. They were pointed to the European race, which had driven them from their fairest possessions, as the cause of their degradation. They were confidently promised a speedy restoration of all their rights, and a return to all the grandeur and power of their ancient ancestry, should they but rally and fight under the Prophet's banner. By such means as these, all the wild tribes who had suffered wrong from the usurpations of the white race were to be united under the leadership of Smith, and, emerging from the shades of their wilderness homes, were to pour their vengeful and desolating legions on the possessions of their enemies; and where the arts of civilization marked the conquest of the white man over the wilderness, was the savage to relight his council-fires, and dance his war-dance amid sombre desolation and ruin.

The pioneer settlers of Missouri had encountered much from the hostility of their Indian neighbors. In fact, they had maintained the occupancy of their new homes as much by the terrors of the rifle as the force of law. It was consequently with considerable alarm that they learned that the emigrant Mormons, who had been received with true hospitality amongst them, were plotting with their avowed enemies for their final extinction. It was not singular that they should immediately remonstrate with decision and warmth against a course tending to inflame the untamed passions of the savage and increase his natural hostility. But their remonstrance was received with contempt by the misguided fanatics, which they neither cared to conceal or disguise. The Missourians were informed in substance, that the Mormons must live up to their ele-

vated destiny; that their course, however revolutionary it might be, was marked out for them by divine appointment; and that if the omnipotent Ruler of the universe intended through their instrumentality to restore the aborigines of the country to their primitive rights, they were bound to obey, regardless of what results might follow their action.

Whatever may be the faults of the Western pioneer, a tendency to fanaticism or superstition is not one of them. They would have treated the insane ravings of the Prophet with passive indifference, had it not been for his continued and repeated attempts to excite against them the wrath of the red man. Although they viewed Smith as an impostor, they still believed that any prophecy, however false, absurd, or stupid, might conduce to its own fulfilment in the hands of desperate and misguided fanatics. It is not, therefore, wonderful that they were excited and alarmed by the acts of the Mormons in tampering with their savage enemies. Interview succeeded interview with the fanatics, for the purpose, if possible, of adjusting their difficulties, without any satisfactory results. The Mormons assumed a still more lofty and threatening attitude, and their language became still more irritating, until the Missourians, provoked beyond endurance, collected their forces, declared war against the Prophet, and, after a number of skirmishes between the parties, in which several lives were lost, and the property of the Mormons was totally destroyed, they were finally with "strong hand" expelled from the State.

Smith, by this unfortunate termination of his settlement in Missouri, had lost years in the accomplishment of his purposes; yet his bad fortune never caused him to despair. Visions of future empire and greatness still animated his heart, and prepared him for more bold, determined, and desperate effort in the future. The land from which he had been just expelled under circumstances so humiliating to his ambition, he still claimed as his own; and if he was compelled by untoward events to retrace his footsteps eastward, it was only to recruit his exhausted resources, to rally and consolidate his increasing followers, preparatory to a more extended system of colonization in the far West.

With these views he landed at Quincy, in the State of Illinois, some time during the

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autumn of 1839. He was then much reduced in circumstances. Instead of the robust and ambitious fanatic, threatening Missouri and the world with divine vengeance, he was meek with endurance, gaunt and haggard with famine; a ragged, destitute outcast of society, begging a subsistence at the hand of charity. The Prophet, together with his famished followers, many of whom were sick with the hardships and exposures they had encountered, were received with sincere and unaffected hospitality by the people of Quincy, who, with exalted and praiseworthy benevolence and liberal hand, administered to all their necessities. Whilst the famished and suffering Mormons were fed without charge by the benevolence of strangers, who had but heard of the strange sect of religionists, and of their persecutions for conscience' sake, these strangers listened with sympathy to the stories of their wrongs, and as they listened they became indignant at the recital of those scenes of violence which the persecuted Mormons had suffered, for no other reason than the peculiarities of their faith, and the unaffected and gracious piety of their deportment. The people and the press of Illinois were loud in their denunciations of the people of Missouri for the violence they had manifested towards the Mormons.

The Prophet and his followers remained at Quincy but a short time, during which they received many letters from various portions of the State, inviting them to make a permanent settlement. Smith concluded, after some deliberation, that the most desirable locality for the establishment of his head-quarters was at the head of the Des Moines rapids of the Mississippi river, in the county of Hancock, then in an almost wilderness state. He accordingly visited that place, and was received with great kindness and consideration by the few persons who then resided there. This point had for a few years past been the property of a small junto of operators in real estate, who had been laboring to build up a city by devices and expedients known exclusively to that interesting class of speculators. This object they found no difficulty to accomplish—on paper. Splendid lithographed plots of the flourishing city of "Commerce" (for so was this child of ingenious speculation christened) had been exhibited by the most industrious and enterprising agents, in all the principal

Eastern cities; on which were pointed out spacious and elegant churches, hotels, banks, and other public buildings, all constructed on the most approved and graceful order of architecture. Yet, in Western phraseology, it was "no go." Eastern capitalists had been already too sorely bitten by the adroit cunning of Western sharpers, in numerous speculations of like character, to deal any further in paper cities; consequently, notwithstanding the handsome and imposing appearance of its public buildings, Commerce lots remained dull and inactive on the hands of their owners.

It was not strange that Smith should be received with the utmost kindness by these speculators, who would no doubt have extended the same welcome to Lucifer, scented with all the fumes of his brimstone kingdom, if his majesty would have taken upon himself the responsibility of building up the embryo city. To facilitate business, one or two of those speculators went so far as to unite with the Mormon church, and subsequently won some notoriety in the annals of fanaticism. Smith was struck with the extreme beauty of the situation, and, the terms being easy, managed to purchase large tracts of the most fertile alluvial bottom lands, which for the present was to be the seat of the Mormon dynasty, and on which, as with the wand of enchantment, he was to cause a populous city suddenly to spring from the silent bosom of the earth. The locality was most admirable and picturesque. The Mississippi swept its magnificent flood of transparent waters in a vast curve, around its north-western and southern limits. On the east, by easy and gradual ascent, rose the bluff, to the height of some hundred feet, and crowned at that time by a forest of sturdy oaks, invaluable to the settler for fuel and building purposes. Stretching to the east, the forest disappeared, and an expansive prairie of untold fertility and beauty, as yet in its primitive wilderness state, invited the culture of the emigrant, and promised a rich reward to his toil. It was just what the destitute Mormons required. They could erect temporary dwellings by their own labor, and secure a subsistence by agricultural pursuits.

The Prophet immediately brought his family, and the fugitives that accompanied him, to the site of the new city, which he called Nauvoo, meaning, in the fanciful lan-

guage of Mormonism, "a city of rest." No sooner had Smith taken possession of his new home, and before the first log-cabin had been erected to shelter the saints, than he issued a general proclamation to all his followers to assemble themselves at their new "city of rest." This call was responded to with all the zeal of fanaticism. The exhausted and care-worn follower of the Prophet, driven and persecuted by the hostile and avenging citizens of Missouri, bent their feeble and worn-out footsteps to the land of promise. The devotees of the new religion farther east, many of whom were persons of substantial means, heard the summons of the Prophet, and, full of hope and promise, collected their household gods together and hastened on their journey, to unite with the congregation of the faithful. The gaunt, famine-stricken operatives in the manufacturing districts of England, many of whom had been seduced into the ranks of Mormonism by exaggerated statements of the influence, prosperity, and prospective greatness of the new sect, heard the voice of the Prophet as the voice of God, and with precipitate haste embraced the opportunity to expatriate themselves from the prison-house of their servitude.

Population flowed into the city. The residents of the county, who had long witnessed the abortive attempts made to build up the city of Commerce, beheld with astonishment the life, activity, and enterprise of the fanatics. Buildings of every description, from the rude shed to the spacious and commodious dwelling, were completed with unexampled rapidity. Never in the history of the West, unprecedented for its wonderful growth, did any place, even the most flourishing, progress in improvement and increase in population as did Nauvoo. Through the enterprise of the Mormon, the wild prairie was tamed, and reduced to cultivation; spacious improvements and productive farms appeared, where only a year before the wild grass waved its exuberant and massive greenness to the invigorating prairie breeze. This beautiful region, which enterprise and cunning had failed to make available, in two short years boasted a population of ten thousand souls, and was still advancing with unexampled strides. The industry and energy of the Mormons won the approbation and applause of all who visited them. In the mean time, the most important and useful public improvements were contemplated.

The Des Moines rapids, which had always been a serious obstacle to the successful navigation of the Upper Mississippi, were to be improved by private enterprise, in such a manner that a vast hydraulic power, of incalculable utility, was to be secured, and the City of the Saints was destined to rank in wealth and importance with the great manufacturing towns of Europe. Voluntary associations, for the encouragement of agriculture, for the improvement of the mechanic arts, for the advancement of their commercial interests, and the dissemination of general intelligence, were established.

The Mormons now numbered a majority in the county of Hancock, and it was not singular that aspirants to political distinction should pay court to their Prophet, who had undisputed and absolute control of all their votes. Many of these candidates for political favor were not ashamed of the basest sycophancy and meanness in their intercourse with the Prophet, which they exerted for the accomplishment of their ambitious purposes. The egregious vanity of Smith was inflamed by the grossest flattery. Candidates for the State Legislature promised every thing for the advancement of the Prophet and his people; and the one who could stoop to the basest servility had the greatest reason to hope for success. The members elect went into the Legislature under direct pledges to Smith to carry out certain measures which he conceived necessary for his protection and future prosperity.

The Prophet asked for the incorporation of his new city, and forthwith his obsequious representatives prepared a charter, and by their influence procured its passage, granting to the municipality of Nauvoo privileges and authority which in a great measure placed the Mormons beyond the control of all legal tribunals. A sort of anomalous judiciary, which was termed a municipal court, was created by this act of incorporation, which virtually ousted all other courts of jurisdiction in causes where Mormons were parties. Jurisdiction of writs of habeas corpus had been confined by statute to judges of the Circuit and Supreme Courts. But this important right was now vested in the municipality of Nauvoo, and threatened by its arbitrary and extensive operation to wrench every culprit from the custody of the law.

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Smith had suffered much from the waywardness and persecutions of the Gentile world, whilst his unorganized and unarmed followers were inadequate to his protection. His experience in Ohio and Missouri had proven to him that the supremacy of the law was nothing but idle cant when the Mormons were concerned. He could more readily depend on the zeal of his followers than the strong arm of the law, which had never yet woven strong enough to vindicate his rights. For the purpose of self-protection, he now asked a complete and thorough organization of his followers into an independent military force; and, strange as it may appear, this unreasonable request was granted; and the celebrated Nauvoo Legion, ever afterwards conspicuous in Mormon history, and which became the terror and scourge of the adjacent country, sprang into existence at the bidding of the Legislature, with chartered rights even beyond the expectations of the aspiring Prophet. And as if this organization was not of itself sufficient, a large portion of public arms, embracing several pieces of artillery, was placed at the disposal of this body of military. Other charters of great importance, though less dangerous tendency, were freely granted by this subservient Legislature.

Smith was now rapidly becoming a personage of great importance. The haggard countenance and attenuated figure of the outcast and persecuted Missourian would scarcely have been recognized in the jovial face and athletic person of General Smith; for the Prophet had been called to the command of his legion, with the rank of lieutenant-general. He was the founder of a new and highly prosperous city. He was the prophet, dictator, and king of ten thousand devoted followers, who were clustered around his standard and awaited his commands. He had the absolute control of a large and formidable volunteer force, whose hearts palpitated in unison with his own. He was no longer a wandering fugitive, subsisting on the cold charity of the community, but, on the contrary, was the centre of patronage and power. Legislators were made and unmade at his bidding; and ages who aspired to a seat in the legislative councils of the nation, were not ashamed to pay court to the Prophet, and succumb to his dictation for his influence and support.

After organizations were effected under

his various charters, Smith determined to construct a temple, to be dedicated to the celebration of the religious rites of Mormonism, which was to surpass in originality, grandeur of design, and the harmony of its proportions, all other edifices in Christendom. To enlist his people in this vast enterprise, the Prophet declared that he had received a revelation on the subject, authorizing and directing the construction of the sacred edifice, and communicating the plan of its architecture. For the accomplishment of this design, Smith adopted the ancient Jewish system of tithing. Every devotee of the faith was required, under heavy penalties, to contribute one tenth of his means; and the destitute and unfortunate, who had no property, were compelled to devote one tenth of their labor on the rising edifice. In addition to these resources, every portion of America, and many countries of Europe, were visited by the agents of the Prophet, whose business it was to solicit means to build the temple of the Lord. The material used in the building of the walls of the sacred edifice was white limestone, which admitted a fine polish, and which was found in great abundance in the adjacent river bluffs, and was excavated with comparatively little labor by the determined and energetic fanatics. The necessary lumber was cut and sawed out of the pine forests of the distant North, by Mormon labor.

Every thing, as yet, had gone smoothly in the intercourse between the Mormons and their neighbors. But, as the polished and strong walls of the temple, under the skill, direction, and enterprise of fanaticism, rose gradually from their solid foundations, in their massive strength resembling more an unassailable fortress than a sanctuary devoted to the sacred rites of religion, a feeling of suspicion and distrust was engendered towards Smith and his followers, which soon increased to settled and deadly hostility, on the part of the citizens of the county. They now began to reflect on the difficulties which had always attended the wanderings of the fanatic imposter. They now began to inquire why it was that, in Western New-York, where the Prophet first propagated his new faith, and first organized into a church his followers, he was frowned upon by the virtuous of all religions, and, by the force of public sentiment alone, without any appeal to violence, was banished from the State; and why it

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was that, in Northern Ohio, where he sought to concentrate his followers and effect a permanent settlement, that he was compelled to fly on account of the hostility of his neighbors and their appeal to violence; and why

ing under their corrupt and absurd rule. For this purpose, an anti-Mormon meeting was called, which was largely attended by the old citizens of the county. This meeting had two duties to discharge: one to pass

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τρε οιη επιτάνα οι τρε σοπατά: Τηνια μεσσειν
παν σεβαστούμενοι μηδεν μεταξειδερούλ
τοι, την δημόσιαν την παρ-πολιτικην μεσσειν

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was that, in Northern Ohio, where he sought to concentrate his followers and effect a permanent settlement, that he was compelled to fly on account of the hostility of his neighbors and their appeal to violence; and why it was that the people of Missouri had manifested such deadly hatred towards the Mormons, and visited them with such sanguinary vengeance. And, with the inquiry, the conclusion began to force itself on the minds of all candid persons that the Mormons themselves had occasioned all their difficulties; that their religion was incompatible with social order, opposed to the genius and institutions of all just governments, and in its very nature a treasonable conspiracy against American institutions; and with the conclusion came the reflection that, by their partiality and encouragement, they had breathed into the almost extinct spirit of fanaticism new life and vigor; that they had raised the Prophet from a condition of insignificance, and exalted him to one of power and prospective greatness. They had surrounded him with the protection of chartered rights, which had in a measure placed him beyond the jurisdiction of legal tribunals; through their zeal on his behalf, a formidable military force had been created, and the very bayonets which bristled in their hands, and the ordinance which thundered at their public rejoicings, were the gift of their foolish munificence.

If Joe Smith, with a handful of his weak, ineffectual, and despised followers, by a threatening and defiant attitude, could alarm and agitate all Missouri, what were the people of Illinois to expect from him, when a well-organized military force waited on the Prophet, and executed his commands?

Another election was approaching, and it was thought important and desirable by all good citizens, who were alarmed by the growth of fanaticism, to associate themselves together, irrespective of party predilections or issues, for the purpose of opposing an undivided front to the increasing power of the obnoxious sect. It is due to this banded opposition to the Mormons to say, that anti-Mormons were not in any way disposed to abridge their rights of conscience, or in any way interfere with the free exercise of the absurd rites of the Mormon religion. It was only intended to keep in check the political tendency of their faith, and, if possible, prevent the interests of the county from perish-

ing under their corrupt and absurd rule. For this purpose, an anti-Mormon meeting was called, which was largely attended by the old citizens of the county. This meeting had two duties to discharge; one to pass resolutions of censure against the Mormons, the other to nominate a full anti-Mormon county ticket, by which the subservient tools of Mormonism were to be defeated. The first duty of the convention was readily accomplished. The Mormons were attacked and abused in a long string of most bitter resolutions, which were passed with the greatest unanimity. But the apportionment of the offices amongst a crowd of aspirants was a task of more delicacy and difficulty than had been anticipated. It was desirable that every one should be satisfied, and this could hardly be expected, as a number of zealous claimants appeared for every office. Notwithstanding there appeared some dissension and dissatisfaction on the part of many members of the convention, yet there was too much zeal to abandon the projected organization. The nominations were accordingly made; but when the meeting was called upon for its final and unanimous ratification of the nominations which had been passed upon, some of the most zealous and influential members of the organization bolted outright, and retired, uttering the most unequivocal threats against the success of the ticket.

Amongst the disaffected was a certain Mr. O., a superannuated Calvinistic Baptist preacher of the old school, noted for ignorance and bigotry, and for his determined opposition to the cause of education. His piety was of that doubtful character which hungered and thirsted after office more than after righteousness.

Another of the worthies who bolted the action of this convention was a Mr. D., a lawyer of limited attainments and ordinary talents, a politician in his small way, and an oracle on all subjects in the drinking-shops which he haunted.

Immediately after these gentlemen withdrew from the convention, they deserted to the enemy. They informed the Prophet that they had come over to him on account of the intolerant and proscriptive policy of the anti-Mormons, and that they were willing to avow allegiance to Smith, and make themselves generally useful in the advancement of his interests, if they could only be

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returned to the Legislature. It was finally agreed that the lawyer should be the candidate for the State Senate, and that the preacher, in conjunction with William Smith, a younger brother of the Prophet, should represent him in the lower branch of the Legislature. Smith, by virtue of a revelation which he pretended to have received, commanded his followers to vote *en masse* for these candidates of his choice. This command of the Prophet was obeyed to the letter, and it resulted in the defeat of the anti-Mormon candidates by a considerable majority.

However much depressed and discouraged the anti-Mormons may have been, by reason of their bad success, it was now too late for them to abandon the contest which they had commenced with Mormonism. The sect was daily increasing in numbers and influence, and the attitude of the Prophet was daily becoming more threatening and alarming. The unparalleled growth of fanaticism, unless speedily checked, would soon control their destiny.

Smith boasted that the number of his followers already exceeded three hundred thousand; and his avowed policy was to centralize his numerical force at Nauvoo. The population of the State at that time did not much, if any, exceed six hundred thousand, which was nearly equally divided between

the Whig and Democratic parties, the Democracy being in the ascendant by a few thousand votes only. It was not improbable that, at no very distant period, if the Prophet continued to concentrate his followers at Nauvoo, his power would become formidable to the State, as it was now to the county. The Mormon vote, even at this period, was almost equal to the difference between the Whig and Democratic parties, and was an object of great importance to the aspirant to office, inasmuch as it was never divided, but always thrown *en masse*, according to the Prophet's directions. Nor was this vote Whig, Democratic, or Free Soil in its predilections; it was an independent power, always in the market, ready to be sold to the highest bidder. Demagogues of all parties, and of every possible shade of political belief, crowded like furbished carrion-crows to the City of the Saints, for the purpose of bartering for the Mormon vote.

In view of this state of facts, the defeat which the anti-Mormons had just sustained, so far from causing them to abandon their opposition to the Mormons as hopeless, only inspired them with more determined energy and hostility, and incited them to effect a more perfect organization, to successfully meet all coming contests with their triumphant rivals.

R. W. MAC.

Nauvoo, Ill., January 11, 1852.

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The Mormons in the full tide of prosperity, rejoicing in their political triumph, vaunting themselves on the completeness of their organization, and the vigorous and efficient rule of their chief, failed to profit by the severe lessons of adversity which they had but lately experienced. Regardless of the waning popularity of their leader, and the rumblings of dissatisfaction and hostility which were continually borne to their ears from the surrounding neighborhood, they still persisted in their wayward and exceptional policy, and still further aroused the prejudice and hatred of their enemies by their arrogant and absurd pretensions. They laughed at the high-toned denunciations of their enemies, and treated with hardy contempt the numerous gatherings and consultations of the Gentiles. The Prophet declared that when divine interposition should become necessary, the Lord would commission his destroying angels to scatter and destroy the boasted strength of the Anti-Mormons, in the same manner as the Assyrian host had been annihilated by the supernatural visitation of the destroyer, ages before, for the vindication and protection of the Jews. Smith was too dignified, and withal too powerful, to concede any thing to allay the prejudices of his neighbors. He had forgotten that only a few years since, those who now denounced him so heartily had provided for his necessities, and sympathized with his alleged wrongs, with sincere and unostentatious generosity. He would concede nothing to the outraged feelings of those who had but lately been his benefactors, but, on the contrary, with base ingratitude, and trusting in his increasing strength, when admonished of the irritation and excitement occasioned by the impolicy of his course, he scornfully pointed them to the superior discipline of his military, the completeness of their equipments, and the strength of their unwavering devotion to his person and his cause.

In the mean time, the Missourians had not yet abandoned their quarrel with the Mormons; nor had they forgotten that their vengeance had been baffled by the escape of Smith, whilst an indictment was pending against him for treason. They were determined that he should yet be arrested and compelled to answer for his numerous crimes. To this end a requisition was granted under the seal of the State of Missouri, requiring the executive of Illinois to deliver up to a commission appointed for that purpose the body of Joseph Smith, a "fugitive from justice." Upon the service of this requisition, the Governor of Illinois, in obedience to its requirements, issued a warrant for the arrest of Smith, and placed it in the hands of an officer for execution. It is hardly probable that any officer would have possessed sufficient hardihood to have attempted the arrest of the Prophet in his own city. It would have been impracticable, even if no resistance should be made; as a thousand cunning expedients would have been resorted to by the Mormons to conceal the Prophet and defeat the ends of justice.

Fortunately, however, it was discovered that Smith was absent from Nauvoo on a "mission of love" in the northern portion of the State. The officer charged with the execution of the writ having ascertained Smith's absence from Nauvoo, proceeded in pursuit of him, and, without difficulty or opposition of any kind, secured his arrest at a small village on Rock river. Being in this manner deprived of the support of his friends, the Prophet had no choice left him but submission. He accordingly prepared to accompany the officer with the utmost apparent cheerfulness, and the most jovial good feeling towards his captors, not, however, until he had contrived secretly to send an embassy with intelligence of his arrest to his friends at Nauvoo. This embassy traveled with the greatest possible speed; whilst the Missourians, having in custody the captured

Prophet, seeing no possible chance for his escape or rescue, proceeded at a more leisurely pace in the same direction. They did not, however, think it prudent to risk the prisoner among his friends in Nauvoo; as sufficient was known of the character of the Mormons for cunning and duplicity to render the escape of Smith absolutely certain. They accordingly determined to cross the Mississippi river at Fort Madison, ten miles above Nauvoo. Whilst the Missourians were quietly progressing across the State, well satisfied with themselves and the result of their expedition, with chivalrous generosity endeavoring to cultivate the acquaintance of their prisoner, and tendering to him their good offices, the Mormon emissary which Smith had dispatched with the intelligence of his arrest, arrived at Nauvoo and communicated to the High Council the perilous situation of the Prophet. On the reception of this intelligence, the Mormons lost no time in fruitless lamentations. To allow the Missourians to take the Prophet into their own State would be in fact signing his death-warrant, or consenting to his murder, as all the fierce and relentless and undying hate of which human nature is susceptible had been aroused in the breast of the Missourian in his recent contest with the Prophet. Even should he have been acquitted by the court in which his cause was impending, the determination was general that the fanatic impostor escaping from legal justice should die by the hands of violence.

It was uncertain to the Mormons what route would be taken by the captors of the Prophet; and to make assurance doubly sure—to guard against the possibility of escape, a steamboat owned by the Mormons was called into requisition, and was immediately dispatched by way of the Mississippi to Beardstown on the Illinois, whence they had reason to believe the Missourians would proceed by steamboat to St. Louis. At the same time they dispatched a strong detachment of the Nauvoo Legion north on the direct route to the point where Smith had been arrested. This last expedition had traveled about thirty miles when they fell in with the Missourians, and immediately surrounded them. The odds in numbers and equipments was so manifestly in favor of the Mormons, that resistance was out of the question. The Mis-

sourians vainly urged that they acted under legal authority and by the warrant of the Governor; that by virtue of this unquestioned authority they had made the arrest, and that duty required that they should make legal return of their prisoner to the proper authority of Missouri. The Prophet admitted the unquestioned validity of their process; nor had he any disposition to resist an authority which all good citizens were bound to respect; nor would he suffer his people—who, notwithstanding the contrary opinions expressed of them by their enemies, were distinguished for their orderly submission to the law—to rescue him from their custody, which, if illegal and wrongful, could be redressed without any appeal to violence. But, whilst he submitted implicitly to the supremacy of the law, he claimed, in common with every American citizen, its protection. Whilst he respected the authority under which he had been arrested, he claimed the right, under a writ of *habeas corpus*, to inquire into the legality of his detention. And should it be found, upon a full, impartial, and satisfactory investigation, that there was sufficient cause to restrain him of his liberty, trusting in the purity of his past life and the righteousness of his past actions, he would cheerfully accompany them and confront his accusers in their own courts, where he hoped triumphantly to vindicate his innocence. To avail himself of his legal remedy, it was necessary for them to visit Nauvoo, where he assured the Missourians a hospitable reception awaited them, and where the grievance of which he complained could be inquired into by the municipal court of that city, which had full authority to try writs of *habeas corpus*; and he hoped there would be no doubt entertained of its impartiality.

However much the Missourians may have doubted the pledge of hospitality given by the Prophet, or whatever faith they may have placed in the impartiality of the tribunal to which the Prophet intended to appeal, prudence influenced them to accept the proposition made to them, and visit Nauvoo.

Immediately after their arrival, the Prophet procured the issuing of his writ of *habeas corpus* from the municipal court of Nauvoo. This judiciary had been organized under the provisions of the charter, and surrounded with circumstances of great dignity. It con-

sisted of a presiding judge and eight associates. Smith himself had been chosen Chief Justice, and now his case was to be determined by his eight associates, whom he claimed to be impartial, even when their chief was a party.

At this time the congressional election was pending, and the candidates were then engaged canvassing the district with the most commendable zeal and industry. The Whig candidate, a lawyer of great experience and some eminence in his profession, was at Nauvoo, engaged in the laudable enterprise of "making his election sure," when Smith and the Missourians returned to Nauvoo. It was thought by the Prophet that the presence of this gentleman on the trial of his "*Habeas corpus*" would be of the utmost service to him, in attaching weight and dignity to the decision of his court. Should this tribunal be afterwards charged with stretching its jurisdiction beyond its statutory limits, he could refer to Cyrus Walker, the most thorough of jurists, who advised and insisted on the very decision to which the objection was raised. And if the learned, astute, and practical lawyer, of forty years' experience, honestly erred in his opinion, was it not possible that the men who constituted the court, unacquainted with legal principles or the complicated forms of the law, might commit the same error, without being amenable to the charge of corruption? Walker hailed the misfortune of the Prophet, and the necessity of his presence as his counsel, as the brightest omen of the success of his somewhat doubtful political campaign. This congressional district, prior to the emigration of the Mormons, was about equally balanced between the political parties; and the Mormon vote at this time invariably decided the contest by its influence and number. The candidate very plausibly argued, that if he, by his professional learning, should give dignity and respectability to the Mormon tribunal, it was due to him that the Mormons should reciprocate his kindness and remunerate his labors, by granting to him their undivided support at the approaching election.

After the preliminary arrangements were made, Smith, without further delay, was brought before the court over which he ordinarily presided. The only question which appeared necessary to decide was one of jurisdiction. It was contended by the Mis-

sourians that the Legislature never intended to grant to the municipality of Nauvoo any authority to issue writs of *Habeas corpus*, excepting in cases where the cause of detention originated under the laws or ordinances passed by the city council; that in the case under advisement, the cause of detention arose under State and national laws, and could not be investigated by the tribunal before which it was pending. This view of the case was combated by Mr. Walker with admirable adroitness and plausibility. He had the confidence and sympathy of the court; and it was not wonderful that it should decide with the most harmonious unanimity in favor of its own jurisdiction. It would hardly be supposed that this preliminary decision would have disposed of the merits of the case. That because the court had jurisdiction of the matter in question, that therefore the prisoner should be discharged, without any inquiry into the legality of his detention, would scarcely be considered a legitimate conclusion by any court in America. Yet such was the decision of the Mormon tribunal in the present case. The court, without any reference to the Governor's warrant under which the defendants justified, declared their opinion to be, "that General Joseph Smith be, and is hereby, legally and honorably discharged."

To procure the discharge of his client under such circumstances, reflected but little credit on the professional skill of the counsel. But the Missourians were resolved not to be baffled by the chicanery of the Mormons, and still determined to bring their fanatical leader to justice. For the accomplishment of this purpose, they immediately departed to Springfield, the seat of government, to procure, if possible, another warrant from the executive for the arrest of the Prophet. It now depended on Walker to counteract any statement made by the Missourians, and, if possible, prevent the Governor from granting any further process in the case. For this purpose he was sent to Springfield by Smith. In this mission Walker was completely successful. The Governor, on his representations, refused to grant a new warrant, and the Missourians, wearied and disappointed by the superior address and cunning of the Mormons, returned home from their fruitless expedition. This was an important triumph for the Prophet. He had thwarted the vengeance of his enemies without any appeal

to violence. He had achieved his discharge from arrest "by due course of law." To render his triumph more complete, he obtained his discharge from imprisonment under the operation of a law passed by his own city council, and his freedom was pronounced by a court under his own control. In his contest with the people of Missouri, he had fought against the legally constituted authority of the State, and was denounced as the leader of a revolutionary and disorganizing mob; but now, by a masterly stroke of statesmanship, he had changed his policy, and, by submission to the laws, had become the founder of the "law and order party" of the county of Hancock. In his "Missouri War," where force opposed force, the Prophet had been sadly the loser. But in his late contest, where cunning and chicanery were the weapons of his warfare, the most complete success was the result of his policy. Through the influence and operation of the late decision of the Nauvoo court, assuming jurisdiction of writs of *Habeas corpus*, the city became a place of refuge for every fugitive from justice. The outlawed felon, escaping from the vengeance of the law, hurried to the City of the Saints, and found a safe asylum and ample protection from the Prophet, who received him with kindness, and granted to him his countenance and support.

The Prophet had read and admired the history of David, the founder of the Jewish dynasty, who, prior to his elevation to the throne, when banished by the jealous displeasure of the reigning sovereign, collected around him in the wilderness every one who was oppressed with debt, and every one who was dissatisfied with the existing rule of his nation, until a formidable and desperate army acknowledged his leadership.

He had, perhaps, heard that the barbarian founder of imperial Rome, which afterwards civilized the world, and controlled its destinies, had clustered around him a band of outlawed felons, who had been driven from society on account of the ferocity of their nature and the desperateness of their crimes. He had heard, too, that from this robber band had descended a race of soldiers that conquered the world. And if fierce outlaws were valuable, because of their desperate qualities, to David and the old Roman, who founded each of them a brilliant and power-

ful dynasty, why should they not be useful to him for the same reason? Why should they not infuse vitality and energy into the villainous compound of fanaticism and wickedness over which he presided at Nauvoo! Viewing these accessions to his strength in this favorable light, the Prophet extended the hand of fellowship to the most vile and abandoned who sought his protection, and welcomed them with the utmost consideration and courtesy into the society of the saints.

Protected by the operation of their judiciary, the Mormons still further extended their authority, and became still more daring in their usurpations. The common council of the city, in its legislative capacity, emulated the judicial in its innovations. Paper money was voted a nuisance by this saintly assemblage of lawgivers, and the culprit who dared to circulate the interdicted commodity, subjected himself to heavy penalties in punishment of his temerity. The Prophet and his confederate council hated a paper currency with as much intensity and malignity as did the dignified "conscript father" from Missouri; and persecuted bank-bills of the denomination of one dollar, with the same settled and determined hostility which characterized the warfare of the distinguished senator against the monster bank; and, like that astute politician, the Prophet contemplated supplying his adherents with a hard money currency in exchange for the bank paper, which he had driven as a corrupt thing out of the precincts of the holy city. In this design he was more successful than the great Missourian; for, although gold and silver did not flow up the Mississippi to supply the vacuum, yet copper, tin, Britannia and German silver did; and out of these comparatively valueless materials a compound was ingeniously manufactured, out of which was struck, with wonderful facility, Mexican and American coin, by the aid of an extempore mint, termed, by Western science, a Bogus press. This spurious currency, thanks to the skill and experience of the proselytes, who had lately sheltered themselves under the Prophet's wing, was well executed, and circulated in a thousand channels over a wide extent of country. So well did this ingenious fraud succeed, and so large was the return of the profits on the investment, that numbers of the saints embarked at once in the enterprise of coining,

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with the most religious enthusiasm and zeal. And it is said that the Prophet, with all his wisdom, was meek enough to submit to the teachings of his hopeful converts, and learn of them the process of transmuting the most common metal into the similitude of gold. The fact of the manufacture, and the criminal vending of this spurious coin by the Mormons, is well established by conclusive testimony. After the saints, by the force of public opinion, were compelled to dispose of their property in every quarter of the city, ingenious contrivances were found in secret cellars, which had been invented and used for the production of counterfeit coin. Although efforts were made by the malicious and dissatisfied Gentiles to bring the offenders to justice, Mormon duplicity and deception were generally sufficient to baffle the exertions of the most vigilant officers; and if an arrest were made in despite of the exertions used to prevent it, the culprit, if he chose, could appeal to the court over which his Prophet presided, and secure his discharge. Should he, on the contrary, waive his privilege of discharge under a writ of *habeas corpus*, and permit a jury empanelled by a Gentile court to determine his guilt or innocence, he could safely count upon any number of his brethren to establish his innocence by the most heaven-daring perjury. It was a part of Smith's theology, that he had a moral and religious right to do evil that good might come. He repeatedly expressed the opinion, that it was a Christian duty to lie and to swear to it, for the protection of the saints against the malice of the Gentiles; and, like the arch-enemy of the human race, he could quote Scripture in support of this absurd and wicked position. He contended, if the Lord once placed a lying spirit in the mouth of an ancient prophet, he might and would do the same thing by a modern one; that when it became his duty to lie, he would do so in the name of the Lord; and it must be observed that this part of his religious duty Smith observed with most scrupulous fidelity.

Religious impostors generally find it necessary to enforce their teachings by a hypocritical adherence to the strict forms of morality. In addition to a life of sanctity and pretended devotion, the impostor endeavors to conciliate the progressive spirit of the age by some new development of "the

law of love." But Smith manifested no such amiable weakness. He sighed for the return of that iron age in which physical force organized society, and hewed out man's destiny; when intellect slumbered, and passion ruled with despotic sway. He wished for a period when vengeance should be undisguised and unmitigated; when a man could rise upon his enemy and slay him; when the captive should be slain by the edge of the sword, or hewn to pieces at the bidding of his captor. He emulated more the vengeance tolerated and suffered to exist by divine wisdom in the Jewish polity, than the meekness, humility, and benevolence, inculcated by the Saviour of the world. He imitated more the sensuality encouraged by the teachings of the Moslem prophet, than the self-denial and temperance enjoined upon his followers by "him who taught as never man taught." The Prophet understood that David, whom he considered in sort a typical shadow of what he was to be, practised polygamy; that he even had resorted to base and murderous plots, to increase the number of his wives and grace his court with beauty. Solomon, the Augustus of the Jews, distinguished for the unexampled prosperity and matchless splendor of his reign, and famed amongst his barbarian neighbors for the excellency of his wisdom, boasted a harem as large and well-selected as that of the Grand Turk of modern times. Smith determined to emulate the example of these illustrious orientals in their vices only. Their great virtues were kept out of view in the picture which Smith drew of their characters. Although the restriction of the penal code for a time prevented the publicity of this new and startling vice, yet strange whispers began to be breathed over the country, charging the prophet with an attempt to establish, under a new guise, a system of polygamy in defiance of reason, morals, and law, and enforce it as a religious observance amongst his infatuated followers. It was as impossible to reach this as other crimes practised by the obnoxious sect; and even from the pulpit this odious practice, which Christianity centuries ago abolished, and which the civilized world has uniformly discarded and punished, was publicly advocated by Smith, who claimed for its practice the sanction of revelation. The Scriptures of divine truth were misrepresented and tortured to establish the truth of this demoral-

izing tenet of the new faith, and enforce the obedience of the refractory to its requirements.

Notwithstanding the great influence of the Prophet, and the superstitious veneration with which his teachings were generally received, yet were they not all sufficiently infatuated to violate the sanctity of their marriage vows. Many of them began to fancy that the light of the divine countenance had been withdrawn from their leader; that his heart, like that of Solomon, whose example he professed to follow, had become estranged from God; and that his pretended revelation was nothing more than an emanation from a corrupt and brutalized nature.

Mormonism, until now, although fiercely opposed and persecuted by the surrounding Gentiles, enjoyed quietness, peace, and unity amongst its own devotees; but now it was its bad fortune to be assaulted by some of its first adherents and most successful advocates. John C. Bennett, the cherished friend of the Prophet, the superior general of his legion, the accomplished tutor in his college, now disavowed his allegiance to the Prophet, and launched his thunders at his head, with all his energy and his eloquence; he labored to stir up a spirit of seditious hostility to the pretensions of Smith, amongst the saints in Nauvoo; but he was soon compelled to abandon this enterprise as hopeless, and to

fly from the city, pursued by the hearty curses of all true friends of the Prophet. Driven from the city, he continued an incessant clamor against the Mormons, and denounced without stint their fallen, degraded, and sensual leader, who had failed to keep "his garments white and unspotted from the world."

At the same time that Bennett was laboring to arouse the people of the adjacent country by his startling disclosures of the enormities of Mormonism, a conspiracy was formed at Nauvoo for the purpose of leading away all the saints who adhered to the first platform of the Prophet, and refused to lend their influence to the adulterous project which had lately been developed. This schism was led by one Hinkle, a man of but little influence or talent. His object was to establish a colony in the unsettled portion of Iowa, over which he intended to preside in the prophetic character; for he, as well as Smith, held communication with the world of spirits. But few of the saints, however, could be induced to acknowledge his leadership, and his enterprise consequently proved a failure. A few of his friends deserted Nauvoo under his direction, but his influence was not sufficient to concentrate this slight force, and Hinkleism has perished from the face of the earth. n. w. m.

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THE year eighteen hundred and forty-four was an eventful one in the history of Mormonism. Early in that year, the Prophet announced himself a candidate for the Presidency of the United States. However ridiculous and presuming the impostor may have appeared, in the eyes of sensible people, in arrogating to himself a position of so much dignity, yet his course was not wholly devoid of policy. His assumption of a position at once elevated and commanding tended to dazzle and captivate the minds of the ignorant and vulgar populace who acknowledged his leadership. It was admirably calculated to give color and consistency to the lofty pretensions claimed for Smith by his emissaries engaged in the propagation of Mormonism abroad. In every country of Christendom, Smith had established his missions; and the apostles of the new faith had even visited the most distant portions of Asia. They had propagated their wild and absurd vagaries in the land where the Jewish prophets communicated their visions of hope to the world, on the soil consecrated by the example and teachings of the Saviour of mankind. These missionaries of fanaticism endeavored to inculcate the principles of their faith by fanciful and exaggerated descriptions of the growth of Mormonism, its political importance, and the brilliant destiny which awaited it. In confirmation of the elevated position they claimed for their Prophet, they called attention to the fact that he was, even now, an aspirant to the highest office in the gift of the American people. To create a political party, and announce himself as a candidate for the Presidency, was a bold stroke of policy on the part of the Prophet, which, if not attended by any immediate or practical results, gave importance to his propagandism abroad, and secured its success. Smith had accomplished much in his short life, in the face of the most serious opposition, and his head was now well nigh turned with the

success of his enterprises. He had been trained in a school of severe adversity; his very name had been a by-word of scorn. In his eccentric career, he had been compelled to endure every personal indignity. He had been driven from New-York, where he first divulged his mysterious communications with the world of spirits, by a prosecution for vagrancy. In Ohio, much against his will, he was compelled to wear a coat of tar and feathers, imposed upon him by the ungracious hands of an excited mob. In Missouri, he had been immured in the walls of a dungeon, where he awaited a traitor's doom, to be pronounced upon him by a jury of bitter and vengeful enemies. In Illinois, he had been reduced to the condition of a wandering vagabond, subsisting on the benevolence of strangers. He suffered these outrages on his person and on his liberty with the constancy and heroism of a martyr. Unwavering and decided amid his most trying reverses, he never for a moment entertained the thought of the abandonment of his startling and revolutionary theories; but, during the infliction of wrong and persecution, he hopefully pointed with the finger of prophecy to a brilliant epoch which would yet grace his history, when the last enemy should be subdued; when the empire of the world should be given to the saints for an inheritance, and the millennium, with all its Apocalyptic glories, should be ushered in. In contemplation of his almost uninterrupted prosperity, and his advancement in power, Smith began to fancy that the dreams of his ambition might all be realized. He was yet young, just approaching the meridian of life. During fourteen years only had he propagated his doctrines; and, amid perplexities which no one else would have labored to surmount, with indefatigable zeal he still persevered, until he now counted his proselytes by hundreds of thousands. The Moslem prophet, whose brilliant and almost superhuman achievements startled

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the world, and have continued in all subsequent time to excite wonder and admiration, toiled, and fasted, and prayed for twenty years in the solitary desert, before his creed was acknowledged, before his star of empire sparkled in the orient, or his crescent banner was given to the winds.

Smith had accomplished much in his short mission besides fasting and prayer. He had agitated and excited the public mind. He had acquired notoriety; and he lived in a country where notoriety was more highly appreciated, and more frequently rewarded, than exalted talent. He had seen obscure and unprincipled politicians thrown to the surface by the waves of popular excitement, who were drifted into places of power and influence by the mere force of the current; and why should not the burly fanatic impostor, by the interposition of some fortunate wave, ride safely into the goal of his ambition?

The Prophet, although much interested in the success of his political movement, was in no way neglectful of the immediate interests of his colony. Nauvoo continued the most prosperous of western cities. The rude cottages which first sheltered its inhabitants were gradually disappearing, and the march of improvement was manifest in the respectable and commodious dwellings which succeeded them. An association under the direction of the Prophet laid the foundation of a first-class hotel, the estimated cost of which was three hundred thousand dollars. A suite of rooms were to be reserved for the use of the Prophet, which were to be furnished in a style of surpassing magnificence, and were to descend to his lineal representatives for ever. The building of the temple was progressing, under the direction of a superior architect from Liverpool, with a rapidity which promised its early completion. The singular design of the architecture of this vast building already made it an object of interest to the curious and observing tourist, who, on account of this and many other attractions, was always induced to take the city of Joseph in his route. The city was becoming a resort of the fashionable class engaged in the laudable enterprise of killing time. Parties of pleasure arrived daily by the steamboats, and were received by the Prophet with punctilious courtesy, and entertained by him with generous hospitality.

Social amusements were concerted by the saints, and the surrounding gentiles were invited to participate with them in the pleasures of the social circle, in the fascinations of the ball-room, and in the more exciting amusement of the card-table. The Prophet was prosperous; he began to fancy he was secure. Fortune of late had smiled on his policy. The citizens of the county had arrayed themselves against him, and by the superiority of his diplomacy he had vanquished them. Hinkle had raised the standard of insubordination in the encampment of the saints, and by the divine power of the priesthood he had delivered him over to Satan, and his rebellion had been crushed, and his spirit withered by the potency of the curse. Bennett had lectured on the vices and wickedness of the Prophet, until he was compelled to desist from the disgusting recital for want of auditors.

But the spirit of mistrust and disaffection had not perished with the departure of Hinkle and Bennett. The former had not sufficient capacity to give vigor and efficiency to an opposition to the unbounded popularity of the Prophet, and the latter was too notorious for his vices to inspire confidence in any pretensions he might make to reform. The material, however, still slumbered there, which, if once aroused and rightly directed, might have well caused the Prophet to tremble for the security of his power, and the safety of his person, despite of the devotion of the masses to his will.

The necessary leadership for a spirited and vigorous opposition to the despotism of Smith was found in the persons of William and Wilson Law, two brothers, who, notwithstanding their Mormonism, were respected by the Anti-Mormons for their moral worth and the correctness of their general deportment. These brothers had become alarmed at the sensuality of the Prophet, and the open encouragement which he gave to a system of polygamy, which threatened to invade the sanctity of the marriage contract in every family in Nauvoo. Suspicious husbands and fathers found it necessary to arm themselves, for the purpose of guarding their wives and daughters from the seductive arts of the Prophet and his twelve apostles. Fears of the invasion of their own domestic felicity, by a licentiousness established by revelation, and

which appealed to the sanction of religion for its observance, impelled the Laws to excite and give system and tone to a vigorous opposition to Smith. Neither they nor their partisans renounced Mormonism in their contest with its leader. And it may well be observed that, so strange is the infatuation of this singular people, a complete renunciation of their religion has perhaps never yet taken place. We have seen the devotee of Mormonism, ruined in property, blighted in character, haggard with famine, with no prospect but starvation before him, with his nerves steeled with hopeless despair; we have heard him denounce Mormonism as the cause of all his distress and degradation, with a bitterness and energy sufficient to make the blood run cold; yet challenge his opinion to the truth of the new system, and he would still claim that Smith was a prophet, with the seal of divinity impressed upon his mission.

The Laws contended that, although Smith had been invested with the prophetic character, and for years exercised it to the edification of the saints, yet, from the grossness of his passions, the spiritual existences, offended with his depravity, had refused any longer to use him as a medium of their communications; that his pretended revelation having reference to the doctrine of spiritual wives, (for so was his system of concubinage denominatcd,) was the offspring of corruption, or an emanation from hell. They contended that it was necessary to remove the Prophet from the exalted position which he had so shamelessly desecrated, lest the light of prophecy should be finally extinguished in their midst. There were many among the saints who were not wholly lost to morality and the decencies of life. These the Laws labored to rally against Smith; but their effort was only partially successful. The administration of the Prophet was vigilant, as well as corrupt and oppressive. Devoted and indefatigable spies, in the pay of Smith, dogged the heels of every suspected person, whether citizen or stranger. To render as vigorous and efficient as possible his system of police, the city authorities organized the "Danite Band," so conspicuous in Mormon history for reckless villainy and lawless desperation. Never, perhaps, in the annals of high-handed wickedness, not even among the mountain passes of southern Europe, was

ever collected together a body of outlaws more determined and unrestrained than this same Danite Band. These villains were to look after the interests, personal and political, of the Prophet, and to act as a guard on the suspected. They were bound to their chief by the strongest possible ties. The most of them were fugitives from justice, who, after having forfeited the protection of the law, were kindly received into the "Holy City," where the influence of Smith effectually shielded them from the danger of pursuit. In addition to the debt of gratitude which they owed the generosity of their protector, the Prophet held out the still stronger inducement to their loyalty, that any moment he chose he could hand them over to justice; and as this might be considered an insufficient guarantee to their fidelity, it is said that the most horrible oaths were exacted from them, by which they bound themselves to observe the commands of the Prophet, and do his bidding, regardless of the consequences resulting from their acts. It was not surprising that, with such a police as this, bound to the Prophet by so many ties and such horrible pledges, continually dogging their heels and watching their movements, the disaffected, however much they may have sympathized with the Laws in their effort for reform, fearful of midnight assassination, or some terrible injury inflicted by the machinations of Smith, should prudently keep silence, and by every artifice labor to conceal their hostility to the Prophet.

The Laws were bold men; and notwithstanding the desertion of the timid and prudent from their ranks, they were still resolved to overthrow the despotism established by Smith, and, if possible, restore purity to the Church. Not content with exposing and denouncing the corruptions which had crept into the Church through the instrumentality of the Prophet, the Laws determined to issue a weekly paper in the city, which should boldly speak out the views of its proprietors, regardless of the influences of the corrupt and intriguing policy which would be brought to bear against them. In this enterprise they were aided by the means of one Dr. Foster, a broken-down speculator, who had united with the Mormons for the purpose of fleecing them. This man, by means of the Mormon vote, had been elected to the office of school com-

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missioner, in the exercise of which he squandered or embezzled the funds, and failed without being able to make restitution. Foster could have forgiven any amount of moral turpitude in Smith, but it was not in human nature to forgive the wrongs he had himself perpetrated on the Prophet's followers; and it was not strange that he should unite with the more virtuous Laws to persecute those whom his villainy had beggared.

This junto of conspirators was enabled to procure a printing-press early in the summer, and one number of their journal was issued and circulated. Smith expected to be abused, but the boldness of his enemies and the graveness of the charges which they preferred against him took him by surprise. He had never imagined that a set of men could be found in the midst of his dominions—in his own city, at his very door—who should possess moral courage sufficient to assail him with so much license through the public press. To think of tolerating a journal which at once threatened and defied him was out of the question; but how to rid himself of the nuisance was a matter of the greatest perplexity. To call out his military, destroy the press, and hang every person concerned in the publication of the paper, would scarcely have been a proceeding sufficiently summary to satisfy the vengeance of the incensed Prophet. Had he acted from the first impulses of his murderous inclinations, the Laws would have atoned for their temerity with their lives. But Smith was too politic to adopt illegal measures, whilst there was any hope that the matter could be satisfactorily accomplished under the authority of the law. Smith was determined to head the "law-and-order party," and throw upon his adversaries the odious imputation of mobbers. In this dilemma he took counsel of one Style, a Mormon lawyer, who advised him that the obnoxious paper was, without question, a nuisance, and as such should without delay be abated; that the Municipal Court of the city of Nauvoo had jurisdiction of all such offenses; that the character of the journal should be immediately brought before the court for the grave deliberation of its judges, who had an undoubted right on a proper investigation to make an order requiring the city Marshal to cause its abatement.

This counsel was adopted and acted upon. A petition was filed charging that a certain weekly newspaper, called the *Nauvoo Expositor*, had advocated seditious and disorganizing doctrines, derogatory to the peace and good order of society at the city of Nauvoo, and praying that an order might be made in the premises declaring the same a nuisance, and requiring its destruction. The judges acted on the petition, and gravely declared the press a nuisance, and made the necessary order for its abatement. This decree was immediately carried into execution. The Marshal summoned to his assistance a cohort of the Legion, numbering two hundred men, with which he proceeded to the office of the *Expositor*, and carried away the press, type, paper, and all the fixtures of the establishment, beyond the corporation limits, where he completely destroyed the whole apparatus "according to due form of law." No resistance was made by the parties interested to this wanton destruction of the press, but there was a settled determination on the part of the Laws to bring Smith and his associates to justice. A writ was taken out for him and the principal persons concerned with him in the late transaction, before a Justice of the Peace at Carthage, and a special officer appointed for its execution. This officer, without any delay, visited Nauvoo for the purpose of arresting Smith. With this intention he called on him, exhibited to him his authority, which the Prophet unequivocally refused to obey, alleging that the Laws and their abettors had fomented an excitement against him in the country, particularly at Carthage, which would be dangerous for him to encounter; that he had no protection but what was guaranteed to him by the true hearts and the truer steel of the Nauvoo Legion; and until his own military refused to give him their support, he never would surrender himself to his enemies, who had sworn to take vengeance upon him whenever he should be placed in their power.

The officer, unsupported by any assistance, was compelled to return to Carthage without any prisoners. A large and excited meeting was soon collected at the court-house, to which the officer reported his failure, and the determination of Smith to resist his authority. This report tended to inflame the passions of the already ex-

cited masses beyond all control. There were those who advocated the policy of instantly arming the masses, marching to Nauvoo, and driving the insubordinate Mormons from the State. Others no less determined, but more prudent and rational, recommended that the warrant which Smith had refused to obey should be placed in the hands of the sheriff; that he should summon to his aid the power of the county; that, at the same time, a delegation should be appointed whose duty it should be to visit Springfield, and make a full statement of the facts to the Governor, and invoke the aid of the State in support of the law. This moderate counsel prevailed. The delegation to confer with the Governor was appointed, and departed for Springfield.

In the mean time the sheriff issued his proclamation to the people of the county, and never was a proclamation received with more delight or obeyed with more alacrity. The farmer abandoned his field, the mechanic his shop, the merchant his counting-room, and the professional man his books, and all hastened to vindicate the outraged law, and restore the reign of order and justice. All sorts of arms were called into requisition; old fire-locks half eaten with rust, fowling-pieces guiltless of the blood of bird or beast, pistols and bowie-knives, were all pressed into the patriotic service, and burnished for the day of battle. Squadrons of horse and detachments of infantry were organized, officered, and equipped with wonderful facility in every part of the country, and marched into Carthage, where the Sheriff had established his head-quarters.

Nor was the delegation to the capital less successful, and on the receipt of the intelligence of the insubordination of the Mormons, the Governor immediately departed from Carthage. As he proceeded on his route, he collected, as occasion offered, a volunteer force, which, on his arrival, numbered five or six hundred men. The forces now assembled at Carthage under the command of the Governor were, in all, about one thousand men, which was less than one half the numerical strength of the Nauvoo Legion, with which they were to contend. Notwithstanding Smith was aware of the inferiority of the Governor's troops, he exerted all his vigilance to guard against surprise. All his forces were marshalled and placed under arms. The note of prepara-

tion for the approaching battle was heard in every quarter of the city. A night-watch patrolled the streets; pickets were stationed on the outskirts, and bands of horsemen by day and night scoured the adjacent forests and prairies. The Prophet, refusing to surrender himself to justice, had placed himself under the ban of proscription; he was in open war with the executive of the State to which he owed allegiance, and with lofty resolution he determined to bravely fight it through. The position of Nauvoo is naturally a strong one. The Mississippi river, by the curve which it makes at that point, protects three fourths of its boundaries from invasion. It is accessible to an enemy only on the east and north-east by the Carthage and La Harpe roads. One of these, the Carthage road, was flanked on each side with deep ravines sufficient to protect a large army from the raking fire of artillery. Also skirts of forest, interspersed with dense undergrowth, overhung this road, and afforded an impenetrable cover to the saintly forces, who, concealed by this covering, could, unperceived, pour a destructive fire on the approaching enemy. Under such circumstances, the Prophet fancied he could hold out successfully against any force which Governor Ford could bring against him.

The Governor, on his arrival, immediately dispatched a small detachment of troops to Nauvoo, sending by them a letter to Smith, in which he informed him of the danger which he would incur from the excited masses in case he continued to resist, and threatening him with the concentrated power of the State if he still refused to surrender himself. Smith still determined to resist. To obey the authority of the State would seal his doom. The excited countrymen who had been pouring into Carthage were impelled by an uncontrollable desire for vengeance, which nothing would satiate but his blood. On this refusal of the Prophet to accompany them, the troops, with the exception of one of their number, returned to Carthage and reported the fact to the Governor, with the representation that Yates, the person who remained behind, was compromising the dearest interests of the county to the Mormons.

Upon the receipt of this intelligence, a troop of horse, under the command of Captain Dunn, was dispatched to Nauvoo, with a requisition for all the arms furnished by

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the State to the Nauvoo Legion. This expedition had advanced less than half the distance, when it was met by Smith and his brother Hyrum, and several other distinguished Mormons, who were included in the writ for riot. Through the representations made by Yates to Smith, he had concluded to surrender himself to justice. His fears had been aroused by the bustle of preparation which was heard in every part of the county, and which was rapidly extending throughout the State. He justly feared that, although he might readily vanquish the force now assembled at Carthage, the authority of the State would eventually triumph, and the scenes of violence from which they had just escaped in Missouri would be reenacted in Illinois, and the faithful would be again driven in hopeless exile from their homes.

Under this impression, the Prophet and his friends surrendered themselves. When they arrived at Carthage, they were great objects of curiosity to the Governor's troops, many of whom resided at a distance from Nauvoo, and never had caught a glimpse of a genuine prophet of the latter days. To gratify this natural and laudable curiosity, the Governor requested the Sheriff to parade the troops and introduce to their notice Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum, who, by the way, was second in the Church, and very frequently assumed the prophetic character, to the great edification of the saints. This request of the Governor was strictly complied with by the Sheriff; the troops were placed on parade, and the Prophet was introduced as General Joseph Smith to the army. But as he and his suite rode along the extended lines, bowing with the most respectful courtesy to the "citizen soldiery," no response of welcome or approbation greeted his overtures for friendship; no kindly sympathy sparkled in the eyes of the sullen Anti-Mormons; no shout of applause burst from the embattled host! All was cold, grave, silent, and threatening; and as the proscribed impostor passed, every countryman in the ranks, nerved with intense hate, convulsively grasped his weapon, his respect for the law and the fear of its penalties only preventing summary vengeance from being taken at that moment. The troops muttered their disapprobation of the conduct of the Sheriff in presenting to them an impostor and vag-

bond under a military title which they had been taught to respect. It was impossible to conciliate the wrath of the troops against their prisoner. They were determined in their hatred to the Mormon character; and no overtures made by Smith or his friends, amongst whom they began to regard the Governor, could ever induce them to look upon him with any degree of allowance.

The vindictive troops were dismissed from parade, and immediately afterwards, Smith and his fellow-prisoners were brought before the justice of the peace who had issued the warrant, to be examined on a charge of riot for the destruction of the printing-press. It was claimed by the prosecution that they were not ready for trial; that, owing to the resistance which the prisoners had made, and the probability that they would still continue to resist, no effort had been made to procure the necessary testimony in the case. The surrender of themselves as prisoners had taken the prosecution by surprise, and found them without witnesses; it was therefore asked that the case should stand over until the 27th of June, which was only three days, but would be sufficient time for them to procure the testimony; and during which time it was asked that the prisoners should be committed to the common jail at Carthage, to await their examination. The course proposed by the prosecution was adopted by the justice; the continuance was granted, and the prisoners were remanded to jail. But whilst the justice was preparing the commitment, they demanded their right to enter bail for their appearance at the examination, and thus discharge themselves from arrest. This was their unquestioned right, and the bail proposed being unexceptionable, the justice was compelled to accede to this request; but, before the necessary bonds could be prepared, and the bail formally accepted and approved, another process was issued and served upon the Prophet, Hyrum Smith, Willard Richards, and John Taylor, charging them with treason against the State, in resisting the authority of government, in levying troops and fortifying the city, with the avowed purpose of giving battle to the Governor and the State troops. This grave charge was, of course, not bailable. The prisoners were now compelled either to procure their discharge on examination, which

was doubtful, or be confined like common felons in the county jail. The prosecution urged the same reasons in this as in the former case for a continuance, which was granted; and the Prophet and his associates were fully committed to await their examination, which was to take place three days afterwards.

Shortly after the imprisonment of Smith and his associates, Captain Dunn, who had been dispatched to Nauvoo to demand of the Mormon authorities a surrender of the State arms, returned, bringing with him four pieces of artillery, with a large quantity of musketry and other small arms, which had been delivered up to him as the full quota which had been furnished them by the State. Whether the Mormons acted honestly in this transaction, we have no means of ascertaining. It was charged by the Anti-Mormons, at the time, that the Mormons concealed the most valuable part of the arms; but of this there is no very satisfactory proof. The Mormons unquestionably carried with them, on their migration from the State, some fine pieces of artillery and large quantities of small arms of every variety. It has, however, never been conclusively shown (though repeatedly alleged) that any portion of these was the property of the State. In anticipation of their emigration westward, the Mormons, as opportunity afforded, negotiated for arms, until their legion had become the best armed military in America. But whether the Mormons acted in good faith or otherwise, the Governor was fully satisfied that all that could be attained at this time, in disarming them, had been accomplished by Captain Dunn, and no further effort for that purpose was made.

Governor Ford now concluded that the ends of justice were fully attained. The factious Prophet had surrendered, and was in prison; the public arms had been delivered; the riotous spirit of the Mormons had been quelled, and the necessity for "the armed occupation" of Hancock had ceased. It was consequently determined to disband the military; but every precaution was taken to guard against outrage. Separate pledges were exacted of every person enrolled in the service, to exert his influence to preserve the peace, and make every effort to protect the prisoners. A volunteer company, the "Carthage Grays," was retained

for the purpose of guarding the jail against any attempts which might be made by the Mormons to rescue the prisoners, as well as to protect them against the assaults of their enemies. This company was placed on duty, and all the residue of the troops were disbanded, and were earnestly advised by the Governor to quietly return to their homes, and, by an orderly example, assist him in the preservation of the peace. This advice was only partially acted upon by the dissatisfied troops. There were many who, even then, regarded it their imperative duty to drive the Mormons out of the State. This violent procedure they regarded as the only possible measure to restore peace and tranquillity to their distracted community. As long as the obnoxious sect remained, the same jealous antipathies would continue to agitate the public mind, and tend to disorganize society. They believed that the time was rapidly approaching when a grand rally to rid themselves of the Mormons would become an absolute necessity, whether the movement should be sanctioned by the executive or otherwise; and they believed that this object could now be accomplished with less peril than at any subsequent period. Dissatisfied as they were, however, there was no open mutiny. A large majority, immediately after their discharge from service, retired to their homes; others, more reckless and excitable, and who cared but little for the maintenance of social order, remained sauntering through the streets or collected in threatening groups, where they discussed the policy of the Governor, and muttered deep curses against the Prophet and his allies.

It must be observed that the order to disband the troops had taken effect before all who had been required to rendezvous under the command of the Governor had reached their destination. Colonel Levi Williams, who commanded a regiment of the Hancock militia in the south-west of the county, had been required to organize and equip his command, and march it to Point Golden, which is a skirt of timber projecting into the prairie five miles below Nauvoo, and near the Mississippi river. The Colonel, who was an ultra Anti-Mormon, and extremely violent in his prejudices, exerted all his influence and authority to rally his men. In a short time he had them on the march, every heart animated with the hope

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of a fight with the Prophet. They had marched less than half the distance to their point of destination, when a dispatch was received from the Governor, countermanding their order to march to Point Golden, and requiring them to instantly disband. This course of the Governor both surprised and disappointed them. Inflammatory and denunciatory speeches were made, arraigning the character of the Governor, and charging him with being confederate with the Mormons.

In the meantime, Governor Ford, gratified with the happy termination of his labors, thought it prudent and advisable to visit Nauvoo, and, by a candid statement of facts, and a fair promise of protection to his prisoners, win back the Mormons to their allegiance to the State. The Mormons received him with the respect due his station. Their interest in the fate of their Prophet was so general, so lively and intense, that no difficulty was found in collecting the whole population in one vast assemblage, in the open commons, where the Governor, in default of a rostrum, mounted a log cabin, from the roof of which he addressed the multitude for two hours or more, during which time the Mormons listened with the most anxious and profound attention. He admonished them against suffering any influence or policy to divert them from a due and implicit obedience to the law; threatened them with the power of the State if any attempts were made at insubordination, and guaranteed the public faith for the protection of the prisoners at Carthage. The Governor was earnest and sincere in the whole tenor of his remarks, and was greeted with frequent and enthusiastic bursts of applause from the assembled multitude, won over by his candor and apparent impartiality. The anxious suspense of the Mormons was measurably removed by the definiteness of the Governor's pledges. Addresses were made by the leading men of the city, in which assurances were given of the loyalty of the Mormons and their disposition to sustain the law. That Gen. Smith had only hesitated to surrender himself a prisoner, on account of the excitement and unjust prejudice of the public mind occasioned by the misrepresentations and falsehoods of the renegade Laws, who were plotting for the death of the Lord's Prophet and the destruction of the Church.

That in future, assured as they now were by positive pledges from the executive, the officers of the law would have no further cause of complaint against them. The meeting dispersed in good order, cheering the Governor for his liberality, and rejoicing in the pledges of his protection. They pressed upon him the hospitality of their city, which was declined, owing to pressing engagements at Carthage. The Governor accordingly left Nauvoo about sundown, well satisfied that the wrathful storm was quelled, angry passions were allayed, and peace, with its manifold blessings, was restored to "Hancock."

But, to return to Carthage, notwithstanding the absence of the Governor and their disaffection to his policy, there was no actual outbreak amongst the disbanded troops. The angry groups which were collected in the streets, indulging in surly comment on the Governor's conduct, were gradually talking away their wrath, and were silently dropping off to their homes. The little village of Carthage, which for a week past had been a scene of bustle, animation, and excitement rarely witnessed, was resuming its usually quiet, dull air. The only feature which marked that anything extraordinary was transpiring, was the guard on duty around the jail. The unsuspecting citizens rejoiced at the quiet of their streets, and congratulated themselves on the restoration of order in their midst.

Their joy, however, was of but brief endurance. Near sunset, and at the very moment when the Governor was pledging the public faith on behalf of the Mormon prisoners, an armed mob, numbering about one hundred men, was seen advancing stealthily, in single file, from the Nauvoo road, in the direction of the jail. On their arrival at the place of their destination, several shots were fired, and a scuffle ensued with the guard. The successful mob forced their way to the front door of the jail, burst into the lower room, which was instantly filled by the excited and determined crowd. There was no hesitation; they instantly poured in one dark and threatening mass up the stairway which led to the room where the prisoners were confined. Arriving at the head of the stairs, a volley was fired through the door into the prisoners' apartment. One of these random shots

passed through the panel with sufficient force to inflict a wound on Hyrum Smith, from which he instantly expired. The door was now forced, and the excited mob precipitated themselves in the very centre of the room, shouting and firing volley after volley. The contest was too fierce to continue long. The prisoners vainly attempted to parry the guns of their assailants. Taylor was severely, and at the time it was thought mortally, wounded. The Prophet was armed with a six-barrelled pistol, with which he defended himself with a bravery inspired by desperation. Three times did he discharge his weapon, and every shot was effectual, wounding one of his assailants mortally and two others slightly. Having been already severely wounded, and having fired all the barrels of his pistol which could be discharged, the Prophet turned to an open window with the intention of precipitating himself below. But the terrible appearance of the wrathful and determined mob without caused him to abandon his purpose. He was now exhausted from the loss of blood flowing from numerous wounds, yet he labored with the energy of despair to recover himself. He clutched the window sill to which he was suspended, and cast a wild and imploring look at the angry faces below. A volley was fired by the unrelenting mob, and the Prophet fell lifeless to the ground.

Thus fell a martyr to licentiousness and ambition the most corrupt, successful, and wicked impostor of modern times. Far from being animated by a desire to reformat and purify the spirit of religion, he took a retrograde march from enlightened virtue, and introduced into the sanctuary, dedicated to the solemnity of Christian worship, vices which out-distanced the obscene rites of paganism. Mahomet, to whom the Mormon Prophet has been frequently compared, was a reformer. Amid the corruptions of paganism, surrounded by the temples of polytheism, he declared to his countrymen his sublime creed, there is "no God but God." However crude may have been his conceptions of the Divine character, however much the worship he established may have been blended with superstition and error, yet the noble principle of the unity of Deity—the base of his splendid superstructure—was in itself a mighty triumph over the corrupt mysteries of

pantheism, which it demolished and succeeded. In an age when Christianity had but little of the purity, and shed but little of the radiance which distinguished it when it first dawned upon the world; when its light struggled feebly with the clouds of monkish superstitions and ignorance; when its spirit was crushed by corruptions within and corruptions without; it was not singular that the Moslem Prophet failed to discover the just attributes of Deity, and entirely misconceived his character. But, in an age when Christianity shone with full lustre, Joe Smith propagated the notion of a material God endowed with the same gross and debasing passions as himself; a Deity pleased with licentiousness, and delighted with the commission of crime. In Mahomet's time polygamy was recognized and sanctioned by the observance of a long series of ages. True, he suffered it to remain, not however as a distinguishing feature of his theology. Smith, on the contrary, in an age and amongst a people where the doctrine and practice were alike repudiated, outraged virtue and decency by its revival and its practice.

In the mean time, whilst Carthage was thrown into consternation by the murder of the Smiths, the Governor was quietly jogging on his way from Nauvoo to Carthage. He had not proceeded far when he was met by a messenger, spurring in hot haste, who informed him that the jail had been invaded by an armed mob; that the guard had been overcome, the prison stormed, and its inmates murdered. This news effectually paralyzed him. The causes of a catastrophe so dire and so unexpected were to him entirely unaccountable. For days he had labored by the most accomplished diplomacy to restore peace to the turbulent factions. He had succeeded. He had quelled the waves of agitation and restored the supremacy of law; and, in the moment of his triumph, all his plans were defeated, and the reign of anarchy introduced. So sudden was the intelligence communicated, that he had neither the power nor the inclination to analyze the causes which produced this strange revision in the affairs of Hancock. He thought only of his personal safety. He directed his course towards Quincy, turning his back on the storm of passion which his wisdom was insufficient to control.

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But, to return to the perpetrators of this tragedy, it is only necessary to state that so soon as the bloody deed was consummated they fled in the wildest confusion, impelled by vague fear of immediate danger, spreading in their flight the news of the catastrophe.

When the citizens of Carthage saw the mob investing the jail, it was supposed to be a party of Mormons endeavoring to effect the rescue of the prisoners. After they became aware of the true nature of the riot, and learned the murder of the Smiths, an immediate rising of the Mormons was anticipated for the purpose of avenging the death of their leader and Prophet. They reasonably expected that their first rush would be to Carthage, which would fall a sacrifice to their blind and avenging fury. Under this fearful impression the village was entirely deserted; men, women and children, panic-stricken, all fled in the wildest disorder and confusion. Mr. Hamilton, the proprietor of the "Carthage Hotel," with his family, were the only persons who had sufficient presence of mind to remain. To this hotel the remains of the Smiths were removed from the place where they had been abandoned by the mob in their blood. As the news of the death of the Smiths extended, the same panic which was manifested at Carthage communicated itself all over the county. Every one confidently believed that the desolating march of the Nauvoo Legion would bring terror and death to every home.

The news of the violent death of their Prophet was received by the Mormons with mingled emotions of surprise, horror, and rage. Their first impulse was to collect their forces and revenge themselves by the desolation of the county; but their desire for vengeance was instantly smothered by their cool and politic leaders, who at once saw the impropriety of permitting the infuriated multitude to take vengeance in their own hands. A delegation composed of the least obnoxious of their number was sent to receive and bring to Nauvoo the mutilated bodies of their Prophet and Patriarch. The Legion was paraded, placed under arms, and marched on to the prairie to escort the remains into the city. The bodies of the deceased were received with the greatest ceremony and solemnity. The whole populace was assembled to take their last look

of affection on those whom, in life, they had venerated and loved. Never was mourning more general or sincere. With all his vices, the impostor had been true to his people. In all their reverses, amid all their persecutions, he never thought of deserting them. They had listened to his teachings as the voice of God, and now the light which in all peril had shone on their pathway was for ever extinguished. The funeral of the deceased was attended by an immense concourse of people. The city authorities, the Nauvoo Legion, the Masonic lodges, the agitated and sorrowful populace, and the curious inquisitive strangers whose love of novelty had induced them to visit the city, all fell into the procession and followed the remains to their last resting place.

The perpetrators of this murder were never clearly identified. The Mormons, at the time of its commission, alleged that it was accomplished by their old enemies in Missouri, who had taken advantage of the existing disturbances in Illinois to satiate their malice and revenge. A letter was written by Elder Richards, who was confined with the Smiths at the time they were murdered, exculpating the people of Carthage from any connection with the riotous proceedings, and charging the Missourians with the murder. That Elder Richards was right in exonerating the citizens of Carthage from all participation in the transaction, there can be no shadow of doubt; that he was mistaken or wilfully lied in seeking to attach the guilt of the murder to the Missourians, there can be just as little doubt. In fact, the notion that the Missourians had any thing to do with the matter was almost immediately abandoned by all the Mormons, who now labored with much zeal and plausibility to fasten guilt on a part of Col. Williams's regiment, which we have seen was disbanded on its march to Point Golden. But their very exertions to bring the murderers to justice were so mixed up with cunning expedients and unequivocal malice, that they manifested a disposition rather to secure victims to gratify their revenge than to procure a correct and impartial administration of justice. The witness by whom they sought to fasten guilt on the expedition under Col. Williams, was a fellow by the name of Daniels, without character or common decency, who had

lately by sudden, and as he claimed supernatural means, become a zealous convert to Mormonism. This Daniels admitted that he himself was in the conspiracy, and assisted in the murder of the Smiths. To give color and consistency to his story, he published a narrative purporting to be a statement of the facts connected with the Carthage murder. In this narrative, he in substance states that he marched with Col. Williams's regiment from Warsaw to the point where the troops were disbanded. That on the dismissal of the troops, an inflammatory speech was made by the editor of the *Signal*, an Anti-Mormon journal published at Warsaw, in which he boldly proposed to march to Carthage, and murder the prisoners in jail. This proposition, he informs us, was rejected with disgust by a large number of the company, who were indignant at a proposition to murder men in the confinement of a prison, whatever guilt they may have incurred. That a portion of the company, less scrupulous, of which number he himself made one, organized themselves and marched to a point within four miles of Carthage, where they communicated with the prison guard, who entered heartily into the conspiracy. That they then immediately marched to Carthage and consummated the murder, without any

hindrance from the guard. That the rencontre of the mob was only a sham to keep up appearances, and that the shots which were fired by the guard were blank cartridges.

On the testimony of this witness nine persons, all of whom belonged to the regiment referred to, including Col. Williams, were duly indicted for the murder. This indictment came on to be heard at a special term of the Hancock Circuit Court, in June, 1845, about a year subsequent to the commission of the crime. Every effort was made to procure an impartial jury. A number of days were consumed in challenges. A jury was finally procured which has never yet been arraigned by public opinion, but has uniformly received the credit of having discharged their duty fearlessly and impartially. The Attorney-General of the State prosecuted with a vigor and ability rarely equalled. Yet the testimony of Daniels, who was his principal witness, was so inconsistent and contradictory, that he frankly admitted to the jury that the witness was wholly unworthy of credit, and that no attention should be given his testimony in the formation of their verdict. The prisoners were consequently, without any hesitation, found "not guilty" by the jury, and were accordingly discharged.

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asserted, that not less than 50,000 Whig voters cast their suffrages for Pierce and King, it will be a dear-bought and transient victory for the Democrats, and they will find themselves stopped in mid career if they attempt to carry out to its full extent the anti-American policy which they threaten to inflict upon the country.

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THE Anti-Mormons had supposed that all difficulty with their adversaries would necessarily cease with the death of their prophet and dictator. They believed that Smith was the soul of their organization, and that after he should perish the fanatics would be compelled to disband their forces, and find a refuge in some locality where their religion would be viewed with less suspicion, and where they would be less annoyed with persecution. In this conclusion the Anti-Mormons were altogether mistaken. True, there was a short and rather fierce struggle between the various factions in Nauvoo, headed by Brigham Young and Sidney Rigdon, in which, however, the brutal energy of Brigham triumphed over the more acute and intellectual resources of Rigdon, who was compelled to fly from the city of the saints to avoid the vengeance of his triumphant rival.

Brigham coolly seated himself on the throne of the prophet, and by his vigorous rule crushed all disaffections; for a year the voice of discord was hushed, and all inquiry into the official acts of the dictator was stifled. At the end of that period, in the autumn of 1845, a blow was struck at Mormonism in Illinois more disastrous and terrible than any which had previously been inflicted, and which involved in its consequences the final and complete banishment of fanaticism from the State. The Mormons had established in the surrounding country a number of flourishing settlements. These were attacked by the Anti-Mormons; houses were burned and farms desolated. So sudden were the movements of the insurgents, that near one hundred houses were destroyed before resistance could be organized. The sheriff of the county, a zealous friend of the Mormons, eventually marched a strong Mormon force from Nauvoo into the infected district, and

dispersed the rioters. He discharged his duty with the most unjustifiable violence. Several lives were lost in his conflicts with the Anti-Mormons, who, in their turn, appealed to the Governor for protection. Upon their application a force was raised under the proclamation of the Executive, numbering near one thousand men, which was placed under the command of General Hardin, who subsequently perished so gloriously at Buena Vista. This force was immediately marched to Nauvoo. Through the mediation and influence of General Hardin, the belligerent parties were brought to terms of accommodation; a treaty was agreed upon, by which the Mormons obligated themselves to remove from the State of Illinois early the following spring. It was agreed by the Anti-Mormons that they should cease from their hostile movements, and in all lawful ways assist the Mormons in the sale of their property. This agreement was ratified by the whole Mormon population, assembled "en masse" for that purpose, who resolved that the Church should march into the wilds of California, beyond the limits and jurisdiction of the United States.

The year of "forty-six" witnessed a scene at Nauvoo as novel and curious as has ever been exhibited in modern times. It witnessed the desertion of home, of civilization, and the protection of the law, by the Mormons, for the peaceful enjoyment of a false and licentious creed. Early in the spring of that year, they commenced in good earnest their preparations for their long and toilsome march to the far West. The bulk of their real estate had already been bartered away to the huckstering gentiles, in exchange for cattle and wagons, which were to carry them to the land of promise. The residue of their lands and houses which were yet unsold were still in the market at reduced prices, and their owners, intent on emigration,

were leaving no expedient untried to effect an exchange for an available outfit for the wilderness. The public houses of the city were crowded with a multitude of visitors from all portions of the West, attracted to the spot by the cheapness of the property now offered for sale. The sharp and wary dealer in real estate, weighing well his chances before he made an investment in "Mormon lots;" the dealer in dry goods, with a meagre and unsaleable collection of the fragments of what had once no doubt been a respectable stock in trade; the professional gambler, with his pack of marked cards his only capital, awaiting with commendable patience his opportunity to pluck some unguarded countrymen, were all congregated together in some close bar-room, insufferable from the fumes of whiskey and tobacco, or were bustling through the streets, striving for the attainment of the various objects of their pursuit.

The Mormon authorities had already shifted the scene of their impostures to the wilderness west of Iowa. There the impostor Brigham had planted his standard, around which had already clustered more than five thousand tried and true friends, who with him had escaped from the fiery persecution of the vindictive gentiles, to breathe the free air of the wild prairie, and enjoy without restraint the unlicensed indulgence of their debasing faith. There on the silent bosom of the wilderness, which had not yet submitted to the conquering march of American enterprise and civilization, did the fanatic pause in his endless journey.

It was indeed necessary that every effort should be made to hasten their departure from Nauvoo. The Anti-Mormons had construed their treaty to read that the Mormons were bound by their contract to leave the State by the first of May at all hazards, and that unless the whole of them should be removed against that time, they should be removed by force of arms. Although the Mormons objected strenuously to this construction of their contract, they abated none of their effort to make good their retreat beyond the reach of their enemies.

The first of May was now approaching; and the Governor, under the belief that the Mormons were quietly carrying out the stipulations of their treaty, and that the Anti-Mormons, well satisfied with their efforts,

had no disposition to create any further disturbances, caused the withdrawal and disbanding of the volunteer company stationed at Nauvoo. The Anti-Mormons, however, were far from being satisfied. They had been so often deceived by the false representations and pretenses of the proscribed sect, and had so long looked upon all their acts with suspicion and mistrust, that it was impossible now to satisfy their jealous watchfulness. If it were true, as they were informed from time to time, that the Mormons were leaving Nauvoo in such vast numbers, they were apt to inquire why it was that the population was so little reduced. They were led to believe that the intention of the Mormons to emigrate was not so general as had been represented. Brigham had informed the masses, in the name of the Lord, that the saints should never again have seed-time or harvest in the land of the gentiles; yet despite of this prophetic mandate, and amid all the hurry of preparation and departure, the Anti-Mormons were able to perceive that quite a number of the Mormons were engaged in planting crops which would not mature until long after the stipulated time for their departure. Another phase of deception now developed itself amongst the Mormons. Many of those who had emigrated to Nauvoo and purchased property apparently in good faith, on inquiry were ascertained to be Mormons, and were equally obnoxious with the original residents to the wary and ever vigilant Anti-Mormons. In fact, they began to conclude that a large part of the population which had purchased in Nauvoo were the followers of the prophet in disguise, and that a new population of Mormons was to be forced upon them in spite of all their caution.

The Governor, immediately after the "Quincy Riflemen" were disbanded, authorized Major Warren to retain ten men, not so much however to quell the insurrectionary movements in the country, as to act as a committee of vigilance, and report through the newspapers the progress the Mormons were making in effecting their removal.

These reports were made from time to time, and apparently produced a pacific effect. It gave many in the surrounding country confidence in the good faith of the Mormons, in consequence of which emigration commenced flowing into Nauvoo, and every thing tended to a state of permanent peace.

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In the mean time, about the first of June, a general mass meeting of the Anti-Mormons was called at Carthage, for the purpose of making arrangements for the celebration of the ensuing fourth of July. In this meeting it was urged that they could not consistently celebrate a day which presupposed their independence as long as the Mormons remained as a foil on their liberty; that the preliminary step to be taken was to expel the Mormons, whose strength, now much reduced by emigration, would readily yield to a comparatively small force. This idea was caught up with avidity; and a few days witnessed the assemblage of an army, regularly appointed and officered, at Golden's Point, in the neighborhood of Nauvoo. The more reckless of the Anti-Mormons, anxious for the conflict, poured into the encampment with such arms and equipments as they could readily lay their hands upon.

The Mormons were well informed of these hostile demonstrations. Many of them hastened their preparation for their departure; others precipitately abandoned their homes without preparation—destitute of provisions and all the necessary comforts of a long and perilous journey. Others, less terrified and more determined, resolved to defend themselves. The new citizens who had settled in Nauvoo, by the invitation of Mormons and Anti-Mormons, regarded themselves as no party to their quarrel. Their true policy was to remain neutral by a refusal to participate in these lawless proceedings, the merits of which it was impossible for them to understand. This policy the Mormons determined they should not adopt, and to change their resolution, representations were made to them that the crusade against Mormonism was nothing less than a destructive blow aimed at Nauvoo; that the intention of the Anti-Mormons was to desolate the city. The massive Temple, which was now completed, and which was reared by such a vast expenditure of labor and money—an original model of a new and magnificent order of architecture—the only ornament and attraction of the city, was to be undermined and blown to atoms by the Goths and Vandals now assembled in force. The city itself, which had changed hands and was now the property of the new citizens, was to be reduced to ashes by the incendiary band of mobbers.

The new settlers, believing these representations to be true, were scarcely less alarmed

than the Mormons, and many of them were equally resolved to resist the contemplated invasion of their property. But, notwithstanding their prejudices had been excited by the Mormons against the expedition which was now encamped at Point Golden, they thought it prudent to consult with the Anti-Mormons themselves, relative to their intentions with regard to Nauvoo. Accordingly, at a general mass meeting, which was composed exclusively of new citizens, or rather which was intended to be so, a delegation was appointed to confer with the hostile force, and, if possible, by peaceful measures adjust their increasing difficulties. But in the selection of the delegation, they were as usual imposed upon by the specious cunning of the Mormons; at least two of the delegation of five were at the time Mormons. One of them, William Picket, who had lately removed from Alabama, a broken-down lawyer, who had found it unsafe to remain longer in the South, had united his destiny with Mormonism, and pursued its opponents with the blind and revengeful fury characteristic of the North American savage. Although baptized in the faith, he had not openly acknowledged his connection with it. No one of the new citizens had even the slightest intimation of his religious faith, and in fact it was on account of his supposed opposition to the fanatics that he was appointed a delegate. Israel Clap, the other Mormon delegate, had recently removed from Iowa, and his Mormonism was a secret to all but the faithful.

These delegates immediately after their appointment visited the Anti-Mormon force encamped at Point Golden. They found this army, to the number of three or four hundred, safely lying in a thicket, through which a sluggish and filthy stream struggled in vain to find an outlet for its stagnant waters. This stream had never before been used for any purpose of practical utility, unless by the swine of the neighborhood which had occasionally regaled themselves with a refreshing swallow in its turbid waters. The patriotic army had taken possession of this stream and the "slashes" around it, and placed their sentinels and planted their cannon to guard against surprise. The encampment was surrounded on all sides by a thicket of undergrowth so dense and impenetrable, that their whole force was rendered invisible to the eyes of their vigilant enemies.

The Nauvoo delegates were courteously received by the Anti-Mormon Generals, Colonels and Majors, (the whole force appeared to possess exalted rank,) and as new citizens opposed to Mormonism were welcomed to their head-quarters. There was necessarily no difficulty between the Anti-Mormon encampment and the new citizen delegates. It was the interest of both parties that the Mormons should remove. The delegates however believed and represented that the fanatics, now reduced to a mere fragment of their original force, had ceased to be formidable; that the few who remained did so from their inability to procure the necessary outfit for their journey; that in spite of their destitution they were leaving Nauvoo as fast as the ferry boats could carry them away; that hundreds had already left without means, and their families were now encamped in the open prairie, without a common tent cloth for a covering, awaiting their opportunity to exchange their real estate for available funds for their journey. This was thought by the delegates to be sufficient to satisfy the most zealous and uncompromising Anti-Mormon. The Anti-Mormons expressed their willingness to disband their forces if they could have a satisfactory assurance that the Mormons would still continue their preparation for their departure; and to fully assure themselves that such was the fact, they proposed that one of their number should be stationed at Nauvoo, who should be protected by the new citizens, and who should daily report the movements of the Mormons—their preparations and the number of the departures and arrivals. To this the new citizen delegates made no objection. There was a disposition on the part of each of the contracting powers to avoid any rupture, and if possible by mutual concessions to form a friendly alliance. In this spirit speeches were made by the representatives of each, expressive of a desire to harmonize whatever causes of disagreement might exist between them. The parties manifested the utmost good feeling towards each other, and separated with mutual pledges of fidelity.

In the mean time the utmost terror and excitement reigned in Nauvoo. The citizens had contrived to inform themselves of the designs, the force and equipments of the Anti-Mormon encampment, by means of spies who daily and almost hourly visited it. The Mormons were now without a

leader to direct their movements in the threatening crisis. The twelve apostles, their high council, and every person high in authority, were now clustered around the standard of Brigham, and the saints were left like sheep without a shepherd. They were destitute of a leader. No one could be found on whom the consecrating hands of the deceased prophet had been laid, or who had been set apart to lead the hosts of Israel to battle. And when was fanaticism like theirs ever decided, unwavering, or successful, unless its devotees were controlled by the authoritative dictation of some master-spirit, to whom the blind submissive masses had conceded the unquestioned right to command? Destitute as they were of such a leader, deprived of the supernatural endowments of an inspired priesthood, in which they so implicitly and blindly trusted, indecision and fearful apprehension marked all their councils. A general panic communicated itself to all classes. The wretched, spiritless and terrified Mormons abandoned homes and property, and fled in confusion from the doomed city, without subsistence for a single day. But fortunately, on the very day on which the new citizens had dispatched their delegates to confer with their enemies, Sheriff Backenstos, the tried friend, the aworn champion of the fanatics, arrived at the city of the saints. His presence at once dissipated their despondency, and fired their hearts with hope and courage.

The first act of this official was to issue an authoritative and pompous proclamation, commanding every able-bodied man to rally under his law-and-order banner, and denouncing the Anti-Mormons as lawless banditti, assembled for the purpose of plundering the weak and defenseless. This proclamation was without any delay widely circulated; and wherever it was read it diffused enthusiasm and courage among the Mormons. The retreating fugitives, who in the hour of panic had precipitately fled the State, no sooner learned that Backenstos had arrived than they recrossed the river, to march under his leadership to attack the enemy. The streets were crowded by the Mormons, who were preparing their arms for the anticipated battle.

All hesitation and every indication of cowardice had vanished from the wavering fanatics. When the delegates returned from Point Golden, the streets were enlivened by

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crowds of armed men hastening to some point in the city, where their enthusiasm was to be still further aroused by the stirring eloquence of the martial sheriff and the no less martial priesthood. All ages and classes appeared animated and infuriated by an unappeased desire for vengeance. There might be seen the aged saint of threescore years and ten, with tottering and decrepit footsteps, hastening to the point of concentration, his eye grown dim with age now flashing with the fire of intense malignity, his lips compressed with determined resolution to die for his religion, and his feeble and attenuated body trembling under the weight of arms and years. By his side might be seen the white-haired urchin, the mere child, with all his boyish enthusiasm aroused by the stirring occasion, mingling with his excited seniors with as lofty a heroism as the bravest. And there too might have been seen a "true knight of the new temple," mounted, it's true, on a rather jaded and indifferent war-horse, which had been taken from the plough-tail for the occasion; but badly as he may have been mounted, he was none the less a hero and knight. He bore about his person arms and equipments enough to have well nigh furnished a company of the military with approved weapons. A heavy sword dangled conspicuously on his left side. On his other side was suspended a huge bowie knife which would have wearied Hercules to wield. His waist was encircled by a belt crowded with revolvers, and two enormous rifle-barrelled pistols protruded from his holsters. The fatal rifle was strapped across the hero's shoulders. As he surveys his manifold weapons, in the pride of his exultation he applies the spur to the flank of his worn and jaded charger, and shouts the battle cry of all the saints. The startling cry was taken up by his comrades and communicated to all the stragglers in the streets, until one wild universal shout of maddening fury arose from every part of the city. The fierce knight, still more excited by the answering shouts of his partisans, urged his war-horse into something like a half gallop, and disappeared in the direction of "the field of Mars."

The place to which the Mormons were hastening was a large plat of unimproved ground, in front of a little rough stone building, designated by the saints as the arsenal. This same little building has been degraded by the more peacefully inclined gentiles into

a blacksmith shop, in which humble capacity it has done good service for the last three years. A promiscuous assemblage of near a thousand persons was collected in the open space; some on horseback others on foot, all armed to the teeth and highly excited. The whole crowd appeared to rave with insane fury. Shout after shout arose from the multitude, and was reechoed by the distant hills. Prayers for divine vengeance were invoked by the fanatical priesthood on the heads of their enemies, and their devotions were mingled with threats, imprecations, oaths and blasphemies.

After the saints had shouted, prayed, and cursed until they grew hoarse, it was announced that the "Bull of Bashan" would address the saints then present. It must not, however, be supposed that a genuine *bona fide* "Durham" was to claim the attention of the saintly auditory. On the contrary, the worthy introduced under the singular and somewhat startling title was a Mormon priest of high standing, and still claiming affinity with humanity. It must be understood that the Mormons applied to each other, and particularly to their superiors, mystic appellations significant of the virtues and mental qualities for which they were distinguished. One, who had been unusually successful in the propagation of their religion, was designated the "Fruitful Vine." One, whose course had been peaceful and conciliatory amid their persecutions, was known as the "Olive Branch;" and another, an impulsive, reckless genius, and withal refractory to the authority of his immediate superior, rejoiced in the cognomen of the "Wild Ram of the Mountain." The orator of the evening was so called for his supposed fierce courage and savage brutality. The Rev. Bull of Bashan stood before his auditory confessedly the very counterpart of an enraged and noisy bull. He was over six feet high, heavily proportioned, and inclined to corpulence, so much as to induce the belief that he had been stall-fed. The lower part of the Rev. Mr. Bashan's countenance was ornamented with a heavy growth of red beard, which, from its tangled and disorderly appearance, had never been visited by combs or razors. But despite of the coarse and vulgar appearance of this "high priest of the latter days," there was an energy about his fierce denunciation of the gentiles, which amounted to sublimity, and

called forth loud shouts of applause from the assembled saints. To have heard the oaths and threats made against the Anti-Mormon encampment, one would naturally have been inclined to the belief that their enemies would have been cut to pieces before morning; but nothing of the kind appeared seriously contemplated. After shouting themselves hoarse, the saints dispersed for their homes, and, no doubt, many of them slept soundly from exhaustion.

In the mean time, the new citizens, startled and terrified by the warlike demonstrations of the Mormons, but still determined to make another effort to conciliate the parties and prevent a hostile conflict, in which they must severely suffer, met in general meeting, to hear the report of the delegates who had returned from Point Golden. This meeting was held in the lower part of the city, known as the Seventy's Hall. It was intended to be strictly a meeting of the new citizens, in which the Mormons should not be allowed to participate. But, contrary to the expectations of every one, the fanatics were present in much larger numbers than the friends of peace, and were zealously laboring to excite discord amongst the new citizens, and, if possible, induce them to become a party to their quarrel. The delegates reported the arrangement which the Anti-Mormons were willing to make. There is no doubt that the new citizens were willing to make any reasonable concession to the Anti-Mormons for the sake of peace. But the measures proposed, especially the one providing for the maintenance of what they were pleased to term a spy in their midst, to report their progress in their contemplated removal, aroused the indignation of the Mormons to the most extravagant height. The same scenes of violence, the same insane fury which had characterized the Mormon meeting just dispersed, burst forth in the same noisy and exciting demonstration. Captain Picket, who was one of the delegates, and who was actually a Mormon, made a genuine "blood and thunder" speech, in which he charged the assemblage of Anti-Mormons with a desire to enrich themselves by the plunder of the holy city. He advised immediate attack on the encampment, and indiscriminate and merciless slaughter on all their enemies. This speech, the more sanguinary portions of it especially, were received with wild shouts of applause.

It was in vain for the peacefully disposed to stem this torrent of passion. A mild policy was advised by the prudent; but the advocates of peace had their voices drowned in hisses, shouts, and execrations, which burst from the uncontrollable Mormons. Only such as were known to be in the interest of the fanatics were suffered to give any expression of their views. The contract which had been agreed to between the Anti-Mormons and the delegates of the new citizens was proposed in the meeting for ratification, and rejected by an overwhelming majority. It was then proposed by the Mormons that the city be immediately put in a state of defense, to meet the invasion of the gentle rabble which was menacing it. This proposition was received by deafening thunders of applause. The meeting adjourned about midnight; but even then, so great was the excitement, no one took any thought of repose. The streets were still crowded with the bustling, excited, and vindictive Mormons. Shout after shout arose upon the night air. Guns were continually fired at all hours of the night, and it was considered treasonable to be without arms to defend the city.

In the mean time the Anti-Mormon encampment received intelligence of the return of the sheriff, and of the courage and enthusiasm inspired by his presence. In taking up their position at Point Golden, they had mistaken the force of the enemy and their own. They had supposed their call for reinforcements would be promptly answered by the nine counties confederate with Hancock for the removal of the Mormons; and that a force could be immediately collected, sufficiently powerful to capture Nauvoo, and expel the Mormons without striking a blow. In this, however, they were mistaken. Although deputations had visited all the various counties, soliciting "material aid," they were received coldly and with but little approbation. Scarcely a man could be found who was willing to abandon the cultivation of his crops for the sake of active "intervention" against the Mormons. The consequence was, that instead of two thousand well-armed and appointed troops, which had been pledged to them by the neighboring counties, whenever it should be signified that their presence was needed, they had only some three or four hundred collected out of their own county.

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and they in a great measure destitute of arms and ammunition. From the best information which they could procure, the number of the Mormons exceeded them two to one, were well armed, and had abundant supplies of ammunition. It was therefore considered highly impolitic to think of making a stand against them. The expedition was accordingly disbanded; and whilst the Mormons were concocting their plans of vengeance, and shouting in their desperation, the soldiers of Camp Golden, under the cover of night, were making the best of their way homeward, satisfied that but little glory was to be won at present on the tented field.

The assemblage at Point Golden unquestionably proved highly disastrous to both parties. By its sudden and unexpected termination, the Mormons were induced to believe that their enemies could never raise a sufficient force to dislodge them from Nauvoo. A great portion of them, who had always looked with but little enthusiasm on their Western pilgrimage, now expressed their determination to remain at Nauvoo, regardless of any attempts which might be made for their removal. They now ridiculed the pretensions of the Anti-Mormons to soldiership. Their newspaper published at Nauvoo manifested the highest exultation over the result of the campaign. High encomiums were pronounced on the character of the meetings which had been held at Nauvoo. All of the warlike demonstrations, the general arming for the battle, were attributed to the new citizens, who were represented by the Mormon organ as altogether hostile to the Anti-Mormons, and friendly to the persecuted sectaries. The Anti-Mormons, deeply mortified by the result of their expedition, were highly incensed by the insolent bravado and sneers of the Mormons. They began to view the new citizens with a great deal of mistrust. The Nauvoo paper represented them as wholly devoted to Mormon interests; and they had already found that many of them were secret professors of Mormonism. Notwithstanding various causes of complaint were continually arising between the belligerents, there was now a period of several weeks of comparative quiet. The Anti-Mormons were engaged in harvesting their crops; and although mutterings of discontent and threats of invasion were continually borne to Nauvoo, they were treated with contempt by the Mormons, who fancied

that their gentile neighbors were effectually discouraged by their untimely retreat from Point Golden.

In the latter part of July, a Mormon residing in Nauvoo, who owned a large farm eight miles north, in a strong Anti-Mormon neighborhood, found it necessary to employ and send to his farm eight laborers, all of whom, with a single exception, were Mormons. To guard themselves against attack, these laborers all armed themselves with rifles, which was a source of no inconsiderable annoyance and alarm to their neighbors, none of whom could look with any degree of favor on the intruders. Nor did these laborers conduct themselves with strict propriety. Instead of attending to their labors as directed, it is alleged that they spent their time scouring the country, shouting, firing their guns, and denouneing and cursing as mobbers every person who might happen to cross their path. Several days passed without any hostility between the parties. The Mormon laborers formed the conclusion that there was no danger of an encounter with their enemies. It was, therefore, with surprise as well as alarm, that they witnessed an Anti-Mormon party, numbering at least ten times their force, well armed and mounted, advancing towards them, evidently with the most hostile intention. This threatening party rode to an adjacent skirt of timber, where they dismounted, and held a consultation in low and hurried tones, relative to their course of procedure. Their conclusions were soon formed; and no sooner were their deliberations ended than they surrounded the astonished and terrified Mormons, took possession of their arms, and marched them into the skirt of timber where they had just consulted together. Arriving at that point, they deliberately cut from the impending boughs a large number of heavy goads, and peremptorily ordered their prisoners to lie down on their faces, and receive at their hands the punishment which they merited, and which, in solemn council, they had resolved upon inflicting. Against this violent course of procedure the Mormons ventured to remonstrate, insisting that if they had in any way disturbed the peace of the neighborhood, they were liable to be prosecuted and punished in a legal way; and pledging their honor, that if suffered to escape, they would hasten to Nauvoo, and not again disturb the Anti-Mormons by their

presence. This reasonable proposition was received by the indignant Anti-Mormons with contemptuous indifference. The only response it elicited was a still more decided command to prostrate themselves, accompanied by a dangerous menace of fire-arms, and sullen threats of the most fatal vengeance. Resistance was absolutely out of the question ; and the Mormons submitted to their fate, receiving at the hands of their enemies a most severe and inhuman lynching. As we have already intimated, one of the company which received this lawless flagellation was not a member of the Mormon fraternity. When it came to his turn to receive his portion of the penalty prescribed by his self-constituted judges, he informed his executioners that he had no connection with the fanatics, that he had but lately removed to Nauvoo, and, as he supposed that the castigation about to be inflicted was intended solely for the benefit of the Mormons, he therefore politely begged leave to decline the unmerited honor. In reply, he was with some show of courtesy informed, that as he had chosen to associate with Mormons, he was entitled to the same treatment and equal honors with them. He was further informed, that his judges, after a careful reference and examination of the precedents in such cases, had come to the conclusion that the one relating to poor Tray was precisely in point ; and if in future he wished to avoid "catching thunder," he must avoid entirely the society of Mormons. He was, accordingly, out of compliment to his superior merits and Anti-Mormon pretensions, treated to double the number of lashes which had been administered to his Mormon colleagues. After the flagellation had been duly administered, to the very great satisfaction of the grim disciples of Judge Lynch, and much to the chagrin and mortification of those receiving it, the Mormons were ordered "to take themselves off to the holy city," and advised never again to make their appearance out of the corporation limits, unless they wished to incur the most deadly vengeance. Their arms were restored to them, with the exception of one gun, which was claimed to be the property of Samuel McBratney, who had perished by Mormon violence a year before. This gun was retained by the Anti-Mormons as a kind of relic of one who had suffered martyrdom in their cause, as well as an evidence of the thieving propensities of their enemies.

In the mean time the Mormons, with their undressed wounds open, and bleeding profusely, hastened back to Nauvoo, and related the story of their wrongs, without omitting any circumstance which might in any way tend to inflame the public mind. As might have been expected, the relation of an outrage so cruel, and inflicted on such small cause of provocation, created the most unbounded and passionate excitement. A public meeting was instantly called, in which, as usual, small demagogues, who lived by stirring and irritating the passions of the people, harangued in bold terms about the enormity of the crimes which had been perpetrated. It was resolved by the assembled Mormons, that they would take ample vengeance on their enemies ; but as they had always been more successful by a resort to cunning than force, it was determined to prostrate justice and the law to the purpose of gratifying their revenge. It was consequently determined to take out writs for the persons implicated, charging them with an unlawful assault and riot. One serious difficulty, however, occurred in taking out the writs. The persons on whom the outrage had been perpetrated, and who were about to subscribe the necessary affidavits, were unacquainted with the names of the persons implicated, with the exception of one McAuley, a justice of the peace in that neighborhood, who, they averred, was the leader of the rioters. The affidavit was accordingly drawn, distinctly charging John McAuley with the offense, after which succeeded a long blank, in which it was intended to insert the names of all persons who might hereafter be implicated in the transaction. The warrant was drawn in the same loose irregular manner. A special officer was selected and sworn in, charged with its execution, who was instructed to insert the names of all persons who should hereafter be identified as being connected with the riots. This officer immediately proceeded to summon every man in Nauvoo, as a posse, to effect the arrest of all rioters, and persons disposed to break the peace. This summons was obeyed with the utmost alacrity on the part of the Mormons. Against nine o'clock of the same evening, he was ready to march with near a hundred men into the infected district. He immediately directed his course to McAuley's, who resided nine miles from Nauvoo. The

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posse arrived at his residence about midnight, when they succeeded in effecting his arrest without resistance or opposition. The premises were searched, and an Anti-Mormon by the name of Brattle, a resident of Carthage, who had not in any way participated in the lynching of the Mormons, was taken into custody. The gun which had been taken from the Mormons was also found and secured. These prisoners were immediately brought to Nauvoo, where the officer and his posse arrived about sunrise.

The prisoners demanded an immediate trial, which undoubtedly right, on the most trivial pretexts, was denied them. Instead of being brought before a justice of the peace for a legal examination of the charges for which they had been restrained of their liberty, they were remanded into custody to await the convenience of their captors. To render escape impossible, they were placed in the third story of a large waste building known as the Masonic Hall, whilst a guard of malicious and uncompromising Mormons surrounded the building. All communication with their friends was prevented, and any interference in their behalf was rendered impracticable by the jealous vigilance of their jailors.

The Mormons were not yet satisfied with the glory of this achievement, nor was their vengeance fully gratified. Consequently another expedition was instantly planned; a renewed call for volunteers was made, the power of the county was again invoked, and a new and more formidable posse was organized, for the purpose of following up their success, and bringing to justice all persons in the late lawless demonstration. This body was instantly called into active service. A new judicial officer, an avowed and most daring and reckless Mormon, known as Captain Anderson, was sworn in and received the warrants for execution. It was supposed that the great portion of the rioters resided in the village of Pontoosac, an unimportant place on the Mississippi river, twelve miles above Nauvoo. To this place the officer now directed his march. His force amounted to near one hundred men. They were all well mounted, and armed in a manner known only to Mormon troops. The Anti-Mormon rioters, after whom they were marching, were equal in numbers, and if their organization and equipments had been equal, a spirited conflict might have

justly been anticipated on the meeting of the parties. This company of Mormons arrived in the neighborhood of Pontoosac late in the evening, where they selected a convenient place, and encamped until the following morning.

In the mean time the news of the arrival of this Mormon force was communicated throughout the neighborhood by the zealous Anti-Mormons, with so much secrecy and effect, that long before morning dawned, a force was collected equal in number to their adversaries, every man of which was resolved to resist any effort which might be made to secure any arrests of their numbers. This force, as soon as it was collected together, secretly marched to a hazel thicket, about eighty rods from Pontoosac, which on both sides flanked the Nauvoo road, and afforded a sufficient cover for a force much larger than theirs, where they concealed themselves with the intention of assailing their adversaries, should they attempt to march into Pontoosac. They had not long occupied this ambuscade, when the Mormon force was discovered on the march. Fate was apparently leading them without suspicion into the range of their deadly weapons. Every heart beat high in anticipation of victory. But whilst with exultation they beheld the Mormon column on its blind and fatal march to certain ruin, they were surprised to see it make a sudden halt before it came in direct range of their rifles. The Mormons were evidently acquainted with the existence and locality of the ambush. A short and hurried consultation took place in the column, upon the close of which the Mormons reined in their horses, and spurring them into the most furious speed, they precipitately charged into the densest part of the thicket. This sudden and unexpected movement of the Mormon cavalry took their adversaries completely by surprise; and a majority of them, without waiting to count numbers, or to make any defense, instantly retreated in the greatest confusion. Only about a dozen had sufficient presence of mind to remain. These were required to submit themselves to the authority of the process. This they peremptorily refused to do; upon which the Mormon constable, who was without question a man of the boldest courage, proceeded without any difficulty to disarm them. When this was accomplished, their names

were inserted in the warrant, charging the commission of a riot, and the whole number were unceremoniously placed in a wagon, and without delay were borne in triumph to Nauvoo.

The success of this campaign was hailed by the Mormons with joyful acclamation. Captain Anderson was voted a hero of the first magnitude. A general shout of exultation arose from every part of the city. Loafers, boys and priests commingled together promiscuously, to gaze on the desponding and terrified prisoners, and exchange congratulations on the result of the victory which had crowned their arms. They had now in close custody fourteen of their most bitter enemies, and it was determined that their trial should be for the present postponed, and that they should remain in confinement under the eye of a vigilant and reliable guard, as hostages for the good behavior of their associates and friends, until the Anti-Mormons now under arms should disperse or cease their depredations.

The Anti-Mormons, however, never thought of the abandonment of any of their enterprises, from the fact that a part of their comrades had fallen into the hands of the Mormons. In their own language, war had again been declared in Hancock. They had no longer any compromises to make with Mormonism. They were resolved that the existing conflict should continue until the one party or the other should prove finally and completely triumphant. Should they be defeated, they would surrender their homes and their county to the Mormons for ever. Should they prove triumphant, the Mormons should be driven from the State. If their friends had fallen into the hands of their enemies, it was the fortune of war, and like other prisoners of war, they must abide their misfortunes as became soldiers. They considered any effort which they might make for the rescue of their prisoners as entirely hopeless. Their wisest policy, they concluded, was retaliation; and for opportunity to test this policy they had not long to wait.

The very day on which Captain Anderson "made due and lawful return of his prisoners," a small company of Mormons, numbering some five or six, found it necessary to reclaim their oxen which had strayed on the prairie. They followed what they supposed to be the trail of the missing

cattle, until it led them to the neighborhood of Pontoosac, where they were surprised by a large party of Anti-Mormons, who suddenly emerged from an ambuscade, surrounded them, and marched them to their encampment. To prevent discovery and the danger of recapture, they were immediately hurried into a wild and secluded ravine, shaded by dense undergrowth, where they remained until night under a strong guard, when they were placed in a small boat furnished for the occasion, and ferried in silence to an island opposite in the Mississippi. The custody of these prisoners they believed would prove an ample guarantee against any violence which might be contemplated against their friends in Nauvoo.

In the mean time the Mormons were informed of the capture of their friends by the predatory gentile bands, and measures were instantly adopted to secure their rescue. Captain Anderson summoned his command, and without delay marched to the village of Pontoosac. In anticipation of the march of the Mormon force on this point, the village was almost entirely abandoned by its inhabitants. A few frightened women and children were all that remained. From signals which were discovered from the windows, it was inferred by Anderson that the enemy, with their prisoners, had retreated to the island opposite. How to effect a landing was a question which, with all his ingenuity, he was unable to solve. He had no boats at his command. He carefully searched the coast in vain efforts to discover some vessel to press in his service; but the fugitives had taken the precaution to cut off this resource, and after two days spent in great perplexity, during which his command was compelled to levy contributions for their subsistence off the surrounding country, the brave captain was compelled to relinquish the invasion of the island, and return to Nauvoo to procure boats for the enterprise.

No sooner were the Anti Mormons relieved of the presence of the Mormon force, than they recrossed to the mainland, and whilst Captain Anderson, deeply mortified with the result of his labors, was retiring to Nauvoo, the Anti-Mormons, well mounted, were making a forced march north, at the rate of six miles per hour, whilst the prisoners were compelled to march on foot in front at that sweeping pace. Should their energies appear to flag by their unusual exertion

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they were stimulated by the application of goads, until nature refused to endure such exertion longer, and the prisoners in almost fainting condition were borne into a secluded spot, where they were suffered to recruit their strength until the following morning.

Before Captain Anderson could fit out his boats for his river fight, intelligence was received at Nauvoo that the Anti-Mormons were seen retreating north at furious speed, still having their prisoners in custody. Without any delay an opposing force, under the command of Tickett, was dispatched in pursuit. He passed through Pontoonac, and from thence east to La Harpe; however, without falling in with them. The Anti-Mormons, through the instrumentality of their friends, contrived to be informed of all the movements of the Mormons, and although the pursuit was hot, and long continued, it was ineffectual, the Anti-Mormons invariably eluding the vigilant and untiring efforts of the Mormons.

This chase continued during two weeks, during which the prisoners were fatigued by incessant marching, until life had become a burden which could scarce be endured. The prisoners at Nauvoo, who still continued in close confinement, had become haggard by constant watching and fearful apprehensions from threatened violence. Both parties became wearied by their mutual lawless obstinacy. Finally, the Anti-Mormons procured for the benefit of their friends in confinement at Nauvoo, a writ of habeas corpus, which was served on their Mormon jailors, who surrendered them to the proper tribunal for examination, upon which on entering bail they were finally discharged from arrest. No sooner were they set at liberty than the Mormon prisoners, jaded and travel-worn, broken in health and spirit, from their unceasing exertions, were suffered to return to Nauvoo. They were received by their families as if they had risen from the dead. Their release had never been expected; they had already been enrolled on the list of martyrs who had attested their faith by a heroic death.

It should have been observed, that to avail themselves of the benefit of the writ of habeas which had been issued on their behalf, it was necessary for the Anti-Mormon prisoners to be taken to Quincy, where the judge issuing that process resided. On their discharge they immediately returned to Han-

cock county, but apprehending further annoyance and danger from the Mormons, who still continued to send out their predatory bands into the neighborhood of Pontoonac, they declined visiting their families; they determined to accept the hospitality of their Anti-Mormon friends in the southwest of the county, and remain in that section until a general and final rally should be made for the expulsion of the Mormons. It was resolved, if possible, to bring matters to an immediate crisis between the parties. To effect an object so much desired, they determined to make an attempt to arrest the leaders of the Mormons concerned in their imprisonment and detention in Nauvoo, and if possible secure legal redress for the wrongs they had endured. To this end, writs were taken out before a justice of the peace, who resided in the centre of a hazel thicket in the southwest of the county. This justice was not selected so much on account of his legal acquirements, as the remoteness of the situation from Nauvoo. The justice resided on the outskirts of the Morley settlement, which had been desolated by Anti-Mormon vengeance only a year before, where the blackened and decaying ruins of the dwellings of the hapless fanatics still remained as monuments of Anti-Mormon hate, and where dreary barren wastes met the view where only a year before cultivated fields smiled in cheering beauty and abundance. They knew it would be a source of annoyance to the Mormons to pass through this desolate district, that it would bring fresh to their memories the frightful disasters which they had already sustained at the hands of the Anti-Mormons. It would impress upon the minds of the Mormons the reckless and unscrupulous character of the opposition which they might yet reasonably expect to encounter.

For various reasons it was considered unsafe and impolitic to place the warrants issued in the hands of an ordinary constable, who might possess but little or no influence over the great mass of the people. To give dignity, importance, and effect to their policy, one John Carlin, a gentleman very respectably connected, and possessing considerable wealth and no contemptible ability, who was generally known in Adams and Hancock counties as an uncompromising Anti-Mormon, and, from that fact, exerted a powerful influence over the masses, was sworn in

and charged with the execution of these writs. The persons against whom process was issued were James E. Furnace, William Clifford, and William Picket.

Carlin, immediately on his appointment, hastened to Nauvoo, and demanded the surrender of the persons charged in the writ. Clifford and Furnace, who were not actually Mormons, but only tools for them, after some hesitation and a consultation with their friends, concluded to submit. Picket, who was a Mormon, and consequently more exposed to the violence of the Anti-Mormons, declared that he had received intimations from some of his Anti-Mormon friends that if he surrendered himself a prisoner he would certainly be assassinated. Surrounded as he was by a host of long-tried and faithful friends, he defied the officer to take him. The officer was alone, and of course, unaided, could not secure his arrest. He accordingly left with his other prisoners without even making an attempt, which prudence taught him would be unsuccessful.

Arriving at the justice's office, they found it surrounded by an angry and excited multitude, all of whom had deadly weapons in their hands, and viewed the prisoners with unalloyed hate and disgust. The prisoners attempted a conciliatory policy, proffered their hands in token of friendship, but their overtures at first were all scornfully rejected; but eventually the cunning, diplomacy and chicanery of the prisoners triumphed over the morose and sullen hate of the Anti-Mormons. Mr. Furnace was the most cunning, and had heretofore been the most unwavering friend of the Mormons. He had sold himself to do their commands, however revolting to morality and decency. He was, however, now in the power of his enemies, who looked upon him with scornful disgust. Mr. Furnace believed that his life depended on conciliating their friendship, and not disengaged by the coldness, the unrelenting, and almost ferocious hate of the Anti-Mormons, he still continued his protestations of friendship to the Anti-Mormon cause; but he was coldly and haughtily reminded that his zeal must be manifested in their favor by far less equivocal acts than marching in Mormon companies, for the purpose of dragging Anti-Mormons from their beds at midnight, subjecting them to illegal duress, and by arming himself, and uniting with a Mormon guard to prevent their escape, as

had been his previous policy. He must, in fact, before he could claim the respect of the Anti-Mormons, wipe out his former acts by a thorough reformation; he must for ever abandon all alliances with Mormonism; he must labor to counteract its influence, and use all laudable efforts to aid their cause, until fanaticism, and its long train of blighting curses, should be removed from Hancock county. To any one more scrupulous than Mr. Furnace, who had heretofore manifested the strongest friendship for Mormonism, and had even shed tears of sympathy for its wrongs and persecutions, a proposition to renounce all his previous principles, and adopt a course of policy radically different from that previously acted upon, would have been rejected with indignation. But Mr. Furnace had espoused the cause of Mormonism from motives of self-interest alone; and now the same cold selfishness required the sacrifice of his principles; and Mr. Furnace, without any hesitation, pledged himself, and all his friends in Nauvoo, to unite with the Anti-Mormons, for the purpose of expelling his former friends and allies. He proposed to his new friends to return to Nauvoo without delay, and call a meeting of the new citizens to organize an Anti-Mormon party in Nauvoo, and unite upon the terms of the proposed coalition.

The earnestness and zeal with which Mr. Furnace set about his work effectually won over the Anti-Mormons. The angry scowls of deadly hostility and revenge were chased away, and smiles of amity and friendly greetings were freely exchanged between the contracting parties. So highly gratified were the Anti-Mormons with the conversion of Mr. Furnace, and so much were they taken up in shaking hands in ratification of their coalition, that they quite forgot the causes of the visit of their new friend amongst them; and when reminded of the fact that Mr. Furnace was even now in legal custody, that he stood before them charged with riot, false imprisonment and robbery, Anti-Mormons rushed forward with commendable zeal and the greatest kindness, and volunteered to stand as his bondsmen. Thus discharged from arrest, congratulations were again exchanged between the parties, and Mr. Furnace went on his way rejoicing.

Arriving at Nauvoo, the proposed meeting, at his suggestion, was called. It was intended to be a meeting of those new

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citizens averse to the longer continuance of the Mormons in Nauvoo. But, as usual at all public meetings called on such occasions, the Mormons, uninvited, poured themselves in the large temple hall in numbers sufficient to control all its deliberations. Mr. Furnace, by his late involuntary excursion amongst the Anti-Mormons, had been terrified into sincerity. Notwithstanding the presence of the Mormons, who had begun to view him with suspicion and mistrust, he boldly advocated a peaceful adjustment of their difficulties with the Anti-Mormon insurgents. This he regarded as their only policy. He had but recently encountered their angry scowl, and his courage had vanished. He had seen the hand-writing on the wall. He was satisfied that total destruction awaited them in the coming conflict. He advised the appointment of a delegation to confer with the Anti-Mormons, and if possible avert impending ruin, and restore order and quiet where anarchy had so long prevailed.

Mr. Furnace, as we have seen, was sincere, he was even eloquent; but the Mormons derisively laughed at his cowardice, and ridiculed his inconsistency. They compared him to a chicken furnished with two pair of legs, the one pair impelling him towards Mormonism and the other leading him in the opposite direction. The Mormons, on a direct vote, might have readily defeated the proposition for the appointment of the delegation; but their policy was never to meet any measure by direct and open opposition; they therefore, without discussion, acquiesced in the views of Furnace, and the delegation was appointed; but in the selection of proper persons to discharge the duties of this important mission, good care was taken that every delegate should be wholly Mormon in his predilections. The only exception to this rule was the appointment of a gentleman who rejoiced in the cognomen of Major Bidamon, a stout, rugged, consequential Pennsylvania Dutchman, who, contrary to the instincts of his race, gloried in polished boots, fashionable hat, faultless linen, and superfine broadcloth. The gallant Major accepted the appointment with avidity. His vanity was as much excited as if his mission had been to negotiate the peace of Europe, or enforce the neutrality of Russia, in a conflict between Austria and her dependencies. Mylheer Bidamon was no less a personage of that day than Mylheer Kossuth is of the

present. The Major lost no time; he borrowed a horse, and travelled with a rapidity known only to borrowed horses. He met the Anti-Mormons, and told them just what he thought of them; that in his opinion they were a scurvy rabble, a lawless mob, a banded conspiracy of savages and robbers, with whom it was humiliating to the refined feelings of a civilized gentleman to be compelled to hold converse. The valiant Major, who was too much of a swaggerer to be a successful diplomatist, told them all this, and was only laughed at for his pains. He was informed that the Anti-Mormons were resolved on the banishment of the Mormons; that they would like to secure the co-operation of the Anti-Mormon new citizens at Nauvoo for that purpose; but if they refused to join their enterprise, they had made up their minds to do without their assistance; and finally the Major was roughly reminded that he might as well keep his mouth shut. Whereupon the testy Dutchman, without deigning any reply, mounted his borrowed horse, in a towering passion, and was off for Nauvoo like a whirlwind.

This was the last attempt at conciliation made by the parties. The Anti-Mormons now studied the most efficient mode of attack, and the Mormons of resistance. The new citizens still labored to maintain an honorable neutrality; but this peaceful policy had now become well nigh impossible. Many of them, by threats of violence, were driven into the Mormon ranks. Others, unacquainted with the odious vices of their Mormon neighbors, and believing that religious intolerance and persecution had again been revived in this boasted age of religious freedom, zealously marshalled themselves under the Mormon banner to resist Anti-Mormon bigotry and cruelty. Others, inflamed by a desire of revenge, excited by the dictatorial and menacing policy of the Mormons, or disgusted by their brutal and savage vices, escaped to the Anti-Mormon encampment, determined to make their influence felt by the persecuting fanatics, in the approaching conflict. Others, who had but lately emigrated, and who had invested all their means in Nauvoo lots, regardless of pecuniary interest, and indifferent to the destruction of their property, collected their children together, and, ruined and penniless, fled from a country where they had witnessed nothing during their short sojourn but scenes of wild

confusion, and frightful, uncontrolled, and lawless anarchy.

The Anti-Mormon party had thoroughly studied the peculiar tactics of the Mormons in all their previous difficulties. They discovered that the most obnoxious and objectionable of all the acts of the proscribed sect had been based on the assumption that they were the law-and-order party, and had been accomplished under the guise of legal process. By the abuse of judicial authority they had rescued every felon from the vengeance of the law, and by the same insidious policy, and under color of legal process, they had contrived to detain Anti-Mormons in close custody for weeks without trial. This false show of legal subordination on the part of the fanatics was the grand secret of their success. By assuming to be governed exclusively by the law, and invoking its protection against the violence of their enemies, whom they denounced as lawless mobbers and incendiaries, they had won over to the support of their interests the sympathy of the public and the press generally throughout the State. The Anti-Mormons were now determined to beat their antagonists with the same weapons of chicanery which had been used against themselves with such eminent success. They were resolved to employ to their own advantage a policy marked out to them by the daring and unscrupulous career of Mormonism. They justly considered that if they invoked the assistance of their friends in the adjoining counties, for the avowed purpose of lawlessly driving the Mormons from their homes, that their whole project would prove a complete failure; for in whatever light their friends might regard the Mormons, and however anxious they might be to rid the State of their influence, they would hesitate long before they would willingly encounter the perils and penalties incident to a lawless expedition.

At this period fortune favored the Anti-Mormons with a legal pretext to justify an invasion of the Mormon city, of which they determined to avail themselves. It will be recollect that recently Capt. Picket, for whom a process had been issued, surrounded by an armed mob, had openly braved a legal officer in the streets of Nauvoo, who sought to apprehend him by virtue of a warrant for his body. This same Picket, still relying on the protection extended to him by some five

or six hundred Mormons with arms in their hands, continued to occupy the same attitude of defiance. It was now resolved, dead or alive, to take him. To secure this arrest, it was necessary to call upon a force sufficient to carry Nauvoo by storm, as no doubt was entertained that the Mormons would resist to the last. Accordingly John Carlin, the same officer who first attempted to serve the writ, now issued his proclamation, which, after reciting the failure of his previous attempt to secure the arrest of William Picket, and the resistance he encountered, commanded every able-bodied man in the county of Hancock to rendezvous at Carthage, on the twenty-fourth day of August then next following, armed and equipped, and furnished with two days' provisions, for the purpose of aiding him in arresting William Picket. This proclamation was distributed through every neighborhood in the county. In many instances where there was reason to doubt the devotion of an individual to the Anti-Mormon cause, the proclamation was personally served upon him; and lest he might still prove refractory, he was cited to the provisions of the statute made in such cases, by which he was clearly shown that he incurred heavy penalties should he refuse obedience to the legal mandate.

However much the Mormons may have been surprised at this attempt of the Anti-Mormons to fight them with their own weapons, they had no sooner discovered their policy than they brought into active requisition all their wisdom and ingenuity to secure its defeat. To this end, writs were issued by a Mormon justice of the peace, charging the more distinguished and active of the Anti-Mormon leaders with riots and sundry other breaches of the peace. Precisely the same policy was adopted in all respects which the Anti-Mormons had previously devised, for the prosecution of their plans. Like their antagonists they procured the appointment of a special officer to execute these writs, and this officer likewise issued his proclamation, in which opprobrious terms were heaped without stint upon the Anti-Mormons, and the power of the county demanded to crush the lawless organization of mobbers, now being banded together for the most nefarious and barbarous designs. It will be seen that both parties were anxious to shelter themselves under the protection of the law. To win over the

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approbation of the observing public, and to secure "material aid" in the approaching conflict, each party placed itself in a false position, and each based its quarrel on a false and deceptive issue. Under the ostensible design of taking in custody the body of William Picket, the Anti-Mormons were marshalling, organizing and drilling their forces for the actual purpose of storming the city of Nauvoo, and driving the Mormons, including the same person sought to be arrested, from the limits of the State. The Mormons, in summoning to their aid the power of the county for the avowed design of arresting Sharp, Williams, and others of notoriety in the Anti-Mormon camp, and to preserve the peace of their city and county, actually intended to make a stand against their enemies, and dispute with them every inch of ground, for the purpose of maintaining a supremacy which they had long labored permanently to establish in the State of Illinois. Not content with placing themselves under the leadership of a constable duly appointed, the Mormons were determined to invest their proceedings with a color of still higher authority. It was determined to invoke the sanction of the Governor to all their movements.

A special commissioner was accordingly appointed by the town council of Nauvoo, which, in addition to its ordinary powers of opening, establishing, and repairing the streets of the city, of making provisions for the support of paupers, and of punishing petty breaches of the peace, now by the occurrence of extraordinary events, the threatened invasion of their commonwealth, found it necessary to assume the most extraordinary powers—of declaring war, of negotiating treaties, and voting supplies for the public defense. The object of this special embassy was to secure the assistance of Gov. Ford in putting the city in a state of defense, and maintaining it against the incursions of their enemies. It must be understood that for all practical purposes Nauvoo was an independent State, fighting its own wars and making its own treaties, and exercising the most important acts of sovereignty. We have seen that Gov. Ford collected a force in Hancock on one occasion, with the design of reducing the refractory fanatics to obedience; but being frightened off the ground by the tragical death of the prophet, had ever since suffered the ecclesi-

astical authorities of the revolted city to govern after their own fashion, "doing that which was right in their own eyes." Since the termination of that unfortunate campaign, the Governor could never hear the name of Nauvoo mentioned without losing his temper, and indulging in the most undignified and profane language. And when he heard of the late gathering of the Anti-Mormons at Point Golden, he expressed his deep regret that the conflicting parties did not come into actual collision, and, like the Kilkenny cats of ferocious memory, devour each other bodily.

Major Bidamon was the person again selected to negotiate with Gov. Ford. Our impulsive friend lost no time in the discharge of his official duties. He hastened to Springfield, visited the Governor, laid before his Excellency the perilous position of the city which he represented, and requested his "active intervention" in their behalf. The Major signified that it was his belief that Nauvoo had sufficient force within its own limits to repel any invasion which could be organized by the Anti-Mormons; all they wished at present was the official sanction of the Executive, that they might be able to repel the imputation that the Nauvoo authorities were in open conflict with the people and government of the State. This course of procedure was highly satisfactory to the Governor. He could give the required sanction to the Mormon policy, and extend the protection which was solicited, without incurring any personal exposure to danger, and without any extraordinary expenditure from the public treasury. The suggestion of Major Bidamon was accordingly acted upon. The Governor issued his special proclamation to one James Parker, a resident of Canton, who was a sturdy, and withal quite respectable blacksmith, and a major of militia, commanding him to accept the active services of ten volunteers, and with them repair immediately to Nauvoo, where he was directed to take the command of as many volunteers as were willing to enroll themselves free of charge to the State. Major Parker was instructed to supersede the service of all writs now in the hands of the officers appointed by both parties, and was further directed to demand and receive into his own hands all such processes, and with the aid of his ten men procure their execution. He was also in-

structed to defend the city of Nauvoo against the excursions of the Anti-Mormons, should any attempt be made, on any pretext whatsoever, to invade the city; but was expressly prohibited from marching his forces out of the corporation limits.

Major Bidamon had no sooner received this proclamation and the accompanying instructions, than he hastened on his way to Canton, to place them in the hands of his friend Major Parker. He found that gallant warrior sweating over his forge, hammering a piece of wrought iron, little dreaming of the illustrious honors which Governor Ford and a beneficent Providence were about to shower in rich profusion on his head. He had long awaited a period in his life when his peaceful pursuits should be abandoned for the more stirring scenes of the tented field. He would have volunteered his services in the Mexican war, but he was well stricken in years. Like the knight of the hard-fought and chivalrous field of Shrewsbury, he was encumbered with a huge mountain of flesh. He had heard, too, that the Mexican climate was intensely warm, and that the venvito with wonderful fatality swept into the grave all fat heroes. It was late in the evening when Major Parker received his commission; but notwithstanding the unseasonableness of the hour, he immediately took off his leather apron, washed the coal-dust from his ears and whiskers, and marched into the street in quest of volunteers. He entered a grocery where he found two recruits, who, for the love of glory and auditors' warrants, were willing to fight for the Mormons. A saddlery shop furnished another, and a tailor shop yet another; and before an hour had elapsed our modern Falstaff had pricked his tailors and tinkers until they roared again; and in another hour this formidable host was duly armed and equipped and was on the march to Nauvoo.

Major Parker resided about eighty miles from the seat of war; but by means of forced marches by night as well as in the daytime, and not being much encumbered with a baggage train, he succeeded in reaching the point of his destination in thirty hours after he received his marching orders. He arrived at Nauvoo on the very day on which the Anti-Mormons commenced concentrating their forces at Carthage, in obedience to the proclamation of their special

constable. Major Parker was received with the greatest deference by the obsequious Mormons. On his arrival a salute was fired by the Mormon forces then on parade on the temple green; and on reading his instructions to the Mormon battalion, the chief command was immediately tendered to him, whereupon the gallant Major made a speech which breathed a spirit of loyal subordination to law, and concluded by the application of harsh epithets to the Anti-Mormons, which caused him to be vociferously cheered by his Mormon allies, who expressed the unanimous opinion that the "Major was one of 'em."

Major Parker was one of those sanguine, impetuous spirits, who could never rest satisfied when anything was to be accomplished. Had he been free to act from his own impulses, he would have marched his forces, now mustering three hundred effective men, right into Carthage, and routed Constable Carlin and scattered his forces to the winds; but situated as he was, fettered by arbitrary and as he thought unnecessary restrictions, which confined all his operations to the defense of the Mormon city, he determined to try the force of diplomacy on the swaggering constable and his lawless rabble, and if possible, by a sounding and verbose proclamation, drive him from the field before his forces should be sufficiently trained to bring successfully into actual combat. That this proclamation might be as "terrible to the enemy" as possible, one George Edmunds, a Mormon attorney, was summoned to the Major's headquarters to assist in its preparation. This document, among other things, informed Mr. Carlin and those under his command of his appointment to take the command of the Nauvoo forces, and use all laudable means to preserve the general peace; that the armed occupation of Carthage or any part of the county for the purpose of arresting criminals was wholly unnecessary, for he alone, under express instructions from the Executive, had lawful right to serve legal process within the county during the continuance of the riotous and lawless demonstrations now existing; and finally commanded the armed assemblage at Carthage to disperse forthwith, under the penalty of being treated as a mob and dispersed as such.

This proclamation was confided to the care of one of Major Parker's Canton volunteers,

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who was immediately dispatched with it to Carthage. He was received by the Anti-Mormon force with unequivocal marks of disapprobation. They had sworn the most deadly hostility to the Mormons and their allies, and were determined that no obstacle, not even the authority of the Executive nor the menacing threats of his agents, should stand between them and their wrath, and thwart the full measure of their vengeance. Carlin read the proclamation without the slightest emotion, and then coolly threw it away, informing the messenger who brought it that he had collected and organized his force for the purpose of marching into Nauvoo, and to that place march he would, despite of Governor Ford, Major Parker, and the devil; this was all the answer which he would condescend to deliver to such a Mormon tool as he knew Parker to be.

However, on more mature reflection, the Anti-Mormon constable concluded that it would be more officer-like and better policy to address a note to the Mormon commander, in which he informed that dignitary that he had assembled the force under his command, which he had chosen to denounce as a mob, for purposes which were strictly legal. He was a constable of Hancock county, and he fancied a constable was somebody as well as a Governor or major of militia; that a constable had certain rights, and was vested with certain and various power and authority, as well as the most dignified officer in the commonwealth; that however humble his official duties might be, they were well defined, and he was amply protected by the clearest legal enactments in their discharge. He had in his possession a warrant for the apprehension of William Picket, which charged that person with crime, and which he was fully authorized to execute; and that resistance having already been made by that person, and still further resistance having been threatened, he had found it necessary to summon to his assistance the large force now under his command; and he apprehended that neither Gov. Ford nor Major Parker, by a lawful exercise of any rightful authority, could prevent him from discharging a clear official duty. He had yet to learn how the executive or the military, or both combined, could legally resist a civil officer in the service of a judicial writ, without incurring the charge of unlawfully resisting an officer in the e-
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ular discharge of a very important and well-defined duty. He was compelled to regard the command of Major Parker a lawless assemblage, collected for the most illegal and revolutionary purposes, and that unless the same should quietly disperse, and as good and orderly citizens retire to their homes, he would be compelled to treat them as a mob, and disperse them as such.

While Constable Carlin was engaged in the preparation of his stately official missive, his soldiers had found the threatening proclamation of Major Parker, and for their amusement were thrusting their bayonets through it, in derision of the authority from which it emanated. They finally set it up as a target, and their most expert marksmen tested their skill by driving its centre, until the joint production of lawyer Edmunds and Major Parker was shot to tatters, and carried away by the winds.

However much Major Parker may have been enraged by the insulting message he received from Constable Carlin, and the gross indignities offered his official proclamation, he was compelled to forego his vengeance, his hands were fettered by his instructions. He had but one course which could be consistently adopted without transcending his authority: he could still thunder in a proclamation; he could shake the strongholds of the enemy by the fierceness of his denunciations. He therefore called upon his Mormon barrister, and Vulcan-like, the attorney seated himself and composed a fresh proclamation—forged a new and more terrible bolt. The Major called up his trusted messenger, delivered his official thunder into his hands, and sent him in haste to Carthage, where he was received with a yell of defiance and rage. Terrified by threats and menaces, the messenger fled to Nauvoo, where he reported he had been startled and terrified by the wild shouts of the gentile host, and threatened by a bowie knife flashing in close proximity to his ear. He had escaped unharmed the frightful menace, but was unwilling to encounter any further peril in behalf of this or any other cause. This ended all attempts at negotiation for the present. The Major's thunders only endangered his friends, whilst his enemies laughed at his impotent rage.

In the mean time the Anti-Mormons were zealously engaged in recruiting their numbers, in furnishing and equipping their men,

and in the introduction of discipline and subordination amongst their newly-raised troops. It was the best organized force ever raised in the State of Illinois. It consisted of two regiments of infantry, of as many companies of cavalry, and several detachments of artillery, which served six field pieces the most of which belonged to the State, and had been pressed into this patriotic service in a manner known only to the insurgents themselves. The command of this gallant body of troops, which as we have seen had been summoned as a *posse comitatus*, of course devolved on Constable Carlin; but that worthy gentleman was a civilian, and, however brave he may have been, had but little knowledge of military life, and no practical acquaintance with the stirring scenes of camp or field. Mr. Carlin very justly concluded that it was hardly possible for any one to become a great constable and a distinguished general at the same time. He accordingly appointed Mr. Singleton, a young lawyer from an adjacent county, a brigadier general and commander-in-chief of all the Anti-Mormon troops. It is not a very usual occurrence to see a constable exercise the rather doubtful authority of appointing high military functionaries, but it is presumed that the necessary precedents were to be found in the higher-law code, of which Mr. Carlin was the principal representative, and the most reliable exponent. Immediately after his appointment, General Singleton marched his army into a skirt of timber, five miles west of Carthage, where they occupied their time in learning the deadly science of war, punishing pale-faced whiskey, and by way of variety shaking with the ague.

Whilst these preparations were being made by the Anti Mormon force, the Mormons at Nauvoo manifested equal zeal and activity. They blustered in the streets, and shouted with the energy and savage fury of their "red brethren," whose example they professed to emulate. They brandished swords and bowie knives, and fired off their guns to the imminent peril of all who might pass. They held public meetings in which the assistance of an overruling Providence was invoked, whilst religion and decency were outraged by shocking profanity and blasphemy. The numbers and equipments of the gentiles were much superior to theirs, but they were not disheartened. Their ad-

vantage of position counteracted the numerical strength of the enemy. They had no artillery, but their energy supplied this necessity with a most novel expedient. They fell upon the wreck of a steam engine, which abundantly supplied all their wants; with great labor and ingenuity they drilled the shafts, mounted them on cart wheels, and swore they were the best cannon in the universe. To supply the want of ball, they broke into small fragments the boilers and other portions of the same engine, with which they crammed to the muzzle their novel field pieces. Not satisfied with this and similar measures of defense, the Mormons excavated the ground over which it was anticipated their adversaries would be compelled to advance, and filled the cavities with kegs of gunpowder and deadly missiles, to which they designed to apply the match and blow to atoms the advancing column. These subterranean powder plots which were destined to vomit flame and smoke and death in the path of the invading gentile, were termed, in the pious and expressive language of the saints, "hell acres," and were intended perhaps more to terrify the Anti-Mormons than to injure them.

Whilst the parties were making these deadly preparations, Captain Picket, in command of a small scouting company, was ranging the prairies after the manner of chivalrous knights of yore, in search of adventures. It would be impossible to recount in our limited space the gallant deeds of this chivalrous commander—how with his small band of adventurers, on a dark rainy night, he encountered a strong party of Anti-Mormons; how his band recklessly and bravely fired on them, which induced the Anti-Mormons to scamper for dear life; and how one of their number, scorched by the fire from their muskets, rode away blazing like a comet in the darkness.

Whilst these events were transpiring, an under-current was silently at work amongst the new citizens, which promised a speedy and satisfactory adjustment of all the exciting topics which had so long been agitated, and which threatened to involve all parties in a destructive civil war. It was the desire of the new citizens to effect a final compromise between all the parties. Through their efforts, a final treaty of peace was mutually signed by the belligerents. This treaty specified that the Mormons should leave the State

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within sixty days; that they should immediately surrender all their arms to persons indicated in the treaty, to be restored to the true owner as soon as it should be satisfactorily known that in good faith he had complied with the stipulations of the treaty by leaving the State. It was further provided that the Anti-Mormons should leave a permanent force of twenty-five men in the city, for the purpose of enforcing the terms of the treaty. This treaty was fully acceded to by the Mormons, who were becoming alarmed by the gathering strength of their adversaries. The new citizens, under the most discouraging circumstances, had labored for its adoption, and now hailed it as a harbinger of permanent peace. General Singleton was anxious for the peaceful arrangement of a difficulty which threatened the destruction of social order and the shedding of blood without legal warrant. He had enjoyed sufficient of the glory, and experienced sufficient of the hardships of the camp to satisfy his young ambition. He therefore gave the treaty his influence and ardent support. He assembled his troops, read the treaty for their approbation and adoption, and was deeply chagrined when it was rejected by a unanimous yell of indignation. The Anti-Mormons had assembled and organized their troops with a great sacrifice of time and a large expenditure of money. Their force now, so far as the Mormons were concerned, was irresistible. It was to them the height of folly to abandon their enterprise when its object lay within their grasp. They had been repeatedly foiled by the superior adroitness of the fanatics, who had always managed to evade and nullify all their engagements, however clearly and positively expressed and solemnly ratified. They had now a sufficient force to remove them; it was therefore unnecessary to trust them to remove themselves; and trust them they would not under any circumstances, and there was an end of it.

General Singleton expressed the opinion that the Mormons had acceded to every thing that could be reasonably asked of them. To prosecute the war any further, under the circumstances, was unnecessary and treasonable to humanity; he therefore resolved to withdraw from the camp, and leave the consequences to those who chose to prosecute the war further.

The withdrawal of Gen. Singleton occa-

sioned little if any inconvenience to the Anti-Mormon host. The encampment swarmed with illustrious Generals of approved bravery and high renown, who panted for the honor of leading the embattled host to victory. The citizen soldiery immediately elected Thomas Brockman as the successor of Gen. Singleton. Gen. Brockman, they were assured, would never surrender his sword or turn his back upon their enterprise. This new military chieftain had various and high qualifications for so important a command. He was a blacksmith, a house carpenter, a county commissioner, a preacher of the gospel, and served as groom to a celebrated horse, which had the most undisputed and aristocratic pretensions to a long line of Arabian ancestors. It was thought that a person who could so readily turn his hand and his head to such various and different pursuits with a tolerable share of success in each, could not fail to shine as a hero likewise. To be sure, one of the favorite pursuits of the old gentleman, in which he had spent the better part of a pretty long life, i. e., to proclaim "peace on earth and good-will to men," appeared to be in decided antagonism with the death-dealing profession of which he was now a conspicuous member; but the villainous expression of a countenance which would have been a warrant of condemnation before a jury skilled in reading the passions from their outward manifestations, at once conclusively demonstrated that, so far as he was concerned, the gospel of peace which he had so long proclaimed was the greatest of humbugs. He had spent a long life in canting hypocrisy, and now, for the first time, he had unfurled his true colors. It cannot be pretended that the Rev. General was influenced by religious zeal or the love of Christian purity in his Quixotic campaign. He possessed none of the fire, the fervor or fanaticism which induced the enthusiastic Covenanters to gallantly and bravely throw their lives away at Bothwell Bridge. Nothing of the kind. Base and sordid selfishness was the spring of all his actions, the controlling motive of his life. His noblest aspiration was to win the votes of the Anti-Mormons, and through their influence fatten on the spoils of office. He had preached and prayed for office without success, and now he was resolved to descend from the altar, throw aside his clerical habiliments, and fight for it. He had grown gaunt as a greyhound with hun-

ger and long and anxious waiting. Despair and hard feeding had furrowed his cheeks and sprinkled his hair with gray. The Mormon war was to him a "god-send;" it aroused his despairing energies, it resuscitated him with renewed life and activity. It mattered little to him how much blood should flow, how many of his comrades might perish, or how many of the enemy should be trampled under the hoofs of his avenging Arab charger, provided by such means he could secure the reward of his ambition and ride safely into office. General Brockman occupied a position entirely different from the men he commanded. They had suffered and endured every thing from the intrigue and violence of the Mormons. They had arisen in their own primitive right and majesty to remove a nuisance, for which the law had provided no adequate remedy. Such was not the case with Brockman; he lived in the county of Brown, near one hundred miles from these exciting scenes. He had no actual acquaintance with the Mormon character, and had never suffered from their depredations.

Gen. Brockman intended there should be no delay of his vengeance; there should be no compromise with Mormonism, "save at the cannon's mouth." Gen. Singleton had wasted three weeks in fruitless negotiations on the prairie, but Gen. Brockman could brook no delay; he was determined to charge like a thunderbolt into the city, and stake his reputation on a "coup d'état." The Mormons heard the high resolve of this clerical Napoleon, and trembled for the consequences. Their courage had, in a great measure, evaporated. They had been commanded by their inspired prophets to follow the standard of the Church far into the wilderness; they had delayed their march, and the superstitious began to fancy that the frown of Omnipotence should continue to rest upon them as long as they remained in a land devoted to destruction by an offended Deity. Their prophets had forewarned them that Nauvoo and the adjacent country would be destroyed by a storm of divine wrath, which would sweep the wicked and blasphemous gentiles into eternity, and that if any portion of the saints should disobediently remain behind they would be visited by the same destroying vengeance, and miserably perish by the same omnipotent displeasure.

At the time Gen. Brockman assumed the

command, the army was occupying the nook of timber to which they had been led by Gen. Singleton, about fifteen miles east of Nauvoo. Animated by the hopes of a brilliant victory, Gen. Brockman, two days after his appointment, placed himself at the head of his troops and gave them their final orders to march. The march was commenced early in the morning, and a halt was never called until the column was within cannon shot of the city. They brought with them their artillery, their military stores, and an ample supply of provisions to last them for weeks, should the campaign continue so long.

Long before the invading troops had completed half the distance to Nauvoo, they encountered the Mormon pickets, who dashed before them like the wind, to convey the intelligence to Nauvoo. On their arrival, signal guns were fired and the drums beat to quarters. The troops were instantly paraded and formed on the temple green, and marched in quick time to meet the gentiles. They took up their position about one mile east of the city, in the ravines which flanked the Carthage road. The contest to the Mormons was indeed a desperate one. By the desertion of the cowardly and superstitious, who had fled on the march of their enemy, their numbers were reduced to less than two hundred. These men, however, were nerved by despair, and were well provided with the most approved arms, and possessed the skill to use them with the most deadly effect. Their position too was formidable; it protected them from the fire of the enemy's artillery, and with the invincible courage and the stern determination of men resolved to die rather than yield, they would have been much superior to the overwhelming Anti-Mormon force. Besides their infantry and artillery, which were promptly placed in position to flank the road, Major Parker had under his command about thirty horsemen, which he immediately dispatched to make a reconnoissance of the enemy and report his movements. This detachment had proceeded but a short distance through a lane shaded on each side by luxuriant corn-fields, when they were suddenly startled by a fire of musquetry from an ambuscade to their right. It would be supposed, from the position occupied by the enemy, that they had every facility to take the most deliberate and deadly aim; that every shot might have proved effective; but on the contrary, not one of the saintly

troopers received the slightest scratch. The whizzing of the balls terrified both men and horses, and drove them with lightning speed into the camp, where they reported the enemy were on the march to attack them. This report, which by the way was wholly false, induced the Mormon leaders to remove their whole force from the shelter of the ravines where they were posted, and place them in ambuscade in the same cornfields from which the enemy's fire had just been delivered, on a level with the Anti-Mormon batteries, which were in position only a half mile distant; a single shot from which might have raked with the direst effect the whole column, and put a summary termination to the "Mormon war." The Anti-Mormons were aware of the advantage which had accrued to them by this foolish act of the enemy, and fired two or three shots in a very direct range, but on account of their want of skill were entirely too high to accomplish any thing beyond the terror which the demonstration inspired.

In the mean time, through the influence of the Mayor of Quincy, who had visited the belligerents with the intention of effecting an accommodation between the parties, and if possible prevent the barbarous scenes which were daily transpiring, General Brockman concluded to suspend hostilities until the following morning, and if possible induce the Mormons to capitulate. He accordingly, through Mr. Wood, the gentleman before alluded to, sent in a proposition to the Mormons granting them five days in which to abandon the city, provided they should cease from their hostilities and surrender their arms in his keeping. To this proposition the Mormons refused to accede, and both parties spent the night in perfecting their arrangements for renewed hostilities on the following morning.

Immediately after the firing had ceased, Major Parker turned the head of his war-horse from the enemy, and marched his men to their head-quarters at the temple; fatigued and worn down by his unusual exertions, and deeply disgusted with the scenes through which he had passed. In fact, the gallant hero began to lose confidence in himself, his soldiers, and his preparations for defense. The cannon which the indefatigable Mormons had ingenuously manufactured would in no way compare with the highly-finished and effective brass pieces in possession of the enemy. The Anti-Mormons were confident

of victory; they had brought fifteen hundred men into the field, and their force was daily augmented by new recruits to their standard, whilst his own force had dwindled to insignificance, and was every day growing "beautifully less." Besides these discouragements, Major Parker did not like to come into collision with his clerical rival. They were both blacksmiths, and if their rivalry had consisted in making horse-shoes or burnishing ploughshares, Major Parker would have been the last man to have declined the contest. He delighted in the clear and musical ringing of the anvil; but the roar of hostile artillery grated harshly on his ear. His competitor was a lean, lank, wiry old fellow as you would desire to meet, whilst he was a huge mountain of flesh, and the weather was insufferably hot, and the wind dry and sultry. Whilst General Brockman was mounted on a spirited Arab courser, fleet as the wind, he was compelled to jog along on a jaded hackney, recently taken from the plough-tail, which boasted neither wind nor bottom, nor any more illustrious descent than that of a common scrub; and what kind of head could he be expected to make on his wheezing, jaded charger, when pursued with lightning speed by the avenging Arab! He might as well attempt to resist or fly from Death on a pale horse. These considerations induced the gallant Major to tender his resignation, in which he spoke of the disparity between the forces; and although it was confidently expected that the following morning would witness the general conflict between the parties, which would be decisive in its consequences, he promised to return to his home and raise a force of some six or seven hundred men, and return in the course of two or three weeks and turn the tide of victory. The Major's resignation was accepted, and he has ever since reposed on the laurels won in this trying campaign, and amuses himself and his neighbors by a rather highly colored relation of the exciting events which he witnessed.

By virtue of the authority which the Governor's commission vested in him, Major Parker, when he retired, handed over his authority to one Clifford, a kind of loafing tool for the Mormons, and constituted him commander-in-chief of the Mormon forces. We shall not pause to inquire into the legality of this procedure, but suppose it could claim about as much legal sanction, and per-

haps a little more, than the creation of Anti-Mormon generals by a constable. However enthusiasts might doubt, Major Clifford never questioned the legality of his appointment. Without a moment's delay he addressed himself to the defense of the city. He had noticed with deep chagrin that the efficient force of the city was alarmingly reduced by the desertion of cowardly, skulking wretches, who had not sufficient courage to face the enemy in defense of their homes or their religion. He determined to adopt measures to effectually arrest the tide of emigration, which was carrying every one across the river. To accomplish a purpose so necessary, the instructions of the Governor to Parker, under which he was acting, gave him no powers. He had no authority to coerce any one into his ranks, or to restrain any one of his liberty of crossing and re-crossing the Mississippi river whenever his inclination might dictate. But powerful evils require powerful remedies; and Major Clifford considered that the emergency was such as made it absolutely necessary to make the military superior to the civil power; and to back him in this rather arbitrary notion, he had the opinion and example of General Jackson, the great founder of democratic absolutism in politics. With such an example before his eyes, Major Clifford did not hesitate to declare martial law. He brought two of his field pieces into the portico of the temple, charged them with powder as high as they could bear, and fired them at midnight as a ratification of his high resolve, and as the annunciation of his purpose. He immediately detached a guard and forthwith sent them to the river, with instructions to fire upon every one, no matter who, that should attempt to cross the river without a pass from him.

During the night, whilst Major Clifford was firing his cannon and proclaiming his higher law doctrines, the Anti-Mormons were removing their encampment to the North or La Harpe road, by which they avoided the ravines which sheltered the enemy on the other route, and procured ground sufficiently level to use their artillery with effect on the Mormons. About noon of the following day, General Brockman made an attempt to enter the city by storm. The attack commenced by the Anti-Mormons canonading some waste building on the north-east of Nauvoo, in which it was supposed the Mormon force was concealed. The Mor-

mons returned their fire. Peal answered peal from the deep-mouthed cannon, and for hours, balls, grape-shot and other deadly missiles encountered each other, and fiercely whizzed through the air, with decidedly less effect than the buzzing of mosquitoes. After the parties had become thoroughly aroused by the thunder of the conflict, and enraged by the blood which they anticipated would soon spout in cataracts, they threw aside their ponderous and unwieldy weapons of death, and boldly rushed to the encounter and discharged their small arms right into each other's faces, but fortunately, however, without impairing or damaging the beauty of any hero on that hard-fought field. One of the Mormon heroes, who had exhausted his stock of ammunition, turned to fly, and in the dastardly act received a spent ball in his heel, which alarming catastrophe however only seemed to add wings to his speed; another complained of the loss of a finger which he had contrived to shoot off by means of his own expertness in the science of gunnery. No sooner had blood begun to flow from this unfortunate wound, than a panic seized the consecrated host, and with wild confusion and shouts of terror they fled to the temple for protection.

General Brockman sat motionless on his white charger, viewing with calm philosophy the work of havoc and blood around him. With huge satisfaction he beheld the rout of the enemy; but he hesitated long before he would order his troops to charge their retreating footsteps. He had heard that subterranean powder plots gaped wide for his destruction. A danger so formidable and so different from the science of civilized warfare he feared to encounter. He therefore determined to follow the example of the saints, and accordingly gave the order to fall back on the encampment. At the same moment the casual observer might have seen both armies flying from each other, for dear life.

The hostile parties on the following night each slept on their arms, and both dreamed no doubt of swimming in pools of blood. On the following morning the Anti-Mormons arose with the determination of fighting their way into the city, despite of all opposing obstacles. The Mormons in the mean time, having in a great measure recovered from their absurd and cowardly panic, were busily engaged in the construction of temporary

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breastworks on which to mount their cannon, as well as to shelter them from the fire of the enemy. They threw themselves behind these slight fortifications and behind the surrounding buildings, and awaited with no little anxiety the assaults of the enemy. The Anti-Mormons coolly planted their cannon, and about noon commenced firing on the fortifications and buildings, which protected the Mormons. The attack was kept up with decidedly more spirit, and the firing was much better directed and told with more destructive effect on the buildings, than that of the preceding day. A blacksmith shop, which sheltered a small company of the saints, was severely riddled by the incessant discharge of cannon. One of the party, a small boy, the son of Captain Anderson, was struck by a shot from the artillery which pierced the wall, and was shattered to atoms. A retreat from the building to a safer position was deemed advisable, in effecting which another of their number was struck down mortally wounded by the enemy's fire.

In the mean time, the street which they sought to enter being hotly contested, and several of their number being severely wounded by the fire from the Mormon breastwork, the Anti-Mormons marched south to a street which was wholly unguarded, with the intention of taking possession of that point, before the Mormons could be rallied for its support. This movement being discovered, Captain Anderson was dispatched with his company, consisting of about thirty men, all of whom were armed with "fifteen shooting rifles" and revolvers, to oppose the progress of the enemy at that point. Arriving at the point of destination, they commenced pouring a galling fire into the Anti-Mormon ranks, which instantly checked their progress. Col. Smith of Carthage, who commanded the Anti-Mormon column, hastily placed his cannon in position and blazed away at the Mormons, but without any effect. Anderson, the Mormon leader, at this crisis rushed forward in full view of the enemy, and called upon his men to charge on the enemy's battery; but at the very moment of giving the command he received a musket ball in his breast, from which he instantly expired.

At the very time that Anderson was urging his men to make a desperate charge, Col. Smith, who is a man of unquestioned bravery, and was the soul of the Anti-Mor-

mon army, was urging his men forward for the purpose of surrounding the handful of Mormons, who were pouring a hail-storm of ball on his advancing column, when he was severely wounded in the neck, and was carried as dead from the field. Each party was thrown into confusion by the loss of its leader; and to add to the embarrassment of the Anti-Mormons, it was discovered that their supply of ammunition was entirely exhausted. They were consequently compelled to fall back on their encampment, which was strongly fortified, and leave the enemy in possession of the field. In this contest the Anti-Mormons lost only one in killed and some seven or eight in wounded. The Mormons, as we have seen, lost in killed three persons, and in wounded two or three, but slightly. Of the heroic achievements of General Brockman and Major Clifford in this spirited engagement history has made no record, and we are constrained to pass them by without notice, until these worthies shall furnish the world with an accurate account of what they did and suffered in the conflict.

The Anti-Mormons without delay dispatched an embassy to procure ammunition, and more particularly cannon ball. They spent a great portion of the time in perfecting and strengthening the fortifications of their encampment, which they determined to occupy until the Mormons should be compelled to abandon the holy city.

Notwithstanding the Mormons had for the time checked the advance of the enemy, they were far from being encouraged by their success. Even the arbitrary and lawless regulations of Major Clifford could not prevent terrified fugitives from hourly crossing the river. The guard, which as we have seen had authority to murder all deserters, connived at their escape, and many of them were known to betray the confidence reposed in them, by the abandonment of their post, and retreating across the river.

In addition to the annoyance of continued desertions, the city was hard pressed by the horrors of famine. Their supply of bread-stuffs was totally exhausted. The army was compelled to subsist on fresh beef without any other aliment; nor did their families fare any better. Hunger and wretchedness stared every family in the face. Pale-faced and tearful women, haggard with hunger and terror, without protection, huddled their squalid, starving and naked children to-

gether and hurried away, without means or provisions for a single day, to encounter the bleak winds of approaching autumn, and perish unpitied like famished wolves on the wild prairie.

To render the condition of the Mormons more desperately hopeless, their enemies had raised a force on the opposite side of the river, which had full control over the Iowa shore, and whose duty it was to prevent any provisions from being crossed over to relieve the starving Mormons. Resistance on their part was no longer possible. To raise the siege which so grievously oppressed them, it would be necessary to storm the formidable barriers of the enemies' camp, and seize upon their provisions, of which they had an abundant supply, and appropriate them to their necessities; and to accomplish an enterprise of so much peril by a force diminished by desertion, and feeble from starvation, was altogether impracticable.

The want of ammunition on the part of the Anti-Mormons, and the weakness of their adversaries, caused a temporary cessation of active hostilities, which continued for several days. However, the dulness of the times was relieved by the action of hostile parties from each of the camps, who carried on a guerilla warfare worthy of the most savage and depraved of the Mexicans. Although but little was accomplished by the various sallies of these irregular companies, no one being killed or seriously wounded, yet it kept up continued excitement and alarm, and kept alive the terrors which the situation naturally inspired.

In the mean time, the city of Quincy, which had exhibited a lively and humane interest in the struggle, and many of whose citizens had manifested the most commendable zeal in preventing the effusion of blood, now dispatched a committee of fifty persons who were instructed to use all their influence to bring the hostile parties to an accommodation. These gentlemen arrived during the suspension of active hostilities; and although the firing of the guerilla parties, which was incessantly kept up, continually exposed them to imminent peril, yet they manfully and almost heroically persevered until they actually brought the enraged and now desperate factions to terms, and prevented that indiscriminate and brutal massacre which there was too much reason to apprehend would result from taking the city by storm.

By the terms of the accommodation effected, it was agreed on the part of the Mormons that the city should surrender; hostilities to immediately cease, and the Anti-Mormons to march in and take possession of Nauvoo the following day. The Mormons were to surrender their arms to the Quincy committee, and leave the State without delay; their arms to be returned to them in good faith, as soon as it could be ascertained that they had permanently removed, and manifested no intention of returning. Ten families, to be indicated by the Mormon trustees, were permitted to remain until the first of May following, for the purpose of adjusting and settling the accounts of the Church. From this arrangement, William Picket was expressly excluded. Instead of stipulating for the surrender of his body into the custody of Mr. Carlin, who had called upon the "power of the county" to effect his arrest, he was required forthwith to leave the State, which it must be conceded was a rather singular manner of terminating an enterprise set on foot for the avowed purpose of securing the custody of this same Picket.

In pursuance of the stipulations of the treaty, on the following day General Brockman paraded his troops preparatory to marching into the conquered city. He congratulated them on the successful termination of the expedition. He informed them that now, when the Mormons were within their power, when their struggle was fortunately terminated without material loss, they could well afford to be generous. He enjoined upon them the strict observance of the stipulations of the treaty, and exacted a separate pledge of every person in the camp to observe the rights of persons and property. The troops then marched into the city. Although they were unrestrained by any but moral and voluntary obligations, the most perfect order was observed, no outrage was committed, and the terms of the treaty remained inviolate. The troops encountered no opposition in taking possession of the city; in fact, the streets were deserted, the doors of the dwellings were all closed, the shops gave no sounds indicative of industry or of animated existence; a universal silence, profound as that of the unoccupied desert, reigned throughout the city. Brockman immediately took possession of the temple, which had been deserted by the terrified

and flying Mormons, planted his batteries in the portico, charged his artillery with ball and grape-shot, distributed his sentinels with the utmost care and vigilance, and provided every possible means to guard against surprise and secure the general peace.

In the mean time the Mormons placed but little confidence in the most solemn pledges of their enemies. Judging from the course of policy which had uniformly been adopted by the saints, they had little right to anticipate an observance of faith on the part of the Anti-Mormons. Pledges solemnly made, and sacred oaths duly administered, the Mormons had always treated as farcical jokes, to be laughed at, and, when policy dictated, to be disregarded and trampled upon. Observing no faith with the gentiles, they believed that retribution was now to be visited on their false derelictions. They did not care to await the storm of destructive wrath which they believed was about to break on their devoted city and temple. Accordingly, in the greatest haste, they made their preparations for their departure, many of them abandoning their property in the precipitancy of their flight. Every boat which could do service was incessantly plying from shore to shore, bearing away the proscribed fugitives to the less hostile shores of Iowa. The sullen Mormon still manifested the unmitigated hate, the undying malignity which appears to form the basis of their character. Unlike the early Christian martyr, who invoked forgiveness on the heads of his murderers, the desperate saint of modern times, as he beheld for the last time the tall spire of the temple which he profoundly revered, muttered deep curses on the gentile bands who had conspired to drive him from his altars and his gods. They exulted in view of their speedy expatriation from a land doomed by their prophets to divine wrath and complete and fearful overthrow. They disavowed their allegiance to a government which had failed to recognize and protect their lawless villainies, their demoralizing vices, and acknowledged obedience to no authority save that which emanated from their ecclesiastical tribunal, to be established in the wilds of California.

The Anti-Mormons were relieved from the disagreeable necessity of removing any of the saints by violent measures. All that remained of the fanatics was a miserable

remnant of sick and starving wretches, whose hopeless condition any one with the un pitying heart of a demon might have well commiserated. These were permitted to remain on pledges to leave the State as soon as their health should be sufficiently restored to permit their removal. Their destitution was supplied, and their present necessities relieved, by the generosity of their conquerors.

The new citizens, however, caused General Brockman more trouble. Many of them had ventured the opinion that a man of his sacred profession was rather out of place in commanding a force organized on very doubtful authority. Many of them very naturally considered it their duty to volunteer under the orders of the Governor, not for the purpose of vindicating the Mormons so much as to protect their homes and their property, which they feared were endangered by the hostile movements of the Anti-Mormon army. Many of them who feared to trust General Brockman fled with the Mormons at his approach. Others, placing more confidence in the broad pledges which he had given for the protection of "persons and property," chose to remain at their own firesides, in their own dwellings, believing that a man's house was his castle at the present period as much as it was a thousand years ago, amid the darkness of feudalism. But these self-confident, hardy fellows soon found that they reckoned without their host. It was soon discovered that they knew not what manner of man this same Brockman was; for no sooner had the veteran discovered that there were certain persons who had ventured to remonstrate against his authority than files of soldiers were dispatched for their arrest; when this model soldier, fresh from the field of his glory, doffed his epaulettes, assumed the official robes of a judge, and passed sentence of banishment on every culprit who was brought before him by this summary process. These culprits, least of all persons, had any right to complain of the delays of the law; for they were immediately remanded into the custody of a trusty guard, when they were promptly trotted down to the brink of the river at the point of the bayonet, where they were guarded on the ferry until they reached the opposite shore. In this manner were many persons removed from their rightful homes; persons who had no connection

with Mormonism or sympathy for its doctrines; persons who had only dared to doubt the authority of a self-constituted, unlawful military tribunal, over which the Rev. Mr. Brockman presided as chief judge. Only a few days passed, and General Brockman, satisfied with the completeness and permanency of his triumph, disbanded his troops and retired from the tented field, retaining, however, a garrison of some twenty persons, to retain possession of the temple, and prevent the return of the Mormons. This guard remained in Nauvoo about one month, when they retreated before the Governor, who marched two hundred men into Nauvoo, for the purpose of finally restoring order and legal supremacy. Under his protection, the new citizens returned to their homes. Signs of life and activity were again manifested in the streets of the deserted city, and peace again smiled away the spirit of discordant strife.

Whilst these arbitrary and lawless scenes of violence were transpiring at Nauvoo, the citizens of Quincy, with a noble and humane benevolence, sent a steamboat freighted with provisions to feed the starving outcasts on the opposite shore. Notwithstanding their

exposure to the inclemency of the weather, and the prevalence of the bilious diseases peculiar to the season and the western climate, but few if any of the Mormons perished in their flight from Nauvoo. A very few weeks passed away until the Mormons, recovering from their despair and consternation, were busily engaged in preparing to remove their quarters westward. Many of them equipped themselves for Council Bluffs, where Brigham Young had established his winter quarters. Others sought temporary homes in St. Louis and the neighboring towns of Iowa, where they could procure a meagre and precarious subsistence by their labor. In a few weeks more fanaticism had finally vanished from Illinois. The long line of white tents which stretched for miles along the Iowa shore disappeared, and the last remnant of the saints was on its march to the unoccupied and wilderness regions of the remote West, where, amid wild crags and inaccessible mountain passes, they determined to establish an independent empire of fanaticism, where the immoral tenets of their licentious faith, far removed from legal restraints, could be practised with impunity.

THE ART AND MYSTERY OF BLOWING YOUR OWN TRUMPET.

ASSUREDLY there is no instrument of such respectable antiquity and martial character as the trumpet, and none other that has made so much noise in the world; yet looking at it with the eye of a mechanic, it is but a pleasant contrivance of brass, fashioned more or less crookedly to suit the taste and proficiency of the maker. The ancients represented Fame with a trumpet in her mouth, very much like a section of gas-pipe with the end expanded; a very penny whistle of a contrivance, despicable enough to offend the E flat bugle temperament of a Dodworth or any other brass-band-loving citizen. Yet that redoubtable gas-pipe invention in the hands, or rather the mouth of Fame, was sufficiently perfect for all Cecilian requirements of making a noise; and it is well known that noise from the aforesaid trumpet has, from

time immemorial, been considered by the most consummate musicians as infinitely superior to any other music of the spheres celestial or terrestrial.

There are doubtless individuals of a waltz-like frame of mind, who prefer the soothing too-tooting of a flute to the inharmonious trump of the brazen instrument, and who, in the fastnesses of their bedrooms, will affect sombre melodies with distracting variations. There are others who find solace in scraping dexterously on the intestinal viscera of the feline species, and in aggravating three strings on a contra-basso to a point past endurance. Strong men have been known to exercise their muscular power on the triangle, and it is very uncertain whether the Red Cross Knights did not introduce the jews-harp from Palestine.